DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 412 770 FL 024 868

TITLE	MINNETESOL Journal, Volumes 1-12.
INSTITUTION	Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Minneapolis.
PUB DATE	1994-00-00
NOTE	1129p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	MINNETESOL Journal; v1-12 1981-1994
EDRS PRICE	MF08/PC46 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Achievement Tests; American Indians; Bilingualism; Classroom Environment; Communicative Competence (Languages); Contrastive Linguistics; Controversial Issues (Course Content); Creative Writing; Curriculum Development; Discourse Analysis; Drama; Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *English for Special Purposes; *English (Second Language); Film Study; Foreign Students; Grammar; Higher Education; Inservice Teacher Education; *Instructional Materials; *Language Skills; Language Teachers; Language Tests; Limited English Speaking; Listening Comprehension; On the Job Training; Professional Development; Public Schools; Reading Instruction; Relevance (Education); Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Self Evaluation (Individuals); Sex Differences; Student Developed Materials; Student Educational Objectives; Teacher Student Relationship; Teaching Assistants; Teaching Methods; Test Bias; Test Wiseness; Vocabulary Development; *Vocational English (Second Language)
IDENTIFIERS	China; Chinese People; Fossilized Language; Gangs; Language Contact; Paraphrase; Politeness

ABSTRACT

The 12 volumes of the professional journal contain articles on a wide variety of topics on classroom techniques, curriculum design, class activities, and research in English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) teaching at all educational levels. General topics include: communicating with ESL students; current events in the classroom; cultural test bias; teaching listening comprehension; instructional materials; second language acquisition processes; Hmong refugees and language contact; teaching preliterate adults; discourse analysis and ESL; relevant course content for refugees; Hmong bilingualism; teacher professional growth; ESL for foreign teaching assistants; Montessori language lessons; classroom communication; neglected vocabulary needs; teaching relative clauses; preparing Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) students for on-the-job training; English for Special Purposes (ESP) for nursing students; teacher-planned needs assessment and curriculum development; use of sensitive topics in teaching; using visual stimuli for children's writing instruction; teaching paraphrasing; leaner self-monitoring of grammar in writing; choosing helpful examples of grammatical structures; Chinese students in American universities; foreign scholars; student-teacher collaboration; fossilization and learning strategies; creative writing; film study; emotional support for students; Southeast Asian literature; student textbook writing; national educational reform; drama as curriculum; program design; student cassette journals; test wiseness; art and language learning; teaching across academic cultures; perceptual learning style preferences; writing about culture; mainstreaming LEP students; Hmong women and higher education; gangs; and achievement tests. In later volumes, student work, book reviews, and teacher research are also included. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 412 770

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Thomas A.
Upton
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

FL024868

MINNE*TESOL*

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

JOURNAL

Volume 1
2
Fall, 1981

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL

Volume I Fall 1981

Table of Contents

Being with Students: Some Good Advice for Teachers..........................Joan Hildenbrand 5

Current Events for Advanced Conversation........................Leisa C. Huddleston 15

Cultural Test Bias: How does it Relate to the LEP Student?................Marge Kaplan 21

Listening Comprehension in the Oral Tradition................Lise Lunge-Larsen 29

You have to Reach 'em to Teach 'em: The Beginnings of a Bibliography in ESL for Children................Pat Wilcox Peterson 47

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL OFFICERS
1980-81

President

Joyce Biagini
St. Paul Public Schools

First Vice President

Lynn Massie-Oehler
Macalester College

Second Vice President

Pixie Martin-Sharifzadeh
University of Minnesota

Secretary

Connie Evans
Burnsville Public Schools

Treasurer

Russell Clark
Macalester College

EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Officers and

Darrel Dewar
St. Paul AVTI
Linda Fillipi
University of Minnesota
Judith Lester
International Institute
Wanda McCaa
Minneapolis Public Schools
Daisy Stahlberg
University of Minnesota--Crookston
Ellen Vaut
International Institute

JOURNAL EDITOR

Mark Landa
University of Minnesota

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Sharon Dwyer
University of Minnesota
Eric Nelson
University of Minnesota
Diane Pecoraro
Lehman Center

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Carole Adelsman
Windom Community Center
Janice Gawtry
Rosemount-Apple Valley Public Schools
Susan Schulze
International Institute

Membership in MinneTESOL ($7.00) does not at present include a subscription to the Journal.
The MinneTESOL Journal is published in September.
Business correspondence should be addressed to Mark Landa, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

Editorial Policy

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: (1) Instructional methods, techniques, and materials; (2) Research done in the context of the classroom with implications for ESL teachers; (3) Philosophical issues related to curriculum, program design and the education of LEP students. Submit manuscripts to the Editor (Mark Landa, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455).

Manuscripts

Manuscripts submitted to the *MinneTESOL Journal* must conform to the style sheet published each December in the *TESOL Quarterly*. Two copies of each manuscript should be submitted with an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to Linda Fillipi, Program in ESL,
152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, MN 55455.

New from Regents

FLUENCY SQUARES
FOR BUSINESS AND TECHNOLOGY

Fluency Squares for Business and Technology

*by Phillip L. Knowles
and Ruth A. Sasaki*

Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced

Professional people today have to discuss job descriptions, company descriptions, market shares, productivity, and energy-efficiency in English. They have to understand the concepts of cause, state vs. event, proportion, rate of change, numbers and operations, classification, and sequence. **Fluency Squares for Business and Technology** offers professionals in those fields the opportunity to develop their listening and speaking skills by discussing concrete, realistic situations, problems, and economic changes.

No. 18372	Text	128 pp.
No. 18373	Visuals	

Regents Publishing Company, Inc.
2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 1 September 1981

BEING WITH STUDENTS: SOME GOOD ADVICE FOR TEACHERS

Joan Hildenbrand

A description and rationale of learner-centered teaching is presented. Each student needs an atmosphere conducive to learning, yet because of individual differences, not everyone can be accommodated in the same way. The teacher then needs sensitivity and flexibility. She needs to be acquainted with the variables of students' previous training, cognitive styles, and affective states. She can then observe how these factors are affecting them. If she is excessively concerned with subject matter or dominates the class, she is prevented from having the leisure to observe the students and assess what facilitates and what inhibits their learning. A learner-centered approach, on the other hand, gives the teacher the flexibility to meet individual learners' needs.

The field of English as a second language is so broad and so diverse that teachers may often find themselves teaching a new skill, a new level, or a new methodology. A reading teacher may be asked to teach listening, a teacher of intermediate students may be asked to teach pre-literates, a teacher used to the grammar-translation method may be asked to teach by a direct method. It is natural when faced with one of these changes to feel some anxiety. The teacher wonders whether she will be able to adjust to the new situation, whether the students will successfully learn. In my own career, I have frequently found myself in such new situations, and even now, I am not immune to such doubting questions. However, anxious as I tend to become because of such changes, I believe--and it is the main point I want to make in this paper--that regardless of skill, level, and method, the things that remain constant about teaching and learning make for success. One of these constants is what enables learning.

I began to become aware that enabling students to learn

Ms. Hildenbrand, a former instructor at the University of Minnesota, is working towards a doctorate at Columbia Teachers' College in New York.

is the crucial factor when I took a course in the Silent Way. For those unfamiliar with this method, I would like to describe it briefly. It involves using small wooden rods of different and varying colors and sizes and word charts with color-coded spellings. The teacher, who speaks only a little if at all, uses the small wooden rods to create a situation where the students can perceive the meaning of some language item. For example, after the teacher is assured that the students know the meanings of the words orange, blue, and rod, she places an orange rod between two blue rods for the students to view. Then she turns to the word charts, which the students can read because they have already learned the color-coded spelling, and with a pointer, she taps out the words, "The orange rod is between the blue rods." Even from my short description, it is not difficult to see that a teacher might have difficulty gaining facility with this method. In the beginning there would be much awkwardness, and a teacher would tend to think about what she was doing rather than what her students were doing. Indeed, this was the case with the eight teachers taking the course. It was such a struggle to imagine visual representations of grammatical relations, to manipulate rods, and to find words on charts that we began to believe that skillful use of the rods and the charts was the most important factor in the Silent Way. Our teacher insisted that that was not so. He insisted that the most important factor was being with students. For him, this meant that the teacher's use of silence and reliance on the students' own resources freed the teacher to be in touch with the students' learning. He called our attention to the fact that in the class the teacher could be free to observe the students learn, and from what the teacher observed she could decide what the next step would be. Three years later I have come to agree with that teacher. What is meaningful to me now about the Silent Way method is this focus on the learner. These days I seldom use the paraphernalia of the wooden rods and the wall charts, but I have adopted the goal of being with the students as a goal in my teaching.

This goal is not easy to meet. It may conflict with other goals. For example, one goal that teachers are concerned with is the transmission of the subject matter, as they see it or as their textbook writer sees it. The subject matter may even become the most important concern in some situations. Many teachers find themselves teaching ESL with no experience, or find themselves teaching a specialized skill course with little time for preparation. It seems natural in these situations that the teachers place great emphasis on learning the subject matter. But it can happen that because of the concern with the subject matter, the conception of the teacher's role becomes too narrow, and other factors which may be preventing the student from learning as well as possible are ignored, such factors as his previous training, cognitive style or strategies, and affective state. To take an example, some students have been trained to write painstakingly by translating from the native language and checking again and again for errors. When these students encounter a teacher who pushes them toward speed, they may feel insecure about the value either of their previous training or of what the teacher is trying to do. The role of a teacher is as much to make the students receptive to the subject matter as it is to teach it. Teachers make it difficult for students to learn if they are too concerned with the what of the courses rather than the to whom and the how.

Another goal that conflicts sometimes with the goal of being with the students is the teacher's desire to appear to students, colleagues, and administrators as capable. No doubt all teachers are concerned with their image of themselves as persons. Sometimes this concern with their own role can prevent their being with students. For example, a teacher may see herself as a giver of information, and students' errors, which indicate that the information has not been understood (and thus perhaps not well presented), frustrate the teacher and threaten her self-image. Since she is not comfortable with the amount of error that occurs in students' speech, she may limit their speaking turns to repetitions or to routine exercises, where the chance of error is greatly reduced. Students in this situation may become successful at doing what the teacher wants them to do, but they are unlikely to have learned to use the language outside the classroom.

In another classroom, the teacher sees her role in different ways from the teacher described above. She does not see herself as a transmitter of information, but as a creator of situations in which students can learn. She trusts students' ability to learn and sees her role as motivating them, creating conditions where they feel secure enough to take risks, and observing their behavior for the conditions under which they seem to learn best so that she can try to bring these conditions about. She also allows the students some voice in decision-making, for she knows that learners do best then. It is such a teacher that I would describe as a teacher of a learner-centered classroom.

Many teachers resist learner-centered classes, but I believe they usually do so because of misunderstanding about the meaning of the term. Learner-at-the-center suggests teacher-off-center. But in the learner-centered class, is it inevitable for the teacher to lose centrality, and, along with that, control? One of the most helpful people to read on the relation between the teacher's control and the learner's freedom is Earl Stevick in his latest book, A Way and Ways (1980). Stevick does not believe that increasing the student's freedom reduces the teacher's centrality. As he says, students need the teacher to be in control of the classroom. Because of her knowledge and training, the students expect the teacher to further them along in their language study. According to Stevick, she should exercise control in the following areas: goal-setting, classroom management, structuring of classroom activities, setting the tone for the interpersonal atmosphere, and alerting students to native speaker norms. It is true that some teachers like to have their students participate in the structuring of the classroom activities, but certain factors need to be considered carefully, for example, the students' existing trust in the teacher's authority and their willingness to take the responsibility. Also, stresses Stevick, the teacher needs to make the students aware that she is allowing them to have this freedom, that it is part of her plan.

Beyond these areas, however, the teacher's control should not be too strong. For classroom language learning to go deep enough to transfer to real world situations, students need to exercise some freedom. Stevick defines this freedom in the language class as the decision what to say to whom and when. It should not always be the teacher who decides what the student will say, nor to whom the student will speak, nor at what moment. Some of these choices should be turned over to the students. Failure to allow students freedom in classroom language learning may allow them to pass a course but will not allow them to build the confidence that they can use language to express their ideas and feelings.

Once the teacher steps away from dominating the class, she has leisure to watch students closely as they participate in activities. Incidentally, this is one of the reasons why Silent Way teachers are silent. It is difficult to watch students when a teacher is doing most of the speaking. The teacher, then, needs leisure to watch her students for the cognitive and the affective aspects of their learning. About the cognitive she can ask herself: "Are they understanding at this moment? In general, what seems to be their preferred learning style?" About the affective, she can ask herself, "What is the student's emotive state regarding learning in general, learning the target language, and interacting with its speakers and their culture? Is the student secure enough to allow himself to relax and understand? Or is he overly critical of himself, pressured perhaps by outside factors that I am unaware of?" The cognitive and the affective aspects are, of course, interlinked, but they will first be addressed separately.

What are some of the ways in which students differ from one another cognitively? To begin with the obvious ones, they differ in their ages. Adolescents cannot be taught as adults. One might expect, for example, that they differ in their tolerance for ambiguity. Then, too, students differ in their level of proficiency, in what they already know and what they need to learn. All teachers have been faced by two groups of students in the same class, those who have not been sufficiently challenged and those who are helplessly confused. Trying to maintain the balance is the high-wire act that teachers perform. One student says, "I don't need this. I already know this." Then there is another student in the same class who needs remedial work before he can understand what the teacher has planned for him to learn.

Students differ from one another also in their cognitive styles and learning strategies. One view of how these styles can be broken down has been given by Anthony Papolia in Hispania (1978). According to Papolia's inventory, a student may favor an inductive or a deductive reasoning process or relate better to abstract or concrete examples. In addition, a student may favor a particular sensory mode for learning: seeing (through reading, for example) or listening. Some of the students' preferences are probably related to their previous language training. According to Miriam Eisenstein (1980), language learning in the U.S.S.R. usually involves a conscious statement of grammatical rules, and when rules are not explicitly stated for students, they feel frustrated. The teacher would do well to be aware of and try to accommodate the variety of learning styles her students bring to the classroom. For example, if a teacher seldom uses the blackboard or other visual aids to illustrate a teaching point, she may be slighting those more dependent on a visual mode. These cognitive styles and sensory modes discussed thus far are non-evaluative. People vary in their preferences, but no one way is thought to be better than another.

On the other hand, some factors seem to separate the good language learner from the poor one. Papolia (1978) lists such variables as work habits, personal characteristics, intellectual independence, and originality. Being with the student does not mean that the teacher necessarily encourages all of the student's behaviors and attitudes, for clearly some of them inhibit language learning. The teacher needs to be aware of what leads to successful learning of a second language so that she can structure those behaviors into her activities and reinforce them in other ways. Researchers have shown us some of the successful behaviors in general second language learning and in specific skill areas. They are asking these questions: What are the behaviors of skillful readers? What distinguishes novice writers from experienced professionals, not only in the products they write, but more importantly in how they produce them? With these questions answered, teacher goals can encompass not only items like the past tense and complaints, but more importantly behaviors the students will be able to use when they are no longer in class. To give a specific example, guessing is considered to be a behavior connected with effective language learning. A teacher needs to encourage guessing. She needs to create a climate where guessing is highly valued, more highly valued than giving accurate responses to all questions. The error-free class suggests, after all, that the work is too easy for the students, or that they are not taking risks.

When faced with a language problem most students will in the privacy of their minds hazard a guess at a solution; but only the more secure, confident students will guess aloud in class or approach the teacher privately, actions which are important if the students are to have that guess verified. A teacher should try to create an environment where students feel secure, and so she must watch her students for signs of their affective states. How secure do they feel while doing a certain activity? How much confidence do they have in their ability to solve a language problem through their own power? A teacher can find out about students' affective states by observing them carefully (what they say and how they appear), by encouraging them to speak openly of their feelings, and by listening to them non-judgmentally. Also, if a teacher allows herself to appear as an ordinary human being with her own feelings of insecurity and discouragement, students may begin to believe that their teacher can understand their own feelings.

The observations a teacher makes of her students should feed into her plan for their learning, but of course, as the teacher carries her plans out, she continues to observe them and make modifications. She sees their nervousness and tries to create an atmosphere of security. According to Stevick (1980), a teacher can do this best by creating a non-evaluative climate in the classroom. When a teacher constantly evaluates students either by correcting their errors or by praising them for their correct responses, she puts students in the position of children vis-à-vis their parents. They become seekers of the teacher's approval and measure their success by it. The danger is that they will become adequate classroom performers but remain without the independence and confidence to use the language outside the classroom.

Of course, students need to know when their language differs from that of a native speaker, but this does not mean that every error or even most errors need to be corrected. Also, besides overt, interruptive correction, there are other ways of allowing a student to see how his language differs from that of native speakers. For example, the same material can be written after it is worked on orally, with the student being given the opportunity to recognize the discrepancy between the written form and his oral form, or students can be audiotaped or videotaped so that they can view their performance with some objectivity.

Another variable in creating security is whether the student feels he occupies a rightful and worthy position in the class. If so, this feeling can reduce the alienation the student may feel toward the target language and its speakers and their culture, as well as toward the teacher and other students. For this reason, activities that promote student cooperation and interdependence are very important. In these group activities, students use language socially and with less restraint, in a way they may not be able to do with the teacher. They also establish relationships out of which real language arises. The student can choose to speak to someone about something that he cares about.

As a community develops within the classroom, the teacher can promote language activities in which the students are making choices about who they want to talk to, what they want to talk about, and when they want to talk. By investing themselves in the activities through their choices, the students will be learning in a deeper way, and it is more likely that they will remember and transfer their learning outside the classroom. According to Stevick (1980), the learning space of the student must be created by the teacher. It is the teacher who makes that space wide enough for the student to feel free, but narrow enough for him to feel support. Only careful observation of the students gives the teacher a sense of when to expand and when to narrow that space.

Being with the students is not an easy thing to do. For me it is more a principle to teach by, a goal to aspire to, than a description of my teaching. Peter Strevens (1977) put it very well:

> The best teachers know their pupils, encourage them, show concern for them, find out their interests, discover their learning preferences, monitor their progress with a sympathetic eye, unravel their difficulties--cherish them as human beings engaged in a collaboration of learning. There is a rough analogy here with intensive care in hospitals, where the patient is constantly watched by skillful professional people whose first concern is to help the

patient to want to live. We are concerned not only with helping our learners to learn but with ensuring that even when they experience great difficulties, they will still want to learn.

REFERENCES

Eisenstein, Miriam. 1980. Grammatical explanations in ESL: teach the student, not the method. *TESL Talk* 11, 4.

Hosenfield, Carol. 1977. A preliminary investigation of the reading strategies of successful and non-successful second language learners. *System* 4, 1:110-123.

Papolia, Anthony. 1978. Assessing students' learning styles and teaching for individual differences. *Hispania* 61, 2: 318-322.

Sommers, Nancy. 1980. Revision strategies of student writers and experienced adult writers. *College Composition and Communication* 31, 4:378-388.

Stern, H. H. 1975. What can we learn from the good language learner? *Canadian Modern Language Review* 31, 4:304-318.

Stevick, Earl W. 1980. *A way and ways*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Strevens, Peter. 1977. Causes of failure and conditions for success in the learning and teaching of foreign languages. *On TESOL 77*. H. Douglas Brown, Carlos Yorio, and Ruth Crymes (Eds.). Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX

Learning Modalities Inventory

Use a 1-5 scale to assess
students' classroom behaviors.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Very Frequently

Cognitive Styles
- Proceeds from specifics to general (inductive)
- Proceeds from general to specifics (deductive)
- Uses examples of non-personal and abstract thinking
- Uses examples of personal and concrete experience
- Learns step by step

Sensory Modes
- Learns best by acting out dialogue (role-playing)
- Learns best by seeing
- Learns best by listening
- Learns best by touching

- Learns best by using a combination of senses

Interactive Learning Modes

- Learns best in one-to-one situations
- Learns best in small group work
- Learns best in large group structured lecture
- Learns best by working alone at own rate
- Adapts well to any grouping situation

Work Habits

- Has work well-organized
- Turns in assignments on time
- Has tolerance for a task that he does not like
- Completes assignments to "get it over with"
- Works cautiously (reflective)
- Works at a variable pace depending on the task
- Participates actively in small-group discussions
- Is competitive and tries to outdo classmates
- Enjoys helping others learn
- Blames the teacher or external circumstances when things don't go well
- Is flexible, adapts easily to change

Personal Characteristics

- Acts restless, unable to sit still
- Annoys or interferes with work of peers
- Has to be reprimanded or controlled by the teacher because of behavior
- Nervous about taking tests

Intellectual Dependency

- Reliant upon the teacher to be told how to do things
- Wants the teacher to make things easy
- Becomes confused easily
- Prone to want quick "black" or "white" answers to questions

Intellectual Independence and Originality

- Shows persistence in a task, does not give up easily
- Brings up topics to be explored or discussed
- Comes up with original and unique ideas for projects
- Proposes alternative ways to solve a problem
- Shows initiative

From Papolia (1978)

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 1 September 1981

CURRENT EVENTS FOR ADVANCED CONVERSATION

Leisa Huddleston

News events and current issues were used as the basis of activities in an advanced conversation class. The students profited from practice in reading, using new vocabulary, speaking before a group, discussing, and conversing one-to-one. The high level of interest and performance suggests that current events can be a valuable source of material for ESL classes.

What are the state's current political problems? How do the Boat People really get along in American society? What are the main issues in current Japanese-American relations?

Although these questions may sound like good research topics for American students majoring in political science or sociology, they were actual discussion questions used in an advanced ESL conversation class. The class consisted of a group of ten highly motivated Japanese students who were attending the English Language Institute for Japanese Students at West Virginia University in the summer of 1979. This three week conversation course was based on the study and discussion of the current news happenings and controversial issues that were occupying the televisions, magazines, minds and tongues of America that summer. Within this framework of current events, the course provided the Japanese students with meaningful discussion to improve their conversational ability and gave them a better understanding of issues concerning the American public.

This advanced conversation class was structured around three main class activities: 1) a discussion of daily news happenings, 2) a student presentation and group discussion of a broad controversial issue, and 3) an informal language laboratory session for one-to-one conversation about the issue. The objectives, operation, and benefits of these activities will now be discussed in further detail.

Ms. Huddleston is an ESL teacher at St. Cloud High School.

1. Discussion of Daily News Happenings

The ability to converse about what is happening in the news is an important skill people use daily. We talk to our friends and family about the weather, last night's baseball game, politics, or the bizarre murder that happened near our home. We debate the President's handling of the current international crises and complain about the latest rise in gasoline prices. Since daily news is such a widespread topic of conversation in our social circles, it is important for second language learners to understand the news happenings and be able to talk about them. With this purpose in mind, a discussion of both local and national news events was conducted as a daily activity in the advanced conversation class.

To prepare for the discussion each student was asked to watch a nightly news broadcast and take notes on the most important or interesting events. If they could not possibly watch a television news broadcast, they were to scan the newspaper for important events or listen to the news on the radio.

The following day each student would give an oral "news report" telling about the news happenings he had seen on television. Their reports were varied, including everything from kidnappings to severe thunderstorm warnings. As they often had only sketchy details, the teacher would also have to participate in the discussion for explanation and clarification.

As an outgrowth of the discussions, interesting vocabulary lists were developed on the blackboard. They included a wide variety of words related to weather, sports, economics, politics, and people. For example, one list included the following words: hostage, kidnap, abduct, twister, public scandal, women's movement, House of Representatives, inflation, Senator Kennedy, grand slam.

In addition to broadening the students' vocabulary, this activity had other benefits. Watching the news on television provided practice in listening comprehension. It gave the students an opportunity to hear a wide variety of American speech patterns and accents. Taking notes on what they heard helped develop a study skill important for future success at the university. Speaking and pronunciation practice was an integral part of the discussions. Aside from these language skills, the students' knowledge of important people, places, and events in America increased.

2. Student Presentations and Group Discussions

In addition to discussing weather, sports, and other daily news items of interest, there are broader current events and issues that we think and talk about. We may be concerned with such topics as elections, terrorism around the globe, and the influx of refugees into our country. It is helpful for the second language learner to become familiar with such issues of importance in order to follow and participate in discussions about them. To accomplish this purpose in the advanced conversation class, groups of two students were assigned a broad topic to research together. They gave a joint presentation on the issue to the group, which later discussed the topic in depth.

In the summer of 1979 when this class was being held, the Japanese students chose the following five issues to research and discuss: Skylab and the American space program, causes of the energy crisis, the president's political problems, the Boat People, and current Japanese-American relations. The two students who were to make the joint presentation on each issue were asked to read three articles about it in any news magazine or newspaper. They then worked together to prepare about a ten-minute talk on the issue. The other students were asked to read one article about it. To help with the background reading, the teacher suggested articles from Time or Newsweek, but the students were free to read any article they could find on the topic.

To make the students less anxious about giving a ten-minute presentation in front of the class, a very informal environment was created. The students and teacher sat in a circle on the floor, which made the class atmosphere very relaxed. This arrangement was also very conducive to the group discussion, as everyone could see and hear one another. In the middle of the circle was a tape recorder used to record the presentation and part of the group discussion.

Although preparing and giving such a presentation is a rather advanced skill, the students were able to do it effectively. Immediately following the presentation, the group discussion began with questions for the two presenters and often ended in lively debate of a particular point. Although it was not usually needed, the teacher came to class with a prepared list of discussion questions to ask the class in case the discussion lagged.

After the joint presentation and group discussion, the tape recording was played so the students could hear themselves presenting facts, asking questions, and giving opinions in English. The tape was then played again and analyzed for errors. When a mistake was heard, the students would stop the tape and say the sentence again, making the correction. They were usually able to do this without the teacher's help. This was an important auxiliary activity, as grammatical points, vocabulary items and sentence structure could be dealt with after the students had already had free, uninterrupted conversation during the group discussion.

This student presentation and group discussion phase of the conversation class had several benefits. Reading comprehension skills were practiced when the students read the preparatory articles. The students had to organize and give a presentation, which was helpful preparation for their college classes. Conversation skills were emphasized during group discussion, and grammar points were learned during the tape analysis. Also important was the students' understanding of these issue.

3. Taped One-to-one Conversation

In our daily lives there are many occasions for us to discuss current events and issues in social situations involving groups of people. However, there is perhaps more opportunity to discuss these matters on a one-to-one basis with a friend, a co-worker, or a family member. In these more intimate one-to-one conversations there is greater freedom of expression. We talk more and are more likely to express our true opinions and emotions. In the advanced conversation class, the ESL students participated in these one-to-one conversations to gain the freedom of expression and opportunity to talk afforded by such a setting.

The taped one-to-one conversations were usually done on the day following the student presentation and group discussion. For preparation the students were asked to reflect upon what they had learned and heard in the group discussion and then write five questions they would like to ask a friend about the topic.

These classroom sessions were held in an informal language lab with individual booths and regular cassette tape recorders. Groups of two students used the tape recorders simultaneously to record their individual conversations. They began by asking one another their prepared questions, but more and more unprepared questions evolved as the partners continued conversing and interacting. The conversations usually lasted from ten to fifteen minutes. At the end of the conversations, the students played their tapes and listened to themselves speaking English.

Follow-up activities varied. Often the students would play the tape again and listen for mistakes. They would discuss how to correct the errors and then practice the corrected sentences verbally. Occasionally they wrote the sentences in which errors were made, or wrote the entire conversation as a dictation from the recorder. Another option was to write a summary of their thoughts on the topic and tell how their friends' ideas differed. With such follow-up activities, writing as well as conversational skills came into play.

These one-to-one conversations were perhaps the activity that contributed most toward the improvement of the students' conversational ability. In this activity they were compelled to ask and answer good questions. They had to express their thoughts carefully to their partner--another very important conversational skill.

A special benefit of the one-to-one conversation was that it was a fun activity. The students really enjoyed working with the tape recorders and listening to themselves speak English with their friends. They had fun putting their friends on the spot by asking difficult questions. Some of them even pretended to be television personalities interviewing on a talk show. This combination of practice and fun made the one-to-one conversation a very worthwhile part of the class.

4. Conclusion

The three activities just described provide a good basis for an advanced conversation class. The activities stimulate enjoyable and informative conversations and contribute to improving conversational ability and other language skills. The daily emphasis on current events creates an awareness of what is happening in the country and culture the students are trying to become a part of. This awareness can motivate the students to continue the practice of keeping up on current events even after the course is completed.

The success of these activities as a design for an advanced conversation course is partly reflected in the following comments from the Japanese students' course evaluations:

> "I learned much about America in this class."
> "Now I am not afraid to speak."
> "The class helped me to think of important things."
> "I read Time magazine every week now."

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 1 September 1981

CULTURAL TEST BIAS: HOW DOES IT RELATE TO THE LEP STUDENT?

Marge Kaplan

An issue that is now affecting the futures of large numbers of LEP students is cultural bias in testing. Because invalid test scores are used to determine what programs LEP students have a right to enter, it is important for LEP professionals to ask some of the following questions: 1) Historically, what has been done to deal with this problem? 2) Currently, what tests and test items are students given, and how do cultural traditions affect their answers? 3) How can preparation for the testing situation improve student performance? 4) How can LEP professionals best serve the needs of their students? By asking and answering these questions, the paper tries to show how complex the problem is and gives specific ways in which cultural test bias may be remedied.

Cultural bias in testing affects the future of large groups of LEP students. This paper gives a brief history of the issue and describes the current situation in the public schools, with special attention to the role of the LEP teacher. The following questions are addressed: How long has cultural test bias been recognized as an important problem? How successful have nonverbal and test translation approaches been in rectifying this problem? What tests and test questions are currently being administered in the school systems, and in what ways do students with different cultural traditions respond? How can students be trained to deal more successfully with the test-taking situation? Given test bias as a factor that is a constant, what can LEP teachers do to serve as advocates for their students?

1. History of the Issue

Cultural test bias has not always been recognized as a

Ms. Kaplan is a teacher of LEP students in the Roseville Public Schools. This paper was presented at the First Midwest TESOL Conference in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, in April 1981.

problem. In fact, for 25 years when testmakers were questioned about test bias, they gave statistical answers that involved sampling procedures rather than answers about question content. Nevertheless, several different methods to deal with the problem were attempted. These included the development and administration of nonverbal tests and the use of test translation.

1.1 Nonverbal Tests: Raven's Progressive Matrices, the Leiter Instructional Performance Scale and the Goodenough-Harris Drawing Test are examples of nonverbal tests. Raven's Progressive Matrices consists of a series of increasingly complex designs. Each design has a portion missing. It is the job of the student to point to the appropriate missing puzzle piece from a choice of six. The purpose of this test is to obtain a nonverbal IQ score. The Leiter International Performance Scale has the same purpose but a slightly different format. Directions for this test are given in pantomime, and the students use blocks instead of puzzle pictures. Test questions progress from ". . . matching colors and forms to more complex tasks which require understanding of spatial relationships, sequencing and . . . verbal reasoning." (Compton 1980: 246). Both tests have defects. The chief problem for LEP students is that they may not have experience with puzzles. Although many American youngsters play with puzzles from the time they are small, this is not true for children from other cultures. Furthermore, the tests have not been standardized on LEP students but on middle-class whites. Although both Raven's and the Leiter are non-verbal, a feature that is helpful to a child who is not fluent in English, neither measure has good validities for predicting academic success.

The Goodenough-Harris Drawing Test, better known as the Draw-A-Man Test, is a third nonverbal test example. It is often used to ". . . assess cognitive development and intellectual maturity. A psychologist may use the test to gain a quick impression of a student's general ability level." (Compton 1980:253). However, the person who has had experience with representational art will do much better on the Draw-A-Man Test than one who has not. And, although the age range for examinees is from 3-15 years, some upper elementary Cambodian students in a refugee camp refused to draw a man because they considered the task intellectually denegrating.

1.2 Test Translation: One of the biggest problems with test translation is that there is no one-to-one translation for many English words. A good example of this is the word stamp. In Spanish, timbre, estampilla, and sellar are all possible equivalents. A second problem is that "while the same word may be common to two regions of the country, it may have a radically different meaning in each region. For example, while the word tostone refers to a quarter or a half dollar for a Chicano child, to a Puerto Rican it refers to a squashed section of banana which has been fried." (Jones 1976:94).

Unfortunately, as these data illustrate, such tests are not unbiased. Test translation, instead of solving problems of test bias, creates some of its own. We are therefore faced with the fact that until different and better testing mechanisms are created, culturally biased tests are an integral part of the system. How, then, does this affect the LEP student in the school system?

2. The Current Situation

Within the school system, an LEP student has access to several support services. They include Title One programs, speech pathology programs, and programs for the gifted, the learning-disabled, and the emotionally disturbed. In all instances, entry is based, in part, on test results. In addition, as early as kindergarten a child is placed in a reading group on the basis of reading readiness test scores. What, then, are some of the tests and test questions to which the LEP child will be exposed?

The WISC-R is the test most frequently used to predict the academic success of the elementary and secondary student. The score that the person receives will be evaluated by any or all of the programs previously mentioned. Although the LEP child will not be culturally prepared to answer many of the questions asked, school personnel consider this measure the best instrument currently available. In addition to an IQ score, this test is also used to pinpoint problems of social judgment and perceptual difficulties. Therefore, let us examine a few of the questions on the verbal portion of the test as well as one of the nonverbal tasks a student may be asked to perform.

The following are some WISC-R test questions: 1) What are the advantages of having senators and congressmen? 2) What are you supposed to do if a child smaller than you starts to fight with you? 3) If a ship capsized, why would you save the women and children first?

To LEP students from many countries, the terms "senators" and "congressmen" may have very little meaning.

When a child from a different culture is asked the second question, the answer is unlikely to match the expected one, i.e., not to fight or to walk away from the situation. The child from a culture where machismo is highly prized would probably answer that he would fight. A child from another culture might interpret this behavior as an invitation to playful wrestling.

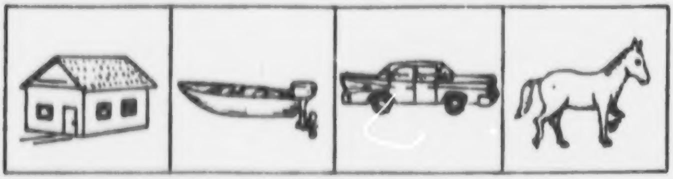
A Chinese child might be puzzled by the third question, since in this youngster's culture the elderly and the first-born male would probably be saved before the others. (This question is not currently included on the test.)

One of the nonverbal tasks in the performance section of the *WISC-R* is the Object Assembly subtest. The tester gives the students five puzzle pictures with four to eight pieces. The child is supposed to put the pieces together to make a familiar object, e.g., a star. An LEP student who has not worked with puzzles will be likely to have special difficulty. One conclusion often drawn from a low score on this subtest is that a student has poor motor skills. For some African students, the problem may be the unfamiliarity of the task rather than undeveloped skills.

Another test, the *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test*, ". . . is generally conceded to be perhaps the most obviously culture-loaded test for screening verbal IQ." (Jensen 1974:191). Words are deliberately chosen for inclusion on the basis of ". . . infrequency of exposure . . ." (Jensen 1974:191). Thus, an LEP student who is learning mainly survival vocabulary would do poorly on this type of test. In addition, the examinee must understand line drawings in order to comprehend the pictures in the test. For some students, line drawings do not carry the same meaning as they do for students from Western cultures. While an American student looks at a flat drawing of a movie projector or a sheriff's badge and automatically visualizes the object, the LEP student may see the image as a design or simply a series of lines.

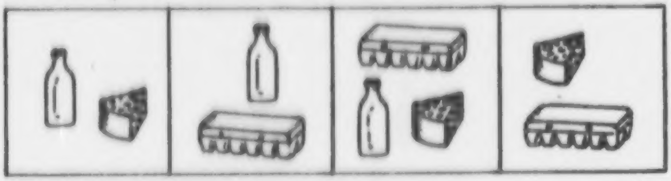
Students of kindergarten age will probably not take the *WISC-R* or the *Peabody*, but will complete a reading readiness test. The results of this test will be used for first grade reading group placement. In some cases, the student will remain in this group permanently.

The following are examples of two reading readiness test items on a vocabulary subtest demonstrated in Guszak (1972:93). The student sees the following pictures:



The teacher says, "Put a mark on the boat." A child who has never seen a motorboat but only a sailboat or a canoe, may not be able to mark the boat.

On a listening subtest, ". . . pupils are asked to mark the one picture in a group that best describes what the teacher reads."



The teacher says, "Tommy went to the store and bought milk, eggs, and cheese." First of all, although the picture uses a milk bottle, milk rarely comes in bottles anymore. Also, for LEP children, a closed carton, such as that pictured, may give no clue that there are eggs inside.

Research validates that the LEP student has had limited experience with the test-taking process. Taking a test is a threat to the LEP student not only academically but emotionally. For some students, especially those from large families, the special attention associated with individualized testing is a new experience. In fact, many children,(particularly youngsters from different cultures), are extremely fearful when they are taken out of their classrooms for this purpose. "They seem to get the impression they are about to be punished for some undefined transgression." (Jones 1976:96). A short explanation given to each student by the LEP teacher can help to alleviate these anxieties.

Another cultural consideration is the student's experience with timed tests. In many countries, tests may or may not be timed. Students may be given year-end examinations which can be finished in one or two days. Working on a timed subtest for ten minutes would be a totally unfamiliar experience for some students.

Another expectation in the American testing system is that students will guess on some test items. This is contrary to some cultural beliefs. Children from some Latin American countries have been reared ". . . within a tradition which disapproves of this type of hablando sin saber, (speaking without knowing)." (Jones 1976:96).

Academically, youngsters will need good direction-following skills to succeed on tests. Yet children often don't understand how they are to perform test tasks because they have not mastered the vocabulary of directions. Practice in following test directions can be introduced as part of their test-taking training.

3. LEP Teachers as Advocates

Faced with these problems, how can students be both protected and allowed access to services they have a right to receive? It is in these areas that LEP teachers have special roles. They will need to open communication between themselves and other school personnel, serve as cultural resources, and broaden the base of evaluative procedures.

To do this, second language teachers must not only be familiar with the different evaluative procedures, but also must be informed about attitudes commonly held by personnel who administer the tests. An attitude commonly held by personnel who administer IQ tests is expressed in this way. "We are aware that many questions are culturally biased, but if the students are intelligent they will integrate this information." Yet a student in this position, no matter how intelligent, has insufficient exposure to the cultural milieu of the United States. Test scores will be lowered by this factor, but will nevertheless play a significant role in the student's programming.

Teachers of second language speakers are in a unique position to serve as advocates for their students in another significant area. They have had the opportunity to synthesize cultural information from many different resources, and are able to share it in a way that will benefit both students and faculty. For example, this kind of cultural input would be valuable for people who are making decisions about a child who has an auditory memory problem. An LEP teacher with intercultural training can help the evaluating team determine whether the child's problem is cultural or individual.

While good communication and cultural sharing are important, LEP teachers must add other dimensions to the evaluation process--interviews with mainstream teachers along with observation, charting, and recording of academic and emotional behaviors. These procedures, applied to both the LEP and the mainstream classes, can be used to cite strengths or areas needing remediation. Questions to be asked may include the following: How does the student's rate of learning compare with those of other second language or American peers? How does the student learn--primarily through the auditory, visual or tactile modality? Are there problems in any of these areas? If so, under what circumstances do they occur? (For example, a student who can answer oral questions well may be confused when asked to write down answers in a dictation because he is having difficulty with handwriting.) Are on-task and task completion behaviors problematic? If so, in what subjects and under what conditions does the breakdown occur? In what settings--one-to-one, small group, or classroom--does this youngster function best? The answers to these questions are often the very pieces of information that an investigative team will need. This information can give a more complete profile of the LEP student, and in some instances can establish the pupil's right to certain educational services.

4. Conclusion

Cultural test bias remains an issue that has not been resolved: Even though attempts have been made to reduce test bias through different tests, test questions, and test translation, we do not as yet have a successful mechanism to eliminate test bias. Yet important decisions about LEP students' futures continue to be made on the basis of test scores. LEP teachers cannot stop this process, but they can make an impact on it. As specialists and as advocates, second language instructors can familiarize their students with the test-taking process and can sensitize school personnel to the cultural difficulties in test-taking. It is hoped that through a combination of these approaches, decisions affecting LEP students can be made with more equity.

REFERENCES

Alzate, Gloria. Dec. 1978. Analysis of testing results in Spanish-speaking children. ERIC ED 157 282.

Anastasi, Anne. 1976. Psychological testing. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Bernal, Ernest. Aug. 1977. Adapting assessment procedures to specific population characteristics: the Chicano child. ERIC ED 145 943.

Bernal, Ernest. 1977. Assessment procedures for Chicano children: the sad state of the art. Aztlan: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research 8, Spring-Summer-Fall: 69-81.

Cattell, Raymond. 1979. Are culture-fair intelligence tests possible and necessary? Journal of Research and Development in Education 7, 1:3-11.

Compton, Carolyn. 1980. A guide to 65 tests for special education. Belmont, CA: Pitman Learning, Inc.

Evard, Beth and Darrell Sabers. 1979. Speech and language testing with distinct ethnic-racial groups: a survey of procedures for improving validity. Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders 44, 3:271-282.

Guszak, Frank. 1972. Diagnostic reading instruction in the elementary school. New York: Harper and Row.

Hilliard, Asa. April 1978. Alternatives to I.Q. testing: an approach to the identification of gifted "minority" children. ERIC ED 147 009.

Hilliard, Asa. 1979. Standardization and cultural bias as impediments to the scientific study and validation of intelligence. Journal of Resource and Development in Education 12, 1:47-58.

Hunt, J. McVicker and G. E. Kirk. 1974. Criterion-referenced tests of school readiness: paradigm with illustrations. Genetic Psychology Monographs 90, 2:143-182.

Jensen, Arthur. 1974. How biased are culture-loaded tests? Genetic Psychology Monographs 90, 2:185-244.

Jones, Reginald (Ed.). 1976. Mainstreaming and the minority child. Minneapolis, MN: Grant No. OEG-0-9-336005-2452 from the Exceptional Children's Program, Bureau of Adult and Occupational Education, p. 207.

Kent, Jaylene and Rene Ruiz. 1979. I.Q. and reading scores among Anglo, Black, and Chicano third and sixth grade school children. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 1, 3: 271-277.

Sharp, Evelyn. 1972. The I.Q. cult. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan.

Smith, Margot. 1974. Alfred Binet's remarkable questions: A cross-national and cross-temporal analysis of the cultural biases built into the Stanford-Binet intelligence scale and other Binet tests. Genetic Psychology Monographs 89, 2:307-334.

Williams, Robert L. and Horace Mitchell. 1977. The testing game. The Negro Educational Review 28, 4:172-182.

Ysseldyke, James E. and Richard R. Regan. 1979. Non-discriminatory assessment and decision making: embedding assessment in the intervention process. Institute for Research on Learning Disabilities. University of Minnesota Monograph #7.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 1 September 1981

LISTENING COMPREHENSION IN THE ORAL TRADITION

Lise Lunge-Larsen

Folktales originate in the oral tradition and have survived by being told and retold to countless generations of listeners. They are intended to be told--not read--and to be listened to. Consequently they are an ideal tool for the teaching of listening comprehension. This paper examines the main universal elements of folktales and explains why and how stories are useful in teaching listening to LEP children. Included is a bibliography of folktale collections, selection criteria, and a sample tale with suggested classroom activities.

* * *

> The teller of stories has everywhere and always found eager listeners. . . . In villages of Central Africa, in outrigger boats on the Pacific, in the Australian bush, and within the shadow of Hawaiian volcanoes, tales of the present and of the mysterious past, of animals and gods and heroes, and of men and women like themselves, hold listeners in spell . . . (Thompson 1951:3)

It is interesting to note the frequency with which the words listen and listener occur in any work on folklore. It is, however, not surprising when we consider the history and characteristics of folktales: they survived by being told and retold to eager listeners for generations. What is surprising, however, is that teachers have not capitalized on this common oral heritage when teaching listening comprehension to LEP children.

Lise Lunge-Larsen has taught English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota and is currently teaching at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul. She is also a professional storyteller.

1. Listening Comprehension: Needs Assessment

Native speakers accept listening in their own language as second nature, yet comprehending the spoken form of a foreign language is one of the most difficult tasks for the second language learner. More time is spent in listening than in any of the other language activities. In 1949, research on listening in the elementary classroom led to the discovery that 57.5 percent of class-time was spent in listening. Recent research estimates that close to 90 percent of the class-time in high schools and colleges is spent in listening (Taylor 1964:3). Added to that is the listening children do outside of school through television, radio, movies and music. Yet listening is probably the most neglected skill in second language teaching (Paulston and Bruder 1976:127).

With so much of our time spent in listening, one would think that good listening habits would automatically develop. However, research tells us that a native speaker will only operate on a 25 percent level of efficiency during a ten-minute talk (DeHaven 1979:148). Imagine then the frustration of the foreigner who is only beginning to understand spoken English.

Obviously, all children--LEP children most of all--need to learn to listen effectively. Not only do they have to deal with the complex set of problems which face any listener, but they also have to tackle a set of obstacles special to the second language learner. Many of these obstacles can, however, be overcome by the telling of traditional folktales in the classroom.

2. Characteristics of Folklore

The strongest argument in favor of using storytelling is probably the fact that the tales were preserved by being told, and won their popularity in the telling. Every element present is there for the listener. As Stith Thompson (1951:127) points out in The Folktale:

> Its effects are not produced indirectly by association with words written or printed on a page, but directly through facial expression, gesture, repetition, and recurrent patterns that countless generations have tested and found effective.

Every culture has produced a folklore, and folktales from around the world reveal innumerable similarities, not only in types of stories found, but in plot structure, style, and theme as well. One single story is often found in different variants throughout the world. The Cinderella story, for example, exists in India, the Philippines, North Africa, Saudi Arabia, western Sudan, Madagascar, Canada, Brazil, and Chile, to mention just a few. Some interesting versions are found among the North American Indians as well, and in Europe the tale appears in at least 500 versions (Thompson 1951). Despite the incredible wealth of folktales found in the world, the tales are much alike in all significant structural and thematic respects. There are at least five categories of tales which appear to be universal. They are the animal tales, the cumulative tales, the explanatory tales, the numbskull tales, and the hero tales. Animal tales typically show the cleverness of one animal and the stupidity of another, or simply the adventures of a group of animals. In cumulative tales the story itself is not as important as the increasing repetition of details which build up to a quick climax. Explanatory tales explain the existence of certain hills or rivers, or the characteristics of various animals or plants. Numbskull tales are about the absurd actions of lazy fools and conceited persons who think they can handle every situation best. Hero tales move in a fantastic world where magic and supernatural elements are taken as a matter of course (Huck 1970:162-165). The values expressed in the tales, regardless of type and country of origin, are the same. The virtues of being humble, kind, diligent, and courageous are always recognized. Concerns about the conflict between good and evil and the strength and weakness of human character are as relevant today as when the tales were first told (Huck 1979:170).

3. Folktales and Listening Comprehension

The universality of the tales is an important point for listening because one of the great problems for LEP children is that a lack of familiarity with the allusions, assumptions, and cultural context of a situation tends to interfere with comprehension of spoken English. A child with a broader range of experiences can more readily associate new ideas with these past experiences, and understand what is being said (James and Mullen 1973:20). Therefore, in ordinary listening exercises, it is often necessary for a teacher to give the LEP child the contextual information a native speaker already has, in order to put the LEP child's expectations on par with those of the native speaker. With folktales this step is rendered superfluous. Folktales, because they are universal, contain allusions and assumptions which are the same no matter what country the tales are from. Although the cultural context--that is, the landscape, climate, animals, food, and clothing--may differ, I think it is unlikely that this minor difference will pose any real barrier for understanding. Children everywhere know the folktales of their native country and usually some of the popular European ones too. They know what is likely to happen and will form an appropriate set of expectations against which they will measure and compare the new story. They expect some characters to be good and some to be wicked. They expect animals to talk and a youngest unpromising child to succeed. They expect trolls, ogres, giants, dragons, kings, queens, princes, and princesses. They expect evil to be defeated and punished, and kindness to be rewarded. They expect "once upon a time" and "they lived happily ever after."

Children expect "once upon a time" or a similar introduction because this is another universal element of the tales. "Once upon a time" or "In olden times when wishing still helped one" are traditional European openings. Tales from outside of Europe begin along similar lines: "There was a time, and there wasn't a time," and "Once there was, one day there will be." From the very beginning an atmosphere larger than life is created and the child is moved away from the present into the realm of the imagination, to a world where everything can and will happen. The introduction to the tale establishes the conflict of characters and the setting in just a few words. The story moves quickly and the language is ideally suited for listening. It is simple and forceful. Unneccessary details have been eliminated by constant repetition; only the appropriate words remain. The conclusion follows the climax almost immediately, and is nearly always happy (Smith 1953:54). Because the language of the folktales is so simple, it is considerably easier to understand than the language of most stories or natural speech. The problem of struggling with frequently occurring unknown words or idioms is virtually removed because there are no unneccessary words or idioms present to distract from the story or confuse the child. Since the stories are told and not read, gesture and voice quality will help explain difficult words or concepts. The child will understand the story not just through listening but through seeing as well.

A device used in the folktales to generate suspense is the repetition--usually three times--of phrases and events. This provides heightened interest and expectation on the part of the listener, and creates a rhythmic flow in the action (Smith 1953:54). It also helps deal with another problem in listening: the ability of the child to decode or recognize familiar words because of the speed with which they are spoken. Since English is not their native language, LEP children cannot handle the speech stream automatically. They will tend to understand as they hear and not be able to predict the patterns of a sentence through its initial grammatical signals.

The result is that they are unable to hold all the information in their heads because they are so fully occupied with decoding the ongoing speech (James and Mullen 1973:21). When the words arrive too rapidly, they pile up in the short-term memory, and as a result children tune out. Here the structure of the tales will help the listener. The familiar repetition of phrases and events provides redundancy and allows children time to sort out what they hear as well as enabling them to predict what will be said next. Since storytelling is a performance, the speed of the delivery is likely to be slow and well-modulated. Body language will also help explain how events should be interpreted. Because gesture is understood faster and more readily than speech, it helps children process the new information more rapidly, and even facilitates predicting the outcome of a situation (Froelich and Bishop 1977: 57).

Underlying our language are cultural presuppositions. Normal children acquire this kind of knowledge by being constantly exposed to various uses of language (Black 1979:527). Needless to say, LEP children do not have this knowledge about the target culture. However, listening to stories can help them develop appropriate cultural presuppositions. In listening to stories children develop a certain set of expectations about such characters as witches, ogres, foxes, and wolves (Applebee 1979:644). The LEP child will also expect notions such as wickedness, bravery, cleverness, goodness, or wisdom to be embodied in certain characters because they are universal notions found in all folktales. The exact characters representing these notions do not necessarily correspond to those in the child's own culture. (To an Iranian child an owl represents wickedness, not wisdom. To some American Indians the coyote--not the fox--represents cleverness.) But because the child nevertheless expects these characteristics to be found, the concepts are much more easily learned. Through the stories, then, the LEP children will learn some of these cultural presuppositions. They will know what Grandpa is an old owl and my brother is a real fox mean. They will understand what is meant by a Cinderella tale. They will know that if a person is labeled a real witch or an ogre, that person is not well-liked.

4. Children and Folktales

As I have pointed out, the tales tend to be concerned with such themes as the conflict between good and evil and the strength and weakness of human character. There is always a tremendous amount of struggling and suffering in the tales, but kindness, humility, and patience almost invariably triumph, and courage and hard work are rewarded in the end. Another frequent motif is the recognition of the true worth of the youngest son or daughter in a family, as in Cinderella (Huck 1970:165). LEP children will be able to identify with the youngest, neglected child. They feel as inadequate, incompetent, and stupid as the youngster in the tales is thought to be. The tales promise the children that through hard work, patience, and kindness they will eventually succeed and be recognized for their true worth. The tales give the hope and comfort which are essential to anyone battling a discouraging and seemingly hopeless situation.

All of these points are essential for listening, but perhaps the most important point of all is that children love to listen to stories. They expect excitement, pleasure, and fun. This attitude is one of the greatest benefits to a listening teacher. In order to listen effectively, children need to feel that what they are listening to is important and interesting. If listening is not interesting, they will soon stop paying attention (DeHaven 1979:150). But I have yet to meet the child who doesn't love a good story. Storytelling is perhaps the only thing that can make children sit still for any length of time. And that is because stories are fun and not "teachy." "Teachy" is boring, but stories are fun. Listening comprehension is taught, but it slips in unnoticed through the back door.

A final point which I would like to make is based on observations I have made while telling stories to children: no other activity can get children to respond as actively and as eloquently as a story. Even the most reluctant talker usually has some comment to make: All have questions and observations, and most of them immediately begin to create their own stories or versions of the stories they heard. From innumerable parents whose children were quiet when they first heard the stories, I have heard that later in the day and during the following days the children simply wouldn't stop creating new stories for themselves and for others. The point is that something happens when children hear stories. They begin to develop a sense of storyline and to use their imaginations. The result is that there is transfer of passive vocabulary into active vocabulary. And perhaps most importantly, at some level the children recognize that although they--like the stories--come from all different parts of the world and appear to be very different from one another, they--like the stories--are more alike than different from one another.

5. On Violence

Many parents object to folktales because they often include violence. They are afraid the violence will have a damaging effect on their children. What they fail to realize is that the characters in the folktales are not real in the sense that people around us are real. They are symbols, and the wicked characters are, as Bruno Bettelheim (1977) puts it, symbols of "the monster" within us. They, as well as the action, belong in another world, the world of "once upon a time," where everything can and will happen. The truth in the folktales is the truth of our imagination, not that of our normal life. And as Bettelheim points out (1977:116-117): "No sane child ever believes that these tales describe the world realistically." Folktales were never believed, nor were they intended to be believed. They are the stuff of the imagination, told for the sake of escape and entertainment. They contain truths the same way all good literature contains truth, but they are not literally believed (1977:120).

In the folktales it is not the violence which is the focus of interest. What is important is that justice prevails, that the wicked are punished and the good win. Anyone who hears or reads enough folktales will soon discover that the details of the violent acts are not dwelt upon. The acts are reported: "And then he cut her head off," and that's that. No blood, no screams, no details. When a wicked character is killed, the point of interest is that the symbol of evil is removed.

The fact that justice always prevails and the outcome is almost always happy is deeply satisfying to the child. The tales end happily in a way the child could not have thought out alone. There is hatred and destructiveness inside every child, and the folktales supply a legitimate outlet for these violent feelings.

> Without such fantasies the child fails to get to know his monster better, nor is he given suggestions as to how he may gain mastery over it. As a result, the child remains helpless with his worst anxieties--much more so than if he had been told fairytales which give these anxieties form and body and also show ways to overcome these monsters (Bettelheim 1977:120).

6. The Art of Storytelling

> Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the word to the action . . . (Shakespeare, Hamlet).

It is tempting for a teacher who has never before attempted storytelling to read stories to students instead of telling them. I would strongly discourage anyone from doing so with stories belonging to the oral tradition. As I have pointed out earlier, the power of the tales is partly rendered through the act of telling. The storyteller should not be tied to the written word, but instead be free to use gesture, movement and varied facial expressions to make the tale more personal and meaningful. The stories come alive and are passed on to the audience the way they are meant to be. Also, to be the most effective to a child, "the telling of the story . . . has to be an interpersonal event, shaped by those who participate in it" (Bettelheim 1977:151). This can only be achieved through telling, not reading aloud to a child.

The art of storytelling can be said to include three separate steps: selecting tales, establishing the setting, and telling the tales.

6.1 Selecting Tales: Selecting good and appropriate tales is essential to a successful storytelling hour. Tales which are worth telling must be interesting and have all the characteristics of good folklore: a clear introduction and quick beginning, fast-paced action, a definite climax, natural dialog, and a satisfying conclusion. The repetitive pattern which creates rhythm, provides redundancy, and heightens the suspense and expectation is also essential (Huck 1970:713-714). It would also be best to choose tales from among the universal categories of tales: animal tales, cumulative tales, explanatory tales, numbskull tales, and hero tales. The various categories can broadly be said to contain the following elements:

Animal tales have only one episode and deal with the adventures of a group of animals. Often they show the cleverness of one animal and the stupidity of another. Human beings may or may not be included; when they are, they are rarely the focus of the story.

In cumulative tales the tale itself is not as important as the constantly increasing repetition of details which build up to a climax. A well-known example of such a tale is "The House that Jack Built."

Explanatory tales explain the existence of certain hills, rivers, and valleys, or give the origin of the characteristics of various animals or plants.

Numbskull tales are about the absurd actions of lazy fools and conceited persons who think that they can handle every situation best. A frequent motif is husbands and wives who are lazy or foolish or both.

In hero tales the events take place in a clearly fantastic world where magic and supernatural elements are taken as a matter of course. Motifs such as transformations, magical objects, the struggle between good and evil, and the strengths and weaknesses of human character are frequent (Huck 1970:713-714).

The next consideration in choosing tales is the age of the audience. Children of four and five like different stories from children of ten and eleven, and an audience will lose interest in a minute if the tale is not appropriate to their level.

Children between the ages of four and seven tend to like stories about children like themselves and about animals they know. Animal tales of one episode are very popular, and because young children love rhymes and repetition, cumulative tales are successful too. At this age the children enjoy partaking in the telling, so they should be involved as much as possible.

Children between the ages of seven and nine enjoy the realistic appeal of explanatory tales and the humor of numbskull tales. Many of these tales include riddles which the children can be involved in solving. Children in this age group are also learning to appreciate tales of fantasy that include subplots, but they also enjoy numbskull tales and complex animal tales.

6.2 Establishing the Setting: The setting can help in creating a storytelling mood. The storyteller can establish the setting very simply by putting on a special garment--a shawl, a robe, or a particular pair of boots, for example. A special chair can be pulled forward for storytelling hours. My favorite idea is the story-candle: a big candle is lit and the electric lights are dimmed to indicate that it is story time. Another idea is to do like the Eskimos did: pass around a rock--a story-stone--and let each person hold it for a second to warm it up and release the stories in it. When it comes back to the storyteller, it should be filled with stories to tell. This is particularly nice if you want the students to tell their own stories. The story-stone can just be passed around and the new teller can keep it while telling a tale.

Props should be kept as simple as possible. Elaborate costumes and other props will cause the attention to be on the props or on the storyteller instead of on the story.

6.3 Telling the Tales: Telling stories is not as frightening as many people seem to think. Most of us tell stories of one kind or another during our everyday life, and usually to our classes as well. We are just not conscious of doing it. The telling of traditional stories is really an extension of that. Instead of loading yesterday's disaster with drama and suspense, instead of ghost and horror stories, and instead of jokes, you tell stories from the oral tradition, stories which have proven their popularity by the test of time.

Many people are worried that they will forget part of the story, get flustered, and ruin the whole thing. Keep in mind that you don't have to, in fact should not, memorize the tales. All you need is to remember the general drift of the action. The stories were not meant to be the same every time they were told. The reason they were able to survive is that every storyteller has changed every story a little with every telling, with each new audience, and with each new place. Variety and variability are key words in the oral tradition (Tooze 1959: 55-57). The tales are constructed to be easily remembered. The three-part sturcture, while heightening the expectation and creating suspense and rhythm, allows you time to think ahead to what will happen after the third repetition (Dahl 1980). And even if you don't remember exactly, you probably know enough about folktales to create your very own conclusion. That only enhances the story and encourages the children to use their own creativity and imagination.

The following is a list of some things to keep in mind while you tell the tales:

- Be sensitive to the needs of your audience.
- Personalize the stories by using your students' names instead of the traditional names in the story.
- Use only props you are comfortable with.
- Give your characters simple differences in voice, gesture, and expression.
- Give your stories action and direct conversation between characters.
- Use description that appeals to the senses.
- Use your audience to help in any rhythmic repetition or riddles in your story.
- Let yourself go a little... be expressive, relax, and enjoy yourself.

If you still feel that you cannot tell stories, check your local library or the Elementary Education, Speech or Drama departments at a nearby university to see if they know of any storytellers. There are usually several in any community, and they generally don't charge much.

7. Suggested Listening Activities

Before listening to a story, the children should be given specific tasks to further motivate thme and to give the listening a purpose other than to entertain. Different activities develop different listening skills and make children efficient listeners in a wide range of situations. Here are some sample activities:

The children recall specific directions about a certain road to take or certain actions or steps which must be followed in order to ensure a successful outcome. They then memorize the repeated phrases and actions. In this activity, the children learn to recall specifically stated information.

The children pay particular attention to the description of a supernatural creature like a troll, a witch, or an ogre and try to make a drawing of the creature afterwards based on the description. In this activity, the children learn to form a sensory image from an oral description.

The children hear a story without knowing its title. They suggest titles and explain why they think the titles are good. The students summarize the story in one or two sentences. In this activity, the children learn to understand main ideas.

The children are told a cumulative tale in which the events are carefully sequenced. Then they relate the events in the order of occurrence. In this activity, the children learn to find the sequence in a story.

The children hear an explanatory tale and are asked to explain the relationship between an occurrence and the result of this occurrence. The children learn to recognize the relationships of cause and effect.

The teacher tells a story but stops three quarters of the way through. The children write down what they think will happen next. They compare their results with each other, then finish the story and compare their results to the original. The children learn to listen and predict the outcome of a situation.

The teacher selects two or more variants of the same tale, tells them to the class and discusses differences and similarities among the tales. The teacher might also tell several stories from different categories of tales, making the children pay attention to those elements which are the same in all the tales and those which differ. In these activities, the children learn to compare and contrast.

The teacher tells tales from a foreign country which contain animals, climate, vegetation or foods which are typical of that region. The children figure out what country or what part of the world they think the tale is from. They should be able to justify their choices. The teacher might also tell a tale which takes place at a particular time of the year or in a particular area such as a village or in the mountains, without stating the season or location outright. The children should be able to infer when or where the story is taking place and justify their choice. Finally, the teacher could tell a story where no monster is described directly in the tale and make the children form an image, i.e., draw an image of the creature based on its actions, speech and the reactions of the people or animals who meet it. In these activities the children learn to make inferences and draw conclusions.

The children go home and ask their parents, other family members or family friends for stories about interesting relatives or friends, or about the deeds of these people. The children should be prepared to retell the stories to the class. In another activity the children go home and ask their families for stories from their home countries and prepare to retell them to the class. The children might also listen for jokes, riddles, and ghost or horror stories which they hear among their friends and siblings and bring these to the class for sharing. In these activities, the children learn to relate the listening experience to everyday activities and experiences.

The teacher finds words which the children are not likely to know in the story and puts them on the board before the story is told. The children figure out what they mean from the voice quality, gestures, and other non-verbal clues. In this activity, the children learn to understand the meaning of unknown words from the context.

The teacher tells several stories belonging to one of the five categories. The class is divided into groups and told to act out a story like one of those they have heard, but which they have essentially made up themselves. The children might also act out in groups one particular story they have recently heard. Each group can act out a different story, or they can do the same story, placing emphasis on different interpretations. In these activities, the children learn to listen and act out stories they have heard.

After hearing a story or several stories, the children write their own stories, paying attention to those elements which are typical for folktales. If they like to draw, they should illustrate their stories as well. The children might work in pairs, one writing a story and the other illustrating it. When they are done, the results are shared with the other pairs. The children might also act out the stories they have written themselves. In these activities, the children learn to write original stories based on stories they have heard.

8. Storytelling Resources

8.1 Books

Baker, Augusta. 1977. Storytelling: art and technique. New York: H. W. Wilson Company.

Bauer, Caroline Feller. 1977. Handbook for storytellers. New York: American Library Association.

Cook, Elizabeth. 1969. The ordinary and the fabulous. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Pellowski, Anne. 1977. The world of storytelling. New York: R. R. Bowker.

Ross, Ramon. 1972. Storyteller. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E.

Merrill Company.

Sawyer, Ruth. 1942. The way of the storyteller. New York: The Viking Press.

Shedlock, Marie. 1951. The art of the storyteller. New York: Dover Publications.

Tooze, Ruth. 1959. Storytelling. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Ziskind, Sylvia. 1976. Telling stories to children. New York: H. W. Wilson Company.

8.2 Organizations

American Folklore Society, Folklore Center, 203 Speech Building, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 78712.

National Association for the Preservation and Perpetuation of Storytelling, P. O. Box 112, Jonesborough, Tennessee, 37659.

8.3 People (S = storyteller, R = resource person.)

Cavanagh, Eileen. (S) Minnetonka Community Library, (612) 473-2788.

Gash, Bob. (S) 1030 Tonkawa Road, Long Lake, Minnesota, 55356.

Gillespie, Margaret. (R) Rockford Road Library, (612) 533-5010.

Hong, Maren. (S) 4344 Colfax Ave. S., Mpls., Minn., 55409.

Hoyle, Karen Nelson. (R) Walter Library, Arthur Upsilom Room, University of Minnesota, Mpls., Minn., 55455.

Sederstrom, Pat. (S) "The Weaver," 4400 Toledo Ave. N., Mpls., Minn., 55433.

Shannon, George. (S) Box 12, Rock Falls, Wisc., 54764.

Wagner, Mary. (R) College of St. Catherine, Department of Library Science, 2004 Randolph Ave., St. Paul, Minn., 55105.

9. Folktale Sources

The following is a selective bibliography of folktale collections from a variety of countries . Each collection contains numerous tales appropriate for storytelling. Each collection is representative of its culture and is the best translation available in English. Since I don't speak all the languages represented, I was guided in my choice of translations by various reviewers. I have only included collections translated from the original language, and have avoided all forms of adaptations.

Afanas'ev, Aleksandr. 1945. Russian fairy tales, trans. Norbert Guterman. New York: Pantheon Books.

Asbjørnsen, Peter Christian, and Jørgen Moe. 1960. Norwegian folktales, trans. Pat Shaw Iverson and Carl Norman. Oslo:

Dreyers Forlag.

Asbørnsen, Peter Christian and Jørgen Moe. 1930. *East of the sun and west of the moon*, trans. Sir G. W. Dasent. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Bierhorst, John (Ed.). 1976. *The red swan: myths and tales of the American Indians*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Briggs, Katharine. 1970. *British folktales*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Christian, Reidar (Ed.). 1964. *Folktales of Norway*, trans. Pat Shaw Iverson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Courlander, Harold. 1964. *The piece of fire and other Haitian tales*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Courlander, Harold. 1976. *A treasury of Afro-American folklore*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Courlander, Harold and Wolf Leslau. 1950. *The fire on the mountain and other Ethiopian stories*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Curtin, Jeremiah. 1975. *Myths and folklore of Ireland*. New York: Weathervane Books.

Degh, Linda (Ed.). 1965. *Folktales of Hungary*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dimock, Edward C. 1963. *The thief of love: Bengali tales from court and village*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dorson, Richard. 1972. *African folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Eberhard, Wolfram (Ed.). 1965. *Folktales of China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. 1973. *The juniper tree and other tales from Grimm*, trans. Lore Segal, ill. Maurice Sendak. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. 1944. *The complete Grimm's fairy tales*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Jacobs, Joseph. 1967. *English fairy tales*. New York: Dover Publications.

Megas, Georgios (Ed.). 1970. *Folktales of Greece*, trans. Helen Colaclides, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Noy, Dov (Ed.). 1963. *Folktales of Israel*, trans. Gene Baharav. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Opie, Iona and Peter Opie. 1974. *The classic fairy tales*. London: Oxford University Press.

O'Sullivan, Sean (Ed. and trans.). 1966. *Folktales of Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Parades, Americo (Ed. and trans.). 1970. *Folktales of Mexico*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Piggot, Juliet. 1973. *Mexican folktales*. New York: Crane, Russak and Company.

Pino-Saavedra, Yolando (Ed.). 1967. *Folktales of Chile*,

trans. Rockwell Grey. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Roberts, Moss (Ed. and trans.) 1979. Chinese fairy tales and fantasies. New York: Pantheon Books.
Seiko, Keigo. 1963. Folktales of Japan, trans. Robert J. Adams. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Shah, Idries. 1979. World tales. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
Thompson, Stith. 1966. Tales of the North American Indians. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Thompson, Stith. 1968. One hundred favorite folktales. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Uchida, Yoshiko. 1965. The sea of gold and other tales from Japan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Zong, In-Sob. (Ed. and trans.) Folktales from Korea. New York: Grove Press, Inc.

10. Sample Tale and Activities

This section contains a sample tale, "The Three Billy-Goats Gruff," and suggested classroom activities.

10.1 The Tale: Once on a time there were three billy-goats who were to go up to the hillside to make themselves fat, and the name of all three was "Gruff."

On the way up was a bridge over a burn they had to cross; and under the bridge lived a great ugly troll, with eyes as big as saucers and a nose as long as a poker.

So first of all came the youngest billy-goat Gruff to cross the bridge.

"Trip, trap; trip, trap!" went the bridge.

"WHO'S THAT tripping over my bridge?" roared the troll.

"Oh, it is only I, the tiniest billy-goat Gruff; and I'm going up to the hillside to make myself fat," said the billy-goat, with such a small voice.

"Now, I'm coming to gobble you up," said the troll.

"Oh no, pray don't take me. I'm too little, that I am," said the billy-goat. "Wait a bit till the second billy-goat Gruff comes; he's much bigger."

"Well, be off with you," said the troll.

A little while after came the second billy-goat Gruff to cross the bridge.

"TRIP, TRAP! TRIP, TRAP! TRIP, TRAP!" went the bridge.

"WHO'S THAT tripping over my bridge?" roared the troll.

"Oh, it's the second billy-goat Gruff, and I'm going up to the hillside to make myself fat," said the billy-goat, who hadn't such a small voice.

"Now, I'm coming to gobble you up!" said the troll.

"Oh no, don't take me; wait a little till the big billy-goat Gruff comes. He's much bigger."

"Very well, be off with you," said the troll.

But just then up came the big billy-goat Gruff.

"TRIP, TRAP! TRIP, TRAP! TRIP, TRAP!" went the bridge, for the big billy-goat was so heavy that the bridge creaked and groaned under him.

"WHO'S THAT tramping over my bridge?" roared the troll.

"IT'S I, THE BIG BILLY-GOAT GRUFF!" said the billy-goat, who had an ugly hoarse voice of his own.

"Now, I'm coming to gobble you up," roared the troll.

"Well, come along! I've got two spears,
And I'll poke your eyeballs out at your ears;
I've got besides two curling-stones,
And I'll crush you to bits, body and bones."

That was what the big billy-goat said; and so he flew at the troll and poked his eyes out with his horns, and crushed him to bits, body and bones, and tossed him out into the burn, and after that he went up to the hillside. There the billy-goats got so fat they were scarce able to walk home again; and if the fat hasn't fallen off them, why, they're still fat; and so--

Snip, snap, snout,
This tale's told out. (Thompson 1968:1-2)

10.2 Suggested Activities: The children listen carefully to the description of the troll, to his voice when he speaks, to what he says, and to the goats' reaction to him, and try to draw what he looks like. They listen carefully to the description of the goats, to their voices, to what they say, and to their reactions to the troll, and make a drawing of all three of them, making sure the drawing captures the important differences between the goats. In this activity, the children learn to form a visual image from an oral description.

The children can memorize what the troll says every time a goat crosses the bridge. Or, after hearing the story a couple of times, they can try to recall what the biggest goat says in his verse to the troll. In this activity, the children learn to recall specifically stated information.

The children try to summarize the story in as few sentences as possible. They compare their summaries and decide which ones capture the story best. In this activity, the children learn to listen for main ideas.

The children hear the story up to a certain point where the big goat is described. They imagine how the story might end. The teacher then tells the rest of the story, and the children compare their versions with the original. In this activity, the children learn to listen and predict the outcome.

The children act out the story in groups. Some of the children might want to design an appropriate set; or, the children might write their own animal adventure stories and act them out. In these activities, the children learn to listen and act out what they have heard.

REFERENCES

Aarne, Antti. 1960. The types of the folktale, trans. Stith Thompson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Applebee, Arthur N. 1979. Children and stories: learning the rules of the game. Language Arts 56, 6:641-646.

Asbjørnsen, Peter Christian, and Jørgen Moe. 1978. Norwegian folktales, trans. Pat Shaw Iverson and Carl Norman. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag.

Bascom, William R. 1965. Four functions of folklore. In The study of folklore, Alan Dundes (Ed.):279-298. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Beile, Werner. 1977. Towards a classification of listening comprehension exercises. Audio-visual Language Journal 16, 3:147-154.

Bettelheim, Bruno. 1977. The uses of enchantment: the meaning and importance of fairy tales. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Black, Janet K. 1979. There's more to language than meets the ear: implications for evaluation. Language Arts 56, 5: 526-533.

Brown, Gillian. 1978. Understanding spoken language. TESOL Quarterly 12, 3:271-283.

Chastain, Kenneth. 1976. Developing second language skills: theory to practice. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.

Courlander, Harold. 1976. A treasury of Afro-American folklore. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Dehaven, Edna P. 1979. Teaching and learning the language arts. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Dundes, Alan (Ed.). 1965. The study of folklore. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Faird, Anne. 1978. Developing listening and speaking skills: a suggested procedure. English Language Teaching 33, 1:27-30.

Hall, Edward T. 1969. Listening behavior: some cultural differences. Phi Delta Kappan 50, 7:379-380.

Harvey, T. Edward. 1978. The matter with listening comprehension isn't the ear: hardware and software. NALLD Journal 13, 1:8-16.

Huck, Charlotte. 1979. Children's literature (3rd ed.). New

York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

James, Kenneth, and Lloyd Mullen. 1973. English as she is heard: aural difficulties experienced by foreign learners. English Language Teaching 28, 1:15-31.

Lavender, Ralph. 1979. The power of story. English in Education 13, 1:12-26.

Lundsteen, Sara. 1971. Listening: its impact on reading and the other language arts. Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English.

Lüthi, Max. 1970. Once upon a time: on the nature of the fairytale. New York: Frederick Ungar.

Morley, Joan H., and Mary S. Lawrence. 1971. The use of films in teaching English as a second language. Language Learning 22, 1:101-103.

Olrik, Axel. 1965. Epic laws of folk narrative. In The study of folklore, Alan Dundes (Ed.):129-141. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Ortutay, G. 1959. Principles of oral transmission in folk culture. Acta Ethnographica 8:175-221.

Paulston, Christina Bratt, and Mary Newton Bruder. 1976. Teaching English as a second language: technique and procedures. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop.

Propp, V. 1968. Morphology of the folktale. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Protherough, Robert. 1979. Children's sense of storyline. English in Education 13, 1:36-41.

Sawyer, Ruth. 1942. The way of the storyteller. New York: The Viking Press.

Shedlock, Marie. 1951. The art of the storyteller. New York: Dover Publications.

Smith, Lillian. 1953. The unreluctant years. New York: The Viking Press.

Stahl, Mark B. 1979. Using traditional oral stories in the English classroom. The English Journal 68, 7:33-36.

Stanley, John A. 1978. Teaching listening comprehension: an interim report on a project to use uncontrolled language data as a source material for training foreign students in listening comprehension. TESOL Quarterly 12, 3:285-295.

Taylor, Stanford E. 1964. Listening: what research says to the teacher. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association of the United States.

Thompson, Stith. 1951. The folktale. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Tooze, Ruth. 1959. Storytelling. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Wagner, Betty Jane. 1979. Using drama to create an environment for language development. Language Arts 56, 3:268-274.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 1 September 1981

YOU HAVE TO REACH 'EM TO TEACH 'EM: THE BEGINNINGS OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY IN ESL FOR CHILDREN

Pat Wilcox Peterson

A conflict may exist between the teaching style of the ESL instructor and the learning style of the children in the classroom. This conflict can be resolved with the right textbooks and materials. The bibliography that follows is organized into nine categories: Basic Language Series, Oral Language Development, Picture Cards and Charts, Music, Word Puzzles, Games, Manipulatives, Reading Books, and Composition.

Common folk wisdom has a lot to say about children: they are creative, they learn whatever they are exposed to, they learn well by rote, they bond to their teachers in an emotional relationship, they are concerned with content and uncritical of form, and finally--this is the one that bothers us as professional teachers--they pick up languages as easily and naturally as breathing. (Who has ever found the acquisition process to go as smoothly as that?) Yet some of these assertions, in some environments, are certainly true. Taken together they would point to a methodology of language teaching for children that is highly content-based, notional-functional, active, and whole person.

However, in the teacher-student relationship there is another side to the story. Many teachers of ESL have been trained in linguistics and are accustomed to analyzing the structure of language. This kind of training leads teachers--and textbook writers--to think of language as a list of sentence patters, rules, inflections, and paradigms to be mastered. While analysis is no doubt an efficient and time-saving tool for the adult learner, it is questionable whether it is even cognitively possible for the child of ages five to ten. Thus there develops a potential conflict between the normal language-teaching style of the instructor and the normal language-learning style of the pupil.

The potential problems of teaching styles and learning styles can be resolved with materials that emphasize communi-

---

Ms. Peterson is an ESL instructor at Macalester College.

cation in interesting contexts rather than mastery of specific structures. This makes the choice of an effective teaching program very important. We want to select books that are structural insofar as this means that they include all the basic patterns of English. People do, after all, have to be exposed to language in order to learn it. However, the mode of presentation is all-important. Children have different interests than adults, and they differ in their cognitive abilities as well.

The statement above is almost embarrassingly obvious, and few teachers would disagree with it. Yet when we review books and other materials to be used in ESL classes for children, we find that many materials seem really to have been written with adults in mind. Many texts are obviously grammar-based instead of content-based. They present a careful sequence of sentence patterns and thinly disguised substitution drills; tracking charts suggest that the teacher make sure a child has "mastered" a structure before moving on to the next lesson. Some books encourage talk about language rather than use of the language itself. Although many books seem to assume an analytical ability that is far beyond the young child's cognitive powers, few go far enough in taking advantage of primary language acquisition strategies that the child still possesses.

Most of the basic language texts in the bibliography are grammar-based, but they make an effort to teach through situations of interest. The long section called Oral Language Development includes many language-rich activities. These materials have very little in the way of formal reading and writing, but the teacher is encouraged to supplement them with word cards, sentence strips, and classroom charts on the language-experience method of teaching reading.

One use of this bibliography might be to assist the children's mainstream classroom teacher in planning appropriate kinds of activities. The mainstream class is probably the children's most important source of exposure to normal English in the style and context that they will need to learn. We may increase the amount of useful time that they have with English by providing the mainstream classroom teacher with materials or suggestions for activities.

Many of the materials in the bibliography come with tapes or seatwork that can be used at an individual activity center. Some of the games and activities do not require a trained teacher; they can be done in peer groups or supervised by an adult volunteer. There are enough of these activities to permit the ESL teacher to help the mainstream classroom teacher directly with the total language program of each LEP student; the LEP child can actually spend one hour with seatwork on these activities in the mainstream classroom for every hour in the ESL classroom.

The bibliography is organized into the following categories: Basic Language Series, Oral Language Development, Picture Cards and Charts, Music, Word Puzzles, Games, Manipulatives, Reading Books, and Composition.

My thanks for help with this project go to the following people: Marlene Kamm, director of the bilingual and ESL programs in Waukegan, Illinois, presented a very useful workshop on materials for elementary education at the spring conference given by the Minnesota State Department of Education. Both Wendy Weimer of the Minneapolis schools and Joyce Biagini of the St. Paul schools talked with me about the programs in their districts and also about the books that I found. Dr. Helen Jorstad of the University of Minnesota guided me in the selection of many books and led me to others that were new to me.

Finally, I hope that these books and activities are enjoyable as well as pedagogically sound.

BASIC LANGUAGE SERIES

Abbs, Brian, and Anne Worrall. 1979. Jigsaw. London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. Ages 6-11, beginning English. Three-year course designed for EFL situations. British. Content-related, spiral curriculum, functional-notional in design. Pupil's reader, activity book, posters, flash cards with words and structures, cassettes, teacher's guide.

Core English series. 1971. Lexington, Mass.: Ginn and Company. For grades K-3. Multilevel kit. Teacher's guide, songs on records, puppets and manipulatives, student book. Originally designed for use with Spanish-speaking children.

English around the world. 1975. Glenville, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company. Beginning to advanced ESL, four-year program. Structurally-based. Includes teacher's guidebook, skills book, activities book with supplemental tests, posters, display cards. Book 1 is pre-reading, books 2-4 assume reading skills.

English for a changing world. 1976. Glenville, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company. Beginning English for the upper elementary and middle grades. Assumes reading ability and cursive script. Includes student book, cue book, exercise book, teacher's book, cassette tapes.

English this way. 1965. New York: English Language Services. Elementary to high school, beginning to advanced. Includes student book, teacher's book, tapes.

Gonzalez-Mena, Janet. 1975. English experiences. Silver Spring, Md.: Institute of Modern Languages. Pre-primary and kindergarten, uses conversational approach through the child's personal experiences. My book, a set of spirit duplicating masters, and teacher's program.

I like English. 1981. Glenville, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company. Beginning to intermediate level, K-6. An update of English around the world but quite different in format. Includes six graded books with practice work, aural-oral method, pupil-to-pupil communication. Also teaching cards and a teacher's book.

The idea kit and Idea communications. 1980. Long Beach, Calif.: ARRC Company. For grades 1-6. Incorporates vocabulary, following directions, descriptive words, grammatical structure, articulation, verbal expression. Includes a pupil's book, teacher's book, picture stickers for game making, tracking system for grouping and record keeping, proficiency test.

Kernan, Doris. 1975. Steps to English. New York: McGraw-Hill. Starts at the beginning, pre-reading level. Includes two pre-reading books and three readers, tapes, workbooks, cue cards, a teacher's guide. Structurally-based with tracking records to be kept on the student as each structure is mastered.

Lismore, Thomas. 1974. Welcome to English. New York: Regents Publishing Company. For grades K-3. Develops listening and speaking skills before written skills. Includes six pupil's books, a teacher's manual and cassettes.

Mellgren, Lars, and Michael Walker. 1977. Yes! English for Children. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. For grades K-6, based on work in communication tasks: imitating, forming analogies, questioning, expanding. Explicit rules are not given but the book is structurally organized. Includes six student books, teacher's guide, 12 large picture cards, workbooks, tapes.

Millstein, B. (Date unavailable.) Language structure simplified I and II. Freeport, N.Y.: Educational Activities. For grades 3-6, reading ability assumed. The Sentence formulation and syntax development kit contains pictures, card holders, sentence strips, reward tokens, a teacher's manual. Pictures illustrate features of English such as present tense, prepositions, plurals, pronouns, comparatives, and other structures. A supplementary series to be used with another program.

Reach out. 1981. New York: Collier Macmillan International. For grades K-6, beginning to intermediate levels. Teaches all skill areas, with graded vocabulary, grammar, and activities. A spiral curriculum. Includes five student

books, a teacher's guide, wall charts, tapes. Starts with pre-reading and pre-writing, uses puzzles, songs, games, dramatics, riddles, and rhymes.

Region 1 curriculum kit. (Date unavailable.) Edinburg, Texas. (Originally titled Teaching English early.) Beginning to intermediate language learning. Primarily oral activities described in the teacher's manual. To be used with props and manipulatives. Forces production of structurally-sequenced sentence patterns through total physical response activities. Teacher's manual, set of pictures, related activities manual, seatwork.

Rock and roll. (Date unavailable.) Dallas: Melton Peninsula, Incorporated. Beginning to intermediate language learning. Rock is for oral language development in grades K-3. Includes a lesson manual, manual of related activities, language cards for language master, cassettes, filmstrips, manipulatives. Roll us for K-3 reading skills.

Sampson, Gloria Paulik. 1980. New routes to English. New York: Collier Macmillan International. Beginning language for ages 9-18. Based on recent linguistic research and founded on the principle that fluency precedes mastery. Spiral curriculum allowing the student to meet the same structure in a variety of contexts. Includes a student textbook, workbook tapes, teacher's guide. Reading follows directly upon the oral introduction of each lesson.

ORAL LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Adventures in living series. 1970. New York: Western Publishing Company. Pre-reading level, K-1, books without words, 12 titles.

Alphabet fun. 1973. Coronet. For K-3. Includes four filmstrips, four cassettes. Teaches visual discrimination and letter recognition.

Barrata-Lorton, M. 1972. Workjobs: Activity-centered learning for early childhood. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. For grades K-3, the book includes 104 single-concept learning activities in language and mathematics, features learning through handling objects before dealing with abstract concepts, shows teacher-made manipulatives.

Basic Skills for Beginning Readers. 1981. ATC Publ. Corp. For grades 1-6, letter and word cards in five conceptual groups.

Bassano, Sharon. 1981. Consonants sound easy. San Francisco, Calif.: The Alemany Press, Limited. For upper elementary grades. Introduces 21 consonants in a workbook.

Bassano, Sharon. 1981. *Sounds easy*. San Francisco, Calif.: The Alemany Press Limited. For upper elementary grades. Introduces 11 vowels with picture pages, reading lists, and dictations.

Beginning fluency in English as a new language. (Date unavailable.) South Pasadena, Calif.: Bilingual Education Services Incorporated. Beginning level English. Story format, listen-see-say approach. Many animal stories.

Bogojavlensky, A., and D. Grossman. 1977. *The great learning book*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. For grades K-12. Includes 113 learning activities, a comprehensive skills index, and a bibliography of learning resources.

Carruthers, C. (Date unavailable.) *Open the lights: ESL activities for young children*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. For grades K-6. Organized in eight thematic units, each including a variety of language experiences.

Chamberlin, A. (Date unavailable.) *Play and practice!* National Textbook Company. All ages, all language levels. Includes a book and set of dittomasters with 98 games for individual, pair or teamwork.

Creyke. (Date unavailable.) *Color creatures*. Coronet. For K-3, includes six filmstrips, six cassettes, 14 reproducible worksheet masters. Two additional sets of seven masters each and program guides.

Direction books. (Date unavailable.) Xerox Educational Publishing. For grades 2-4, includes three levels of books with duplicating masters to teach students how to follow directions in various situations.

Distar language development kits I, II, and III. (Date unavailable.) Scientific Research Associates. For preschool and primary children, beginning level, teaches language concepts through actions, pictures, and question games.

Graham, Carolyn. 1978. *Jazz chants for children*. New York: Oxford University Press. For beginning to advanced children. A book with accompanying tape.

Hallum, Rosemary, and Edith Hom Newhart. (Date unavailable.) *Oral language expansion resource kit*. Freeport, N.Y.: Educational Activities, Incorporated. For grades 1-3. Includes multicultural folktales, filmstrips and cassettes, punch-out puppets, language games, sentence building strips, dittomasters, posters, evaluation checklist, and teaching suggestions.

Heffernan-Cabrera, Patricia. 1969. *Audio-visual English*. New York: Collier-MacMillan. Beginning level. Uses ten filmstrips to teach basic language concepts.

Henderson, Paul S. (Date unavailable.) *Story telling with the flannel board*. T.S. Denison Publications.

Home and family life series. (Date unavailable.) South Pasadena, Calif.: Bilingual Educational Services Incorporated. Filmstrips, cassettes, student activity sheets, cardboard standup dolls, lotto gameboards, teacher's guide.

Insel, Eunice and Edson, Ann. (Date unavailable.) The learning well. Freeport, N.Y.: Educational Activities. For grades K-3. Uses filmstrips, read-along books, activity cards to teach basic language concepts.

Maley, Alan; and Alan Duff. 1975. Sounds interesting. New York: Cambridge University Press. For elementary to advanced learners. Includes a tape with sound sequence stories, no words. Used to stimulate active language use. Also a paper explaining the use and methodology of the program.

Maley, Alan and Alan Duff. Sounds intriguing. 1979. New York: Cambridge University Press. Same format as Sounds Interesting.

Nale. Kindergarten keys kit. 1975. Oklahoma City: The Economy Company. Teacher's guidebook with various stories, records, a pocket chart with a calendar, cards for the weather and special days, wall charts with colors and numbers. Tests for math and reading readiness.

Nelson, Gayle and Winters, Thomas. 1980. ESL operations--techniques for learning while doing. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House. Beginning to intermediate. Suggestions are given for activities, following directions.

Oral English. 1972. Oklahoma City: The Economy Company. For K-1, beginning level, pre-reading. Includes two groups of cards for concept and language development, pupils book, a teacher's manual, pocket chart for cards.

Peabody language kit I and II. 1981. American Guidance Service Company. A vocabulary development program with picture cards, puppets, and other manipulatives. Also appropriate for oral language development is the DUSO Kit for developing a positive self image.

Play and say: Oral English for young children. 1979. Dallas, Tex.: Melton Peninsula Incorporated. For pre-kindergarten to grade 1. Includes picture books, play books with additional activities and exercises, four posters, two cassettes, a teacher's guide.

Ready, set, go. (Date unavailable.) ATC Publishing Corporation. For K-2, includes 192 audiocards for a language master, eight sound filmstrips, 40 activity dittomasters, and a teacher's guide.

Romijn, Elizabeth, and Seely, Contee. 1979. Live action English for foreign students (LAEFFS). San Francisco, Calif.: The Alemany Press. Beginner to intermediate. Pair work in total physical response method.

Scarry, Richard. *What people do all day*. (Date unavailable.) Westminster, Md.: Ramdom House Educational Media. Includes six sound/color filmstrips, book, teacher discussion guide and 17 dittomasters.

PICTURE CARDS AND CHARTS

Learn the alphabet--alphabet picture flash cards. Milton Bradley. For K-5. Cards with letters and pictures.

Multilingual visuals. Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Company. Beginning level, 60 cards with basic concepts, teacher's guidebook.

Opposite concepts. Milton Bradley. For K-5. Set of pictures to teach opposites with use of the flannelboard.

Parnwell, E. *Oxford picture dictionary charts*. Oxford University Press. For upper elementary students. A selection of 25 illustrations taken from the picture dictionary.

Pick pairs. Milton Bradley. For K-5. 108 cards divided into nine categories such as shapes, animals, birds, etc.

Picture flash words for beginners. Milton Bradley. For K-5. 118 picture-word cards with nouns common to most reading books.

Tell again story cards. McGraw-Hill. For K-2, large cards with the picture on one side and the story on the other.

Sequence. Chicago, Ill.: Incentives for Learning. For K-6, six sets of cards showing chronological order.

Telltales. Arlington Heights, Ill.: Delta Systems Incorporated. Picture stories on heavy stock with four sequentially developed pictures per story; 47 storied divided into five sets.

Tutorette audiocard programs. Chicago: Midwest Visual Equipment Company. Beginning to low intermediate, several sets of audiocards for use with the languagemaster. Titles include Basic English, Community, Shopping.

Situational English: Language picture series. New York: Longman Incorporated. Beginning to intermediate level. Includes 20 spiral-bound pictures of people at work and play. Teaching suggestions given in introduction.

MUSIC

Abbs, Brian; Ann Worrall, and Trevor Jones. 1979. *Jigsaw songs*. London: Mary Glasgow Punlications Limited. Ages 7-11. For use with *Jigsaw* (British).

Byrd, Donald; and Wellman, Laurie. 1975. *It's hard to learn the English as a second language blues*. New York: Collier MacMillan International.

Core English songs. 1971. Ginn and Company. For use with Core English.
Guthrie, Woody. (Dates unavailable.) Folkways records. For K-6. Various titles are available.
"Woody Guthrie's Children's Songs"
"Songs to Grow on for Mother and Child"
English: Sing it. 1976. Webster. For K-6. Includes pupil's book, teacher's book, and cassettes.
Jenkins, Ella. (Dates unavailable.) Ella Jenkins' record library. Educational Record Sales. For K-6. Includes various titles.
"Travellin with Ella Jenkins"
"The Street Begins at My House"
"And One and Two"
"This-A-Way, That-A-Way Cheerful Songs and Chants"
"Nursery Rhymes"
"Jambo and Other Call Responses"
"Growing Up with Ella Jenkins"
"You'll Sing a Song and I'll Sing a Song"
Osman, Alice, and Jean McConochie. 1979. If you feel like singing. New York: Longman Incorporated.
Palmer, Hap. 1981. The Hap Palmer record library. Educational Record Sales. For K-6. Includes various titles.
"Learning Basic Skills Through Music." Vol. I and II.
"Getting to Know Myself"
Seeger, Pete. (Dates unavailable) Folkways records. For K-6. Includes various titles.
"Songs to Grow On, Vol. II. School Days."
"Songs to Grow On, Vol. III. American Work Songs."
"Song and Playtime"
"Folk Songs for Young People"
"Animal Folksongs"
"Birds, Beasts, Bugs, and Bigger Fishes"
"American Game and Activity Songs for Children"
Ward, Sheila Aristotelous. (Date unavailable.) Dippitydoo: Songs and activities for children. New York: Longman Incorporated. Ages 6-10. Activity book, teacher's guide, cassette or record with 23 songs.

WORD PUZZLES

English crosswords. London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. For grades 2-12. Assumes reading skills. British. Includes graded spirit dittomasters in levels, three sets.
Hauptmann and Upshan. 1973. Fun with English. Collier MacMillan. For ages 3-12, games and puzzles for reading comprehension.

Methold, Kenneth; Methods, Chantana; Cobb, David; and Long, Geoffrey. Puzzles for English practice (PEP) 1, 2 and 3. New York: Longman Incorporated. Intermediate level. Graded to go with the Longman structural readers.

Puzzle it out. Arlington Heights, Ill.: Delta Systems Incorporated. Beginning to advanced. Includes five graded puzzlebooks.

Quiz and puzzle book. London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. British. Ages 9-13. Beginner range vocabulary.

GAMES

ABC game. Kenworthy Educational Service Incorporated. For grades K-3. Matches words with pictures and initial letters.

Animal bingo. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Includes a plastic tray, 100 chips, eighteen cards, and a spinwheel selector.

Balloon game. Childcraft Educational Coporation. A color matching game. Includes boards, baloon pieces and die.

Classification game. Instructo Products Company. For grades K-3. Gives practice with food, clothing, toys, pets, and other categories.

Find it. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Players must turn up playing cards and match the picture with a picture on the game board.

Game maker. St. Paul Book and Stationery. A create-your own game kit including write-on, wipe-off spinner, game field, response cards, playing cards, die, booklet. Also available are Open-Ended Write and Wipe Game Boards.

Get set games for beginning readers. Houghton Mifflin Company. For grades K-5. A series of eight games teaching letters and sounds, sentence structure, left to right sequence.

Hajnal, Nina. Verb bingo. New York: Longman Incorporated. Assumes reading ability.

Language development games. Niles, Ill.: Developmental Learning Materials. Includes the following titles:
Category cards
Homophone cards
Singular/plural dominoes
Antonym cards
Same or different color cards
Same or different size cards
Association picture cards 1 and 2
Spatial relation picture cards
Sequential picture cards 1-4

Let's go fishing. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Two magnet fishing poles, 12 metal-eyed fish with laminated surface that can be labeled and wiped clean.

Lottino. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Teaches object identification and matching.

Magic cards. Ideal. Cards in a plastic envelope for write and wipe crayons. Teaches letter recognition.

Pairs word game. Milton Bradley. Cards are matched. Game includes pictures, words, and rhyming words.

Rolling reader. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Word cubes and storage tube. Words can be combined to form many sentences with every roll. Instructions included.

Scrabble for juniors. Selchow and Righter Company. Provides practice in spelling words.

Tell time quizmo. Milton Bradley. For telling time.

Wipe-off cards: Colors and shapes. Also, Wipe-off cards: thinking skills. Trend Enterprises. Matching pairs.

Word bingo. Garrard Publishing Company. Game boards with sight words taken from the Dolch list of 220 basic sight words.

Wordways gamecards, Wordways gameboards, and Wordways cubes. San Francisco, Calif.: The Alemany Press. All three items reinforce specific language skills: possessives, count and mass nouns, prepositions, time, money, weather, etc.

MANIPULATIVES

Food: Vegetable assortment and Fruit assortment. St. Paul Book and Stationery. Set of nine realistically sized and colored vegetables, eight realistic vinyl fruits.

Grammar puzzles. Chicago, Ill.: Incentives for Learning. Cards that fit into puzzles; various structures available such as long and short vowels, singular and plural nouns, synonyms, comparison of adjectives, irregular verbs, and contractions.

Judy clock. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Colorful 14" clock with visible gears to maintain the correct relationship between the hour and minute hands.

Multilink cubes. Niles, Ill.: Developmental Learning Materials. For counting, making patterns, learning math operations.

People: Childcraft community helpers. Childcraft Educational Corporation. Includes six familar community figures. Childcraft people is a family of six with three generations. Childcraft women workers includes six women of varied ethnic backgrounds in nonsexist jobs.

Play phone. Childcraft Education Corporation. Two phones that ring as they dial, connected by a 20-foot hollow cord that carries voices distinctly.

Puppets: Childcraft puppet theatre. Plush animal puppets. Childcraft Education Corporation. The puppets are ordered separately: men, duck, pig, horse, and rooster.

Shopping: Supermarker. Five-foot tall fiberboard stand with shelving, illustrations of food, cardboard cash register with play money. Also available is an Electronic Cash Register, a miniature Shopping Card, Playtime Food and Playtime Groceries. All from Childcraft Education Corporation.

Vehicles: Garage with wheels puzzle. Eight types of cars and trucks fit in the puzzle. Separate wheels snap on to make the vehicles free-standing. Also available are standup Traffic signs with authentic international signals. Traffic with wheels puzzle has eight vehicles used in the community.

United State puzzle. Childcraft Educational Corporation.

World map puzzle. Milton Bradley.

READING BOOKS

Activity readers. (Dates unavailable.) London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. Ages 7-11, beginning level. Controlled vocabulary and structures, highly illustrated. Includes games, puzzles, jokes.

Barnett, Carol. 1979. Stepping into English. Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Company. Low beginner to low intermediate. Fables with book, tape, filmstrip, teacher's guide and dittomasters.

Berman, Aaron. 1979. Forestville Tales. New York: Collier Macmillan. For upper elementary grades, intermediate English. Eight folktales adapted for ESOL with illustrations.

Bowmar monster books I and II. (Dates unavailable.) Los Angeles: Bowmar-Noble Publications. Beginning level, twelve titles. Also available are the Breakthrough books, with 45 titles.

The children's language program. (Date unavailable.) Reading, Mass.: Additon-Wesley. For grades K-1. Uses the language experience method with twelve booklets, thematic posters, dittomasters, and teacher's book.

Cobb, David. (Date unavailable.) The adventures of Billy and Lilly. New York: Longman Incorporated. For ages 6-10, written at the level of Stage 1 of the Longman structural readers (300 words).

Ladybird read-alongs. (Dates unavailable.) El Tero, Calif.: Wieser Educational Publishers Incorporated. Book with tape, teacher's guide giving creative activities. Three sets of graded difficulty, including many folktales.

Liebowitz. (Date unavailable.) *Vocabulary builder*. National Textbook Company.

Martin, Bill, and Peggy Brogan. 1970. *Instant readers*. New York: Holt, Rinehard, and Winston. For K-5. Features small books with accompanying tapes.

Miller, S., and W. Judd. (Date unavailable.) *Thinkerthings: A student-generated approach to language experience*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley. For upper elementary grades. Includes dittomasters and teacher's guide.

Newbury house readers. (Various dates.) Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers. Reading books in six stages of difficulty.

Ranger multimedia reading program. 1979. Dallas: Melton Peninsula. For upper elementary grades. Includes readers and student activity books, tapes, motivation posters.

Reading in two languages. (Date unavailable.) New York: Santillana Publishing Company. For grades K-8, in both Spanish and English. The English series may be used with children of any language background. Includes workbook, activities, skills inventory. Reinforces and parallels many other basal reader series.

Robinett, Ralph. 1970. *Miami Linguistic Series*. Indianapolis: D. C. Heath and Company. For K-2. Includes 15 reading levels for two grades, with placement tests, pretests, post-tests, seatwork books, puppets, and teacher's book.

Scoops. (Date unavailable.) New York: Longman Incorporated. Beginning readers with 300 word count level. Part of the series Longman structural readers. It has a comic-book style and exercise material.

MAGAZINES

Click and Clickbook. London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. British. Ages 10-12. Magazine and workbook combination to reinforce reading, speaking, and writing.

Crown and Crownbook. London: Mary Glasgow Publications Limited. British. Ages 11-13. Magazine and workbook.

Etcetera. Tucson, Ariz.: Etcetera Press. For upper elementary grades.

Know Your World. Columbus, Ohio: Xerox Publications. For upper elementary grades.

News for You. Syracuse, N. Y.: New Readers Press. For upper elementary grades.

You and Your World. Columbus, Ohio: Xerox Publications. For upper elementary grades.

COMPOSITION

Byrne, Donn. 1975. Progressive picture compositions. New York: Longman Incorporated. Spiral-bound set of pictures, student book and teacher's book. Each story sequence suggests a plot.

D'Nealian handwriting program K-8. (Date unavailable.) Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company. For grades 4-6. Books and teachers' editions in all eight levels, with dittomasters, alphabet cards.

Dykstra, Gerald, et al. 1978. Compositions: guided free. New York: Teachers College. For upper elementary grades. Four books with teacher's manual.

Heaton, James. 1975. Beginning composition through pictures. New York: Longman Incorporated.

Let's begin to write. (Date unavailable.) Bowmar Publications. For grades K-2. Includes a packaged set of 30 dittomasters.

Magga, M. L. (Date unavailable.) Spelling by doing. For upper elementary grades. Includes three books with teacher's guide.

Markley, Rayner W. 1977. Handwriting workbook. New York: English Language Services.

Mellgren, Lars, and Michael Walker. (Date unavailable.) Exploring English for speakers of other languages. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Ridout. (Date unavailable.) Write now. New York: Longman Incorporated.

Wonsavage. 1975. Imagine and write. Xerox Educational Publications. For grades 2-6. Explores creative writing for beginning and intermediate students. Includes teacher's guide.

Everyone wins with

Scott, Foresman ESL Programs

I Like English, K–6
NEW Copyright 1981

Children are captivated by pictured situations that trigger meaningful, carefully controlled language learning. See a lesson in action in full-color brochure A6133. Send for it today.

English for a Changing World,
Grade 7 to adult

This 6-level program teaches useful, trans-world English with a balance of all four language skills. Full-color brochure A6136 tells the story. Send for it now.

Scott, Foresman and Company
Glenview, Illinois 60025

MINNE*TESOL*

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

JOURNAL

Volume 2

Fall, 1982

62

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL

Volume 2 Fall 1982

Table of Contents

What do we know about the Way a Child
Acquires a Second Language? . . . . Elaine Tarone 5

Hmong Refugees in an American City: A Case Study in
Language Contact . . . Bruce T. Downing and Sharon Dwyer 17

Designing an ESL Program for the Preliterate Adult:
An Account of One Program's Development . . . . Ellen Vaut 33

A Selected Bibliography of Work in Discourse Analysis
and English as a Second Language . . . . Jeanette K. Gundel 45

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL OFFICERS
1981-82

President

Lynn Massie-Oehler

First Vice President

Mary Jane Lipinski
University of Minnesota

Second Vice President

Ann Mikkelson
Minneapolis Public Schools

Secretary

Connie Evans
Burnsville Public Schools

Treasurer

Lisa Boehlke
Minneapolis Public Schools

EXUCTIVE BOARD

The Officers and

Darrel Dewar
St. Paul AVTI
Linda Fillipi
University of Minnesota
Judith Lester
North St. Paul Schools
Patricia Wilcox Peterson
Macalester College
Mary Rodriguez
St. Paul Adult Community Education Center
Ruth Strubel
Minneapolis Public Schools

JOURNAL EDITOR

Mark Landa
University of Minnesota

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Carole Adelsman
Windom Community Center
Janet Bing
University of Minnesota
Richard Carr
ELS Hamline
Mary Jane Lipinski
University of Minnesota
Ellen Mamer
Minnesota Literacy Council
Robin Murie
University of Minnesota
Eric Nelson
University of Minnesota
Ruth Strubel
Minneapolis Public Schools

The *MinneTESOL Journal* is published in September.
Business correspondence should be addressed to Mark Landa, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

Editorial Policy

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: (1) Instructional methods, techniques, and materials; (2) Research done in the context of the classroom with implications for ESL teachers; (3) Philosophical issues related to curriculum, program design, and the education of LEP students. Submit manuscripts to the Editor (Mark Landa, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455).

Manuscripts

Manuscripts submitted to the *MinneTESOL Journal* must conform to the style sheet published each December in the *TESOL Quarterly*. Two copies of each manuscript should be submitted with an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to Linda Fillipi, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 2 September 1982

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE WAY A CHILD ACQUIRES A SECOND LANGUAGE ?

Elaine Tarone

A review of some of the central questions in the field of second-language acquisition research is presented, with special reference to what we know about the acquisition of second language by *children*. It is suggested that successful second-language acquisition, for the child, is a result of a combination of: 1) innate language ability, 2) experience with the first language, 3) adequate amount of exposure to the new language, and 4) communicative need for the new language.

People have been teaching foreign languages for thousands of years, and testing what they teach. But until about ten years ago, very little systematic research had been done to find out *how* second-language learners learn. That is, there was almost no systematic, detailed description of what learners learned first, what structures were difficult for them, what learning contexts were better than others, and so on. There were a few exceptions: most notably, Werner Leopold who kept painstaking notes on the language development of his young daughter, Hildegard, as she acquired both English and German at home. But this kind of study was very difficult until the advent of the tape recorder. Even then, it was not until about 1970 that serious, systematic research began on the process of second-language acquisition. As a result, although foreign languages have been *taught* for thousands of years, we still do not know very much about the way foreign languages are *learned*. And, in particular, even in the last ten years, there has been very little research on *children* acquiring a second language—and here I mean detailed, systematic recording of the child's speech in both languages, and an analysis of the patterns in that speech. We still know very little about the way children learn second languages.

This paper will review some of the central questions in the field of second-language acquisition research, with special reference to

---

Elaine Tarone is Assistant Professor of Linguistics and English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota. This paper was originally presented in June, 1981 at a conference, "Issues in LEP Education," sponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools and the National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center of Milwaukee.

what we do know about the acquisition of second languages by children. I will try to be as clear as possible about what I believe we know, and what we don't know, in response to each question.

One of the most obvious questions has barely been addressed at all. This is the question of whether any of the different second-language education programs currently being used in our public schools—ESL, immersion, bilingual education programs of various sorts—is overall more successful than the others in promoting the acquisition of a new language, or the retention of the first language. The fact is that even after ten years of work, there are almost no studies which systematically, in detail, observe and compare the language development of children in different programs. There are of course a great many evaluations of programs being done, but these are in the form of tests of various kinds, and are not sufficiently detailed to tell us much about how the child acquires the new language or retains the first language. So I want to make it clear at the outset that, while I will be reviewing the results of several detailed studies describing the second-language development of children, I will not be able to cite detailed research which directly and specifically favors one type of language education program over another. Most of the detailed research which has been done to date has been done on language learning in "naturalistic" settings—that is, outside the school—or else it has been done within a single program and has not attempted any comparison between programs. One reason for this lack of comparative studies is methodological; preliminary evidence from testing programs indicates that a particular second-language education program may work well in one social and political context, and not in another. This makes the issue of comparison extremely complex.

In spite of these limitations, I believe that by reviewing the literature that does exist, we may gain some helpful insights into the nature of the task facing children in any program when they set about learning a second language. Indirectly, then, we will be able to suggest features which any successful second-language education program should contain.

The first question is, does bilingualism impair a child's cognitive functioning? The answer to this question is no.

Early studies, conducted in the twenties and thirties (see Hakuta 1980 for review), seemed to show that bilingual children performed worse on intelligence measures than monolingual children. It was argued on the basis of these studies, even up until the fifties, that bilingualism impaired children's intellectual development. However, it has since become clear that these early studies were flawed: they were often poorly designed, and used measures which favored the monolingual children. In 1962, Peal and Lambert conducted a now-famous study of 10-year-old Canadian children, which showed the opposite: bilingual children were much better than monolingual children on many verbal and nonverbal intelligence tests. They were particularly good on measures of cognitive flexibility. Since 1962, several studies have produced similar results: bilingual children seem to score systematically higher on measures of cognitive flexibility and divergent thinking, as well as on metalinguistic awareness—general awareness of language (Ben-Zeev 1977; Lambert 1977). Bilingual children do not score significantly lower than monolingual children on other intelligence measures. More studies need to be done to determine whether bilingualism actually *causes* cognitive flexibility (Hakuta 1980). But at least it is now clear that bilingualism does not impair the cognitive functioning of normal children—and there is strong evidence that it may in fact improve it. If it does turn out that bilingualism causes improved ability to function cognitively in certain areas, then it would seem that bilingualism would be a goal worth pursuing in our schools.

Second, what cognitive processes underlie a child's acquisition of a second language?

Does a child learn a second language by consciously memorizing the grammar rules of that language, conjugating, verbs and so on? Work by developmental psychologists such as Jean Piaget would seem to indicate that young children are not cognitively ready to understand abstractions such as grammar rules until the stage of formal operations, which may occur at ages 10-12. In a very interesting study, Seliger (1979) interviewed young children who were correctly using the articles *a/an* in contexts like "a ball," "an elephant," "an eagle." When these children were asked to explain the rule for using *a/an*, they would give imaginative but inaccurate rules. For example, one child said: "Use *a* for things and *an* for live animals." When Seliger then asked why we say "an umbrella," the child responded, "Well, umbrellas move when they open and close and so we think they're alive." It would seem that children do not learn languages by consciously memorizing grammar rules.

Does a child learn a second language by habit formation: hearing a pattern over and over again, and practicing the same response over and over? Chomsky (1959) has convincingly argued that this cannot be the case for children learning their first language. For one thing, in normal conversation adults do not repeat the same pattern often enough. For another, children produce sentences they have never heard before. They seem to be born with an innate ability to learn language so that they can do a great deal with the language input they get. Theories of *habit* learning are simply inadequate to account for first-language acquisition. Dulay and Burt have argued (1973, 1974) that the same is true for children learning a *second* language. In fact, all the evidence we have thus far indicates that children bring the same innate language learning ability and the same creativity to the learning of a second language. They produce sentences they have never heard; they create their own rules and modify them over time. Their idiosyncratic rules may produce "errors" at first (just as two-

and three-year-olds produce "errors" in their first language, like "I played. I goed."), but their rules develop and change over time and these developmental errors eventually disappear. Studies of children learning a second language outside of any classroom show that these developmental errors disappear without any formal instruction or correction by those in the child's environment (see, for example, Hakuta 1974).

Spolsky (1979) sums up three factors that seem to be involved in a child's acquisition of a second language:

1. innate language ability
2. adequate amount of input
3. motivation

Children are born with the ability to learn languages. But they cannot learn without being exposed to a language; they need to hear a language over a significant period of time. And they must need to use the language communicatively; there must be some motivation to learn.

The answers to our second question lead inexorably to the third: does the child learn a second language exactly like the first? The answer at present seems to be—not exactly. There seem to be many similarities, but also some differences. One of the similarities we have already cited: that is, children do seem to use their innate ability to learn languages, create their own rules and modify them over time without formal instruction. In addition, studies by Hakuta (1974) and Wong-Fillmore (1976) show that children learning a second language, like first-language learners, seem to learn whole sentences and pieces of sentences and use them appropriately in conversations, without understanding the individual words: for example, "How do you do dis?" The difference is that second-language learners are older than first language learners, so their memory span is longer; it seems that children learning a second language are therefore able to use longer "prefabricated patterns" than children learning a first language (Hakuta 1980). Wong-Fillmore (1976) also showed that children learning a second language—like first-language learners, and indeed, like adults—tend to bluff quite a bit; in conversations with other children, they pretend they understand when they don't, and rely on memorized prefabricated patterns to maintain a social relationship with these children in the playground.

Though there are many similarities, second-language learning is different from first-language learning. For one thing, the child has already learned a language and is usually older and more cognitively developed. There is now increasing evidence that the child relies on knowledge of the first language to help in learning the new one (Keller-Cohen 1981, Selinker, Swain and Dumas 1975, Wode 1976). Sometimes this works and sometimes it doesn't. For example, Finnish children find it harder to learn question intonation in English than Swiss German or Japanese children, because English question intonation is so different from the Finnish (Keller-Cohen 1981). Keller-Cohen (1981) suggests that children search for patterns of similarity between their first language and the new language, and so may find new and different patterns more difficult. So perhaps we need to modify Spolsky's formula and add to the child's innate language ability:

4. the child's knowledge of the native language.

In making hypotheses and forming rules for the new language, the child may at first use knowledge of the native language, and assume that the two languages are more similar than they really are. Certain errors may be due to such assumptions.

In addition to the fact that children learning a second language already know more about language, they also seem to be able to attempt more complex semantic relations in the second language, from the very beginning. Lightbown (1977) has shown that children learning a second language, from the very beginning, attempt to use intensifiers, wh-questions, and other relatively complex semantic relations, while the first language learner does not attempt these until much later.

Research is still going on with regard to question three. We still know very little about the similarities and differences in first- and second-language acquisition for children.

Another factor which has been considered in second-language acquisition research circles, which may be important in considering bilingual education of children, is question four: Is there an optimal age for learning a second language? And is there an age after which the innate capacity to learn languages no longer functions? There are several studies which examine age of initial exposure to the second language, and investigate the effect of this on various aspects of the learning of this language. Snow and Hofnaegel (1978) have found that older children learn the vocabulary, morphology, and grammar of the second language faster than younger children do. Ervin-Tripp (1974) and Fathman (1975) have also found older children learn morphology and grammar faster than younger children. The issue is not so clear on the learning of pronunciation; most researchers have found that younger learners do better at pronunciation (e.g. Fathman 1975), but others have not (see Hakuta 1980). There are conflicting results on age and second-language acquisition because it is difficult not to confound test-taking ability with actual language ability; older students are simply better at taking tests than younger ones. If these research results are accurate, however, they do contradict the common public assumption that young children are the best learners of foreign languages. We may make this assumption because, as Ervin-Tripp points out, we expect less of younger learners, so perhaps it is easier for them to astound us.

But is there an age where language-learning ability suddenly drops off? Aren't older children better at learning new languages than adults? And if so, what is the magic age—the sensitive period—at which one's innate language-learning ability gives out?

There is, to my knowledge, no firm evidence indicating that there is a sudden drop-off in language-learning ability. Rather, there seem to be three gradual stages: the first from the earliest ages to about 12. It is this stage we have been describing. Then there is a sensitive period from about 12 to 16 when individuals seem to begin to learn second languages differently. And finally, there is the adult period—from about 16 on, when second-language learning becomes harder. Over the decade from 10 to 20 there seems to be a change for most learners in their ability to learn a foreign language and speak it like a native.

Scovel (1969) was the first to point out that adults may be able to eventually learn the grammar of a second language—but not the pronunciation. He called this the "Joseph Conrad phenomenon," in honor of the Polish-born novelist who attained great fame for his ability to write in English, his second language. Clearly Conrad's mastery of English grammar and rhetoric was impeccable—yet he retained a Polish accent to the end of his life. Conrad retained his accent, according to Scovel, because he had learned English as a second language after the sensitive period. In fact, Scovel claims, while there may be a very small number of exceptions, the vast majority of us find it impossible to learn a second language after puberty and speak it with absolutely no foreign accent. So it seems that those individuals are rare who are able to acquire a second language and speak it natively, when their first exposure to the language occurred after puberty. Something must happen to our innate capacity to learn languages at some time more or less between the ages of 12 and 16.

The question is, what? There are several possible explanations for such a sensitive period. Some of them fall into a general category of physiological explanations. For example, a popular explanation among second-language learners themselves seems to be that when learners get older their "tongues get stiff"—that is, the muscles and nerves of the tongue and mouth have been practicing the same set of pronunciation habits for years. This theory might maintain that the nerves and muscles necessary for the pronunciation of new second-language patterns have atrophied with age so that native-like pronunciation is impossible. I am aware of no research evidence that this sort of atrophy takes place. In fact, Neufeld (1977) has provided convincing evidence that it does not take place—that adult nerves and muscles are perfectly capable of producing the sounds of a new language in a native-like manner.

Another physiological explanation—and one originally supported by Scovel (1969)—suggests that "lateralization" (the completion of cerebral dominance) affects the learning of a second language. This view holds that when the left and right hemispheres of the brain complete their process of specialization, the brain loses its capacity for second-language learning, and that this loss affects the pronunciation more than the grammar or vocabulary. However, Krashen (1975), and more recently, Scovel himself (personal communication), have raised questions about the lateralization hypothesis. There is some evidence that lateralization actually happens much earlier than the sensitive period does; lateralization may happen before the age of five, whereas it is clear that children do not reach the sensitive period until much later than that.

Another explanation points to a psychological cause of the sensitive period. Krashen (1975) maintains that the sensitive period is related to the onset of Piaget's stage of formal operations. In this stage of cognitive development, adolescents begin to consciously construct abstract theories about the world. They tend to abstract "rules of grammar" and consciously apply them instead of activating the same unconscious processes that children use in acquiring a second language. Trying to apply grammar rules consciously, according to this explanation, is actually counterproductive, as it interferes with the innate language-learning ability. While this explanation has much to recommend it, to my mind, it still does not explain the "Joseph Conrad phenomenon"—that is, the learner who acquires the grammar and vocabulary of the second language perfectly, but not the pronunciation. Why should formal operations affect only the pronunciation and not the grammar or vocabulary in cases like these?

A third type of explanation, supported by Schumann (1975) and others, focuses upon the emotional, or affective, factors which change from childhood to adulthood. Schumann cites work by Guiora et al (1972) which supports the idea that empathy is the crucial factor. Guiora attempted to artificially increase the empathy levels of adult second-language learners by administering gradually increasing amounts of alcohol. He found that the adult learners' pronunciation of the target language improved up to a certain point, and then, after 1½ oz of alcohol, rapidly deteriorated. Guiora feels that the pronunciation of a second language is a much more sensitive indicator of empathy than either grammar or vocabulary; pronunciation is used to indicate group membership, and a feeling of identity with the group. Since children have more fluid language ego boundaries than adults, children are much more likely to identify with speakers of a new language than are adults, who have more rigid language ego boundaries. Essentially, adults have decided on their cultural identity and use their "accent" to identify themselves appropriately. They essentially have no motivation to change their accent when it communicates perfectly well who they are. Schumann believes that affective, or emotional, factors are the factors determining the sensitive period, and ultimately determining success or failure in learning a second language. He has argued that social and psychological distance from speakers of the new language is sufficient to cause failure in learning that language.

Schumann's claim leads us to question five: if it is true that motivation is very important in a child's acquisition of a second language, what exactly do we know about the role of motivation in this process?

In a series of studies in Canada, Gardner and Lambert (1972) attempted to establish that there are two types of motivation involved in learning a new language: integrative and instrumental. Integrative motivation is motivation to belong to the group which speaks the language, or motivation to become close friends with speakers of the language. Instrumental motivation, on the other hand, is motivation to learn the language in order to achieve some personal goal: to get a good grade or a good job, for example. The relationship between integrative and instrumental motivation is extremely complex*—but the majority of Gardner and Lambert's findings indicate that integrative motivation leads to greater success in learning a second language. That is, in general, learners who want to become a part of the group that speaks the new language will be more successful than learners who want to get a good grade, or get a job by using the new language. (A few studies show that instrumental motivation can lead to as much success as integrative, but the majority of studies show that integrative motivation leads to greater success.)

These findings are very important for those of us interested in bilingual education. Guiora and Schumann argue that children are more empathetic than adults. Aren't they then more likely to have integrative motivation? If we want to produce truly bilingual students, then those students may need to belong to two culture groups rather than one, or at least want to empathize with members of both groups. One's motivation to learn a language (and to keep a language one has already learned) may be closely tied to one's motivation to belong to the group that speaks that language.

But are young children really aware of these choices when they learn a new language? How aware are they of the social function of language as a marker of group membership? The evidence thus far is that they are very aware, at a very early age, of the social uses of language. Leopold (1953) in a study of his daughter's bilingual development in English and German noted that she began to use the two languages appropriately between the ages of two and three to address adults who spoke only English or German. And Spolsky (1979) notes that more sophisticated sociolinguistic variation begins sometime after the age of five. Children seem to be aware that Language A is used by some individuals and Language B is used by others, and they learn very quickly to use the two languages appropriately. But the key to the problem of the child's choice to learn more than one language, and retain more than one language, seems to have to do with the communicative pressure in the society to use the two languages. The child will not use the language for which there is no communicative need. Edelsky and Hudelson (1980), in a very interesting study, observed Anglo and Mexican-American children in a bilingual education program in the Southwest. The aim of the program was to teach Spanish to the Anglo children and English to the Mexican-American children. All the children attended class together; some classes were taught in Spanish and some in English. But all the children *used* English. The reason was that during their school day they never *needed* to use Spanish. No one ever addressed them in Spanish, so there was no communicative need for it, and therefore no motivation to learn it. By the end of the period of observation, the Anglo children had learned very little Spanish, while the Mexican-American children had made great progress in learning English and were even anglicizing their own names. Edelsky and Hudelson concluded that the key to language learning here was the communicative pressure, or communicative need, for one language more than the other. The children had no motivation to use the language for which there was no communicative need—so they did not use it or learn it.

---

*Swain suggests (personal correspondence) that instrumental motivation may perhaps be best viewed as one type of integrative motivation.

For children, the communicative need to *speak*, as opposed to *listen*, seems strongest in their interaction with *other children*. Payne (1976) has shown that when children move from one dialect region of the United States to another, as from New York to Philadelphia, they learn the dialect of the new area from other children, while their parents continue to speak the old dialect. (Interestingly, children more or less under the age of 12 learned the new dialect, while their brothers and sisters more or less older than 12 did not master it.) It seems that children learn from other children, perhaps because the communicative pressure is strongest from them. The strength of this communicative pressure from one's peers was stressed in a study by Peck (1980). She recorded the conversation of Angel and his Anglo friend, J., as they played together, and recorded the following exchange:

A. Only one piece (/piš/)
J. Only one /piš/ (four times) I can't stop!
A. This a old piece. *Piece.*
J. /piš/ /piš/ You like /pišəz/? (Peck 1980, p. 356)

J. is exerting very strong pressure on Angel to speak the way *he* does, using a kind of mockery which, while cruel, also seems to be extremely effective in urging the child to learn the new language and pronouce it the way J. does. The role of this kind of pressure from one's peers seems to be very important; but we need to know more about how it works, and what the effect is on a child's retention of the native language.

A very special kind of communicative need is operative in the Hmong community in the Twin Cities, as documented in a study by Downing and Dwyer (this volume). The Hmong community is very family-oriented and clan-oriented. In observing the activities of a Hmong family in the community, Downing and Dwyer found that the Hmong rarely went out into the English-speaking world individually, but rather went in a group. The family would go together, and generally would appoint one member—usually a child or young adolescent—to be the interpreter. As a result, these children have a great deal of communicative pressure to use both languages, while the adults do not. Not surprisingly, the children are learning English rapidly, while the adults are not. We would surmise that the children are also retaining Hmong since they need to use it, but we do not know.

The issue of motivation to use both languages would appear to be a crucial one to consider, then, in determining the degree to which the child will learn and retain both languages. The question of communicative pressure is obviously tied to the issue of input as well, since the child will not receive much input from a language for which there is no communicative need. The child must be around both languages a good deal of the time, and must have the need to communicate in both of them, before the innate capacity for learning language will operate.

To summarize, then, what do we know about the way children learn a second language? We are virtually assured that bilingualism does not impair a normal child's ability to function cognitively; there seems to be growing evidence, in fact, that bilingualism may enhance a child's cognitive flexibility. We believe, on the basis of growing research evidence, that the process of learning a second language, for the child, is a process of hypothesis-testing. This process is successful when the child's innate ability to learn languages joins with the child's knowledge of the native language, together with an adequate amount of input from the new language and motivation to use it in communication. This process is very similar to the process the child went through in acquiring the first language, though it differs in several ways. There is growing evidence that the best age to learn a second language with a native-like accent is before the sensitive period, which occurs sometime between 12 and 16. Researchers do not agree as to the cause of the sensitive period; physiological causes seem increasingly unlikely, but psychological and emotional causes remain to be explored. Finally, integrative motivation for the language, adequate opportunity for the use of the language, and communicative pressure to use it, seem to be of critical importance to children's acquisition of that language. Communicative need for both languages, together with integrative motivation for both, seem to be essential if the child is to acquire the second language and also retain the first language.

Successful second-language acquisition, for the child, is a result of a combination of:

1. innate language ability
2. experience with the first language
3. adequate amount of exposure to the new language
4. communicative need for the language to be learned

A successful bilingual education program cannot affect innate language ability, but it can provide the last three factors—and indeed, research to date indicates that it should.

REFERENCES

Ben-Zeev, S. 1977. The effects of bilingualism in children from Spanish-English low economic neighborhoods on cognitive development and cognitive strategy. Working Papers in Bilingualism 14: 83-122.

Chomsky, Noam. 1959. Review of B. F. Skinner's Verbal behavior. Language 35:26-58.

Downing, Bruce and Sharon Dwyer. In prep. Hmong refugees in an American city: a case study in language contact. This volume.

Dulay, Heidi and Marina Burt. 1973. Should we teach children syntax? Language Learning 23:245-258.

Dulay, Heidi and Marina Burt. 1974. Natural sequences in child second language acquisition. Language Learning 24:37-53.

Edelsky, Carole and Sarah Hudelson. 1980. Acquiring a second language when you're not the underdog. In Research in second language acquisition, Robin Scarcella and Stephen Krashen (Eds.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1974. Is second language learning like the first? TESOL Quarterly 8:111-127.

Fathman, Ann. 1975. Language background, age and the order of English structures. In On TESOL '75, Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt (Eds.). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Gardner, Robert C. and Wallace Lambert. 1972. Attitudes and motivation in second language learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Hakuta, Kenji. 1974. Prefabricated patterns and the emergence of structure in second language acquisition. Language Learning 24: 287-297.

Hakuta, Kenji. 1980. Theoretical issues and future directions in second language acquisition research, with special reference to Asian Americans. Paper written for the Symposium on Bilingual Research: Asian American Perspective. Los Alamitos, California.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1978. Discourse analysis. In Studies in second language acquisition, Evelyn Hatch (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Keller-Cohen, Debra. 1981. Input from the inside: the role of a child's prior linguistic experience in second language learning. In New dimensions in second language acquisition research, R. Andersen (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Krashen, Stephen. 1975. The critical period for language acquisition and its possible bases. In Developmental psycholinguistics and communication disorders, Doris Aaronson and Robert Rieber (Eds.). New York: The New York Academy of Sciences.

Lambert, Wallace. 1977. Effects of bilingualism on the individual. In Bilingualism: psychological, social and educational implications, P. Hornby (Ed.). New York: Academic Press.

Leopold, Werner. 1953. Patterning in children's language learning. Language Learning 5:1-14.

Lightbown, Patsy. 1977. French L2 learners: what they're talking about. Language Learning 27:371-382.

Neufeld, Gerald. 1977. Language learning ability in adults. Working Papers in Bilingualism 12:45-60.

Payne, A. 1976. The acquisition of the phonological system of a second dialect. University of Pennsylvania dissertation.

Peal, Elizabeth and Wallace Lambert. 1962. The relation of bilingualism to intelligence. Psychological Monographs 76, 546.

Peck, Sabrina. 1980. Language play in child second language acquisition. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Scovel, Thomas. 1969. Foreign accents, language acquisition and cerebral dominance. Language Learning 19: 245-254.

Schumann, John. 1975. Affective factors and the problem of age in second language acquisition. Language Learning 25:209-235.

Seliger, Herb. 1979. On the nature and function of language rules in language teaching. TESOL Quarterly 13, 3:359-369.

Selinker, Larry, Merrill Swain and Guy Dumas. 1975. The interlanguage hypothesis extended to children. Language Learning 25: 139-152.

Snow, Catherine and Marian Hoefnagel-Hohle. 1978. The critical period for language acquisition: evidence from second language learning. Child Development 49:1114-1128.

Spolsky, Bernard. 1979. The comparative study of first and second language acquisition. In Studies in first and second language acquisition, Fred Eckman and Ashley Hastings (Eds.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Wode, Henning. 1976. Developmental sequences in natural second language acquisition. Working Papers in Bilingualism 11:1-31.

Wong-Fillmore, Lily. 1976. Cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 2 September 1982

HMONG REFUGEES IN AN AMERICAN CITY: A CASE STUDY IN LANGUAGE CONTACT

Bruce T. Downing
Sharon Dwyer

The Hmong refugees from Laos are a largely preliterate tribal people who face major problems of adjustment to life in urban America. Most have low levels of education and speak no English on arrival. ESL teachers have tried to design appropriate curricula for the Hmong without having enough information about their communicative needs and their everyday uses of English. This study investigated the linguistic world of one representative Hmong family to learn what sorts of contact they have with English speakers and what goes on in those contacts. It was found that such contacts were very limited and that the adults actively and successfully avoided using English in many situations, often by allowing a child with good English skills to take the role of interpreter or spokesperson. Analysis of their English language interactions suggests that the communication strategies used by Hmong adults may be those that promote language learning least. In addition, a category of "communal" strategies, involving the selection of one fluent speaker to represent a group, must be recognized in analyzing second-language communication among groups such as the tightly-knit Hmong family. These findings may also suggest modification of assumptions and methods in ESL instruction for Hmong adults.

Bruce T. Downing is Associate Professor of Linguistics and English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota. Sharon Dwyer is a graduate student in the Department of Linguistics. The original version of this paper is available in the ERIC System under the call number ED 206 202 July 1981.

I. Introduction*

Since 1975, more than 10,000 Hmong refugees from Laos have taken up residence in the Twin Cities of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, out of more than 50,000 Hmong now in the United States.

In Laos life for the majority of these people involved slash-and-burn farming in remote mountain areas and a highly developed social system of family alliances, villages and clans, animistic religious beliefs, and an intricate artisanship in cut-work, embroidery, and silver. The Hmong population was decimated and their way of life disrupted by the wars in Laos. Most who have come to the United States have spent years in resettlement villages and the refugee camps in Thailand. When they arrived the majority of the refugees were illiterate. In addition, most had little or no familiarity with English or any other second language, and most are new to the experience of going to school.

Naturally communication between the Hmong refugees and the Americans assisting them in the resettlement process has been a serious problem. Both the resettlement agencies and the Hmong community leaders themselves have recognized that the most essential prerequisite for successful adaptation to life in America is the ability to communicate in English, even if only at an instrumental, survival level. But the task undertaken by teachers of English as a second language of providing formal instruction in English for them has been made especially difficult by several factors. One has been an inevitable mutual lack of understanding on the part of the American teachers and the Hmong students of the others' culture and mentality. A second problem is the refugees' unfamiliarity with classroom skills, and their illiteracy. Adding to this is the ESL teachers' initial lack of familiarity, training, and experience in meeting students' simultaneous needs for basic literacy and survival English. Faced with an immediate and pressing problem, it has been difficult for teachers to identify exactly what their students' immediate communicational needs are, although obviously an appropriate curriculum for "survival

---

*We have benefited in the revision of this paper from the questions and comments of members of the audience at the Tenth Annual University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee Linguistic Symposium, the 1981 MinneTESOL Spring Workshop/Seminar, and the University of Minnesota Linguistics Club. We are especially grateful to Jeannette Gundel and Elaine Tarone who read and commented on earlier drafts. While we have tried to incorporate their suggestions in revising the paper, these people bear no responsibility for remaining deficiencies.

This study was supported by a grant in aid of research from the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota and was carried out under the auspices of the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project of the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.

English" must be based on an understanding of the actual situations in which the learner is called upon to communicate in English and the nature and content of this communication.

In the study reported here, we have tried to address only this last problem. We have set out to find at least partial answers to the following questions: a) what are the language contact experiences[1] that Hmong refugees may have in the first year or two of their life in the United States, and b) what goes on in those interactions; in particular, how do they manage communication when their knowledge of English vocabulary, grammar, and usage is inadequate to the task? Section two addresses our first question, concerning the general nature of Hmong-American linguistic interactions. It is in effect a study in the ethnography of communication, although limited for the present to a single household and to cross-linguistic communications. Section Three is concerned with the second question, involving how the Hmong cope when communication demands exceed their ability to say what they want in English. We have here relied upon the categorization of "communication strategies" presented by Tarone (1978). Finally, in a concluding section, we will summarize our findings, make a few tentative observations and suggestions that may be useful to teachers working with Hmong adults on basic English skills, and note some possible directions for further research.

2. The Linguistic World of a Hmong Refugee Family

2.1 Methodology: Because we were aware of the tightly interwoven social system of the Hmong, in which value is placed upon the ability of the community to function effectively, in contrast to the Western emphasis on the individual, we felt that the question of language contact experiences had to be investigated at the level of the family or household unit rather than at that of the isolated individual. To keep this initial study to a manageable size, we decided, therefore, to focus on a single representative family in an effort to develop a fairly comprehensive understanding of this family's language abilities, experiences, and strategies of cross-cultural communication.

The first task was to try to find a family that was willing to cooperate with our study and that could be taken as representative of the recently arrived Hmong refugee population. We stipulated that the family should have come to the United States in the last two years and that all members of the family should be able to communicate to some extent in English. Through contacts with a member of a sponsoring church we were able to locate a family that satisfied these requirements. Though somewhat puzzled by our interests and activities, the family members were initially receptive and later exceedingly friendly and cooperative.

---

[1] In this paper "language contact" will be used to mean cross-lingual interactions rather than to refer to the interaction of two languages within one speaker, as in the works of Uriel Wienreich, Dell Hymes, and others.

Having selected the family and obtained their cooperation, we undertook to observe their English language encounters and their use of English to communicate. We visited their home and their ESL classes, talked with them ourselves, and observed them interacting with other Americans in a variety of situations. We accompanied them on several outings and observed a number of tutoring sessions and conversations with church members. Finally, we interviewed the family, various members of the local business community in contact with the Hmong, and several members of the sponsoring church for their perceptions of the problems of communication between Hmong and Americans.

These interviews and observations, carried out over a period of four months, have in most cases been recorded on cassette tape. The recordings have been transcribed and some portions translated by an able bilingual assistant, Vang Vang.

It should be obvious that even a fairly extensive case study can provide only very tentative answers to our general question concerning the range of language contact experiences of Hmong refugee families in America. We should note further that even this case study is not complete, since, for one thing, we have focused most of our attention on the parents and the family unit, giving little direct attention to the children as individual language users.

2.2 Subjects: The Vang family, as we shall call them, consists of a father and mother in their early forties and three children: an older girl, 17, a younger girl, 9, and a boy, 15. An older son is married and lives in another city. The given names we will use in referring to the individual family members (the "names" are actually kinship terms) are as follows:

Txiv	the father	age 45 (approximate)
Niam	the mother	age 40 (approximate)
Laus	daughter	age 17
Tus Tub	son	age 15
Ntxawm	daughter	age 9

The Vang family arrived in the United States in March of 1980, after five years in a refugee camp in Thailand. They came directly to Saint Paul, sponsored by a church congregation. The family lives on refugee assistance funds supplemented by contributions from the church and their married son. The church has looked after the family's immediate needs: living space, health problems, clothing, most transportation, and schooling. They were fortunate in getting the parents into regular English classes very soon after their arrival. The church members have also helped the family in such matters as banking, insurance, welfare, and leases, and they are now trying to arrange jobs. In addition, church members have volunteered to provide tutoring in English in the home on an almost daily basis.

The family lives in one apartment of a quadruplex. The other apartments are also occupied by Hmong, with the grandfather and his wife in one, and cousins' families in the other two apartments. Individual apartments are rarely closed off, the entire building serving as more or less communal living space. The Vangs however have no friends, either Hmong or American, living in the immediate neighborhood outside of their building.

Neither parent can read or write Hmong or Laotian, and neither speaks Laotian to any extent. Vang Txiv, the father, speaks some Thai. He was a farmer most of his life, serving only for a brief time in the military. Vang Niam, his wife, is expert in Hmong stitchery and cooking; her responsibilities and activities would seem to have continued with much less change from the past than have those of other members of the family. The son, aged 15, speaks some Thai and some Laotian, and received lessons in English in the camp. His present language ability in English is by far the most advanced; he can serve moderately well as an interpreter in most situations, and he seems to be succeeding in his schoolwork at the ninth-grade level. Both sisters are exceedingly shy and were more difficult to approach directly, making it hard to assess their levels of understanding and fluency in English.

As has been mentioned, the family lives together with three other Hmong families. Additionally, much time is passed in visiting or receiving visits from other relatives. Social contacts with the American community are limited to those with members of the sponsoring church in the tutoring sessions and in dealing with questions about their family affairs. The adults do not seek out social contacts with the American community.

2.3 Learning and Using English: The adult English classes attended by the two parents have included classes in survival English. The emphasis in these classes is on the mastery of simple grammar points, pronunciation, and, at the level we observed, literacy skills. There are only limited opportunities to practice real, meaningful communication or to practice the coping skills necessary for handling situations where the communicative needs exceed the learner's command of English. The homework the Vangs now receive consists of written assignments including working basic arithmetic problems, answering questions about a story, copying a passage, or practicing a reading passage.

The tutoring sessions provided by volunteers from the church were generally limited to topics such as numbers, telling time, addition or subtraction of sums of money, naming things in picture books, practicing greetings, and practicing the alphabet and the spellings of familiar words. Some meaningful communication with the sponsors took place when the Americans tried to assist with household problems, although here the focus was on accomplishing the task and not on teaching the family how to cope with problems of communication.

Apart from the ESL classroom, the tutoring sessions in the home, and the children's attendance at public schools, we found the Vang's contacts with English speakers to be quite limited and to involve very little actual communication in English. The English language interactions that we either observed firsthand or learned something about secondhand are the following:

1) ESL classes for adults and public school programs for the children
2) Contacts with tutors in the home
3) Riding the bus to school
4) Banking (assisted by a church member)
5) Dealings with the landlord (usually assisted by a church member)
6) Shopping for food
7) Shopping for clothing and other commodities
8) Major purchases, such as a car, TV, or radio
9) Church: occasional services and social events and one incident involving communication about the death of a relative
10) Doctor's and dentist's appointments (assisted by a church member)

The types of situations we actually observed included 1) ESL classes for adults, 2) tutoring sessions, 6) shopping for food, 7) shopping for clothing and for fabrics, and 9) a situation in which relatives had gathered at a church following a relative's death.

We found that communication in English outside of the ESL class is minimal and is not always handled in the same way. Four principal means of communication could be distinguished, as follows.

First, in situations such as riding on the bus or shopping for groceries, almost no verbal communication took place. We should reemphasize that the Vangs never initiated conversations in English and, in fact, actively avoided situations that might lead others to speak to them. Other Hmong have been observed hiding their faces on the buses, and storeowners told us that Hmong people shop very carefully but without requesting assistance. Unless there is a problem with a check, voucher, or food stamp purchase, they can and usually do check out without exchanging words with the cashier. Thus in many contact situations, spoken English is not essential for this initial level of survival, and the social contact experience does not necessarily provide a language experience.

Second, there are some situations such as banking or negotiating with the landlord in which an American sponsor takes charge, acting as a spokesperson or guardian. In these interactions, the difficult part of the communication is handled by the American with minimal verbal communication directed to the family members—chiefly the seeking and receiving of consent or verification.

The third type of interaction, to be discussed further in section 3, involves the selection of a member of the family or of the broader Hmong community to act as interpreter for an individual or a group. The person chosen is the one with the best command of English, usually a boy or young man. Thus, in many of our attempts to communicate with the older Vangs or in their negotiations with tutors, or in handling phone calls, or where problems arose requiring verbal communication while shopping, the son served as interpreter or, in some cases, as spokesperson.

Finally, and seemingly only where all other approaches failed (or where demands were minimal, as in returning a greeting), the individual adult communicated directly in English. This fact, while perhaps not surprising, is important in that it shows the extent to which adults can survive as residents in an English-speaking American community without English. It also reveals that, contrary to the expectations of many ESL teachers, the adult Hmong learner may have only the most limited experience with the English language outside of the classroom.

Keeping in mind these observations concerning the general English-language experience of a Hmong refugee family in an American city, we may now turn to the second focus of our study, concerning the specific strategies used to effect communication in English on the part of individuals with limited knowledge of English. We will look both at the parents' own use of English and at the pervasive strategy of using an interpreter or spokesperson for the family, which will suggest an extension of the notion of communication strategy developed by Tarone and others.

3. Communication Strategies

3.1 The Framework of Analysis: We are concerned here with the means used by a non-native speaker to achieve communication in the second language (English) when his or her mastery of the vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and discourse usages of the language is inadequate to the task. Tarone (1980, p.2) defines communication strategies as "mutual attempts of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where the requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared. Communication strategies are seen as tools used in a joint negotiation of meaning, in situations where both interlocutors are attempting to agree as to what is meant."

As has been mentioned, we have chosen to use the conceptual framework proposed by Tarone, although different frameworks have been suggested by other researchers (see, for example, Faerch and Kaspar 1979, Bialystok and Frohlich 1980, and Palmberg 1979) to shed light on differing aspects of learner communication strategies.

Tarone specifies the following three criteria as prerequisites to an interaction being termed a communication strategy:

84

1) The speaker desires to communicate a meaning X
2) The speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning X is unavailable, or is not shared with the listener
3) The speaker chooses to
   a) avoid communicating X
   b) attempt alternate means to communicate X. The speaker stops trying alternatives when it seems clear to the speaker that there is shared meaning. (Tarone 1980)

The absence of one of the three criteria would mean for Tarone that the strategy should be called by some other name—such as learning strategy or production strategy (see Tarone 1980 for discussion). In essence, from the speaker's point of view, the main purpose for the interaction must be the desire to convey information—not to practice the use of some recently acquired structure or rehearsed speech in the target language, nor to try out a hypothesized structure with the purpose of learning more about the target language by finding out whether the hypothesis works or not.

Tarone (1980) divides communication strategies into five major types which are then further divided into sub-categories. These include:

Approximation
Word Coinage
Circumlocution
Transfer
Appeal for Assistance
Mime
Avoidance

3.2 Findings: Individual Strategies: Figure 1 contains examples of our findings. For each example, the situation is described and the speakers involved. Zero (0) means that there was no verbal response, and square brackets enclose descriptions of nonverbal gestures or our interpretations of the intent of a speaker's remarks. Each of the examples comes from one of the following situations:

Shopping in a fabric store. In the course of one of our visits with the Vangs, the son Tus Tub asked us to take his mother and two other women to buy material. The communication which took place involved our attempts to find out where they wanted to go and how to get there and, at the store, the efforts of the sales clerk to find out how much material each woman wanted and to convey how much that amount would cost.

Social visit in the Vang's home. Over the four months of the study, we visited the Vang home about once a week. At first we attended tutoring sessions, but later we came around just to talk and observe what happened. Several of the instances included in Figure 1 come from such informal conversations.

Figure 1

Conscious Communication Strategies (cf. Tarone 1978)

(1) Avoidance
  (a) Topic Avoidance
    (Social: Sharon: Txiv, what were you doing just now?
      Txiv: [laughter] I don't know say.)
    (Social: Txiv: Chia Thao and Cynthia coming . . .
      Bruce: Why did they come?
      Txiv: Chia Thao . . . I don't know say.)
  (b) Message Abandonment: None
(2) Paraphrase
  (a) Approximation
    (Social: Niam: Have many, many rain [i.e., there is a lot of rain there].)
    (Social: Niam: I many, many chicken and rice [i.e., I eat chicken and rice a lot].)
  (b) Word coinage: None
(3) Conscious Transfer
  (a) Literal Translation: None
  (b) Language Switch
    (Shopping: Salesperson: So, how much do you want of this [one kind of material]?
      Cousin: [Stream of Hmong in which she says she wants the same amount as of the first type of material.] [Laughter])
(4) Appeal for Assistance
    (Shopping: Salesperson: How long have you been here?
      Niam: ∅ [Takes on preoccupied expression and acts slightly discomfited, finally looks at us to see if we will answer for her.]
(5) Mime
    (Social: Sharon: Niam, how do you do this? [make geometric patterns in cloth]
      Niam: ∅ [Fetches a piece of paper and demonstrates how the pattern is made.])
    (Shopping: Sharon: So, what's good thread?
      Niam: ∅ [Demonstrates how a strong piece of thread can be unravelled.])

We found that the adults used only six types of communication strategies: topic avoidance, message abandonment, approximation, language switch, appeal for assistance, and mime. In our data there were many examples of topic avoidance and mime, but only two examples of approximation and one each of language switch and appeal for assistance. The greatest reliance was on nonverbal means.

Although we have not analyzed all of our data on the son's interactions, it seems that his communication strategies fall mostly into the verbal categories of approximation and literal translation, with only a few examples of mime and a few detectable examples of avoidance. He did not seem to employ any other types. This difference in communication strategies raises some interesting questions: Are certain strategies favored by certain age groups, or as we suspect, do the choices reflect the language proficiency of the learner? On the other hand, can the son use verbal communication strategies because he is more proficient in English, or is he more proficient because (among other things) he is more aggressive in using strategies which may promote his language learning?

3.3 Communal Strategies: Thus far, we have approached communication strategies only from the perspective of the individual speaker attempting to transfer a meaning. But we have already noted the frequent use of intermediaries as translators or spokespersons by the older Hmong adults in preference to direct communication in English on their own. By this means adults do get messages across, but rather than handling the linguistic formulation into English themselves or using some communication strategy as a substitute, they primarily rely on the individual with the best command of English to convey the message for the group. For example, storeowners and clerks have commented that the Hmong appear in large groups to do their shopping, with one person acting as a go-between for the entire group. When a family is shopping together, the parents select the items to be bought and the children take over at the check-out. While this last case may seem to violate normal role structures in the family, by elevating a young boy or girl to a position of responsibility, these two coping strategies are very much in tune with the general corporate kinship structure of the Hmong, which emphasizes the family and community unit over the individual.

To accommodate this observed community approach to communication, we have gone outside Tarone's framework to oppose to her individual strategies a category of communal communication strategies.

In Figure 2 we exemplify such strategies, mostly from situations in which the Vang's younger son, Tus Tub, served as interpreter for his parents or took upon himself the role of spokesman for his family.

Figure 2

Communal Communication Strategies

(1) Use of an Interpreter

(Social: Tus Tub acts as interpreter for individuals who were trying to relate some of their experiences in the war and information about their life in Laos.)

(Church: Tus Tub acts as interpreter to relay information about the death of a relative.)

(2) Use of a Spokesperson

(a) For an individual

(Social:	Tus Tub acts as a spokesman, relating the story of his father's life, in response to a question addressed to his father.)
(Shopping:	[reported] An individual with experience takes charge of making a major purchase.)
(Social:	The other adults in the same quadruplex with the Vangs have no English classes. Tus Tub requests that we find classes for them.)

The examples given above were drawn from three situations:

Social: In this instance, we were just getting to know the family. Our appearance one Sunday afternoon had led to the eventual gathering of a number of male relatives in the Vang living room. (It is still a mystery where they all came from and how they assembled so quickly.) We began asking them questions about their lives in Laos, the war, and their subsequent flights to Thailand. Most of our conversation was conducted via Tus Tub as interpreter. The tales began with Tus Tub relating his father's life story, although to our surprise he did not consult his father, who was sitting silently close by; Txiv himself did not participate. Our questions to others, however, and their subsequent replies were quite fully translated by Tus Tub. Only the questions directed to his father were answered directly by Tus Tub without consultation.

Church: On this occasion, we had arrived for our usual Sunday visit with the family only to find them seemingly a little less happy to see us. It turned out that one of their recently arrived relatives had died suddenly during the night. (It was the son who explained this.) We took Tus Tub and his father to the church where the widow and other relatives had assembled and offered our help. In this instance, Tus Tub acted as interpreter for his extended family.

Shopping: We did not directly observe a group represented by an individual engaged in a shopping transaction, but an interview with two assistant store managers provided considerable information, including the example cited above, of the problems and shopping practices of Hmong customers in a discount supermarket in the Vang's neighborhood.

From the viewpoint of the individual adult learner, the strategy of using an interpreter or spokesperson is a kind of avoidance, a strategy that cannot aid the individual's own linguistic development. But from the communal point of view, of course, it not only provides the best means of conveying and receiving messages but it also, we may note, maximizes the language experience of the community's best speakers, presumably helping them to develop their own knowledge and communication skills even further. It is difficult to say whether this benefit is a conscious consideration in the community's selection of this means of communication.

The use of translators or spokespersons in intercultural communication is certainly nothing new and may not be uniquely associated with the Hmong community among America's linguistic minorities. But there are three points to consider which make it a phenomenon worth noting and worth further examination. Translators or spokespersons are usually used by people who have no need or no time to learn a language, for whom the communication situation is temporary and single-purposed, as, for example, the completion of a business deal or agreement on a treaty, or a week's visit to Hungary on vacation. But it seems probable that the Hmong who have immigrated here will be staying, which leads to the expectation that most of them should be interested in learning enough English eventually to function independently. Of course, it is possible that the community as a whole might survive without making this assumption—communal strategies of survival communication might provide a way for the community as a whole to succeed in its new life even though some individuals might never learn to communicate in English well enough to survive alone. It has in fact been suggested to us by William Smalley (personal communication) that the communal strategies we have described may be simply a continuation of practices successfully employed for cross-linguistic communication by the Hmong communities in Laos and Thailand. In both countries, the Hmong were never really considered natives, having migrated south from China over the preceding hundred years or so and having settled in the remote highlands, largely isolated from the majority language and culture. The question now is whether practices which may have served well under those circumstances are appropriate for a Hmong community existing in the midst of an essentially monolingual Western technological society.

4. Conclusion

We have examined some aspects of the interaction of one Hmong family with the English-speaking community to determine what sorts of language contact situations they encounter and what means they use to achieve communication in those situations. In the case reported here we find that English language use outside of the classroom is quite limited: the family we observed does not seek out, and sometimes actively avoids, situations requiring the use of English. Where communication with English speakers cannot be avoided, spokespersons or interpreters are usually employed, even though this role may elevate a younger member of the family to a position of prestige and authority. Only when this communal strategy of communication is not available do the parents attempt to communicate directly, and then the strategies they employ most are those which seem to promote language learning least. Thus the common assumption in second-language teaching that what is taught in the classroom will be reinforced through outside language contacts, particularly the assumption that adult learners will necessarily make use of their "survival English," is called into question.

We can only speculate as to whether this situation differs from the general experience of refugees and immigrants of other language backgrounds with very limited knowledge of English. We feel that the Hmong practice may reflect not only a lack of appropriate language learning skills on the part of individuals but also a tradition of community isolation and self-sufficiency carried over from the Hmong experience as a geographically isolated minority in Laos and, before that, in China.

The fact that the Hmong can achieve a degree of accommodation to American life without universal mastery of basic English language skills raises some interesting questions regarding the process of assimilation. Does the use of communal communication strategies provide a valuable buffer against some of the shock of relocation within a radically different cultural setting? Assuming that the use of interpreters as an alternative to developing individual proficiency in English provides some relief from culture shock, what are the consequences with respect to achieving economic self-sufficiency? Can jobs be found in which Hmong workers can communicate with their employers (or their customers) through the services of a bilingual foreman or interpreter? Or must each Hmong adult be expected to strive for linguistic independence through mastery of English as a prerequisite for employment?

These broad questions of resettlement policy are obviously very difficult to answer, and yet they are crucial to the English language teachers' decisions about what approach to take in the first stages of language instruction for refugee adults. Since we do not know the answers (and because our own investigation is too limited to support any broad generalizations), we hesitate to offer any suggestions for teachers. Teachers may, however, want to reconsider "survival English" as a matter involving the family or a group in some cases rather than just the individual. The teacher can choose to recognize, support, and even practice in class the process of communication through an interpreter. On the other hand, the teacher may wish to find ways to encourage and develop individual self-reliance in communication and practice in using English for genuine communication outside the classroom. In any case, the teacher will want to investigate in some way the nature of the language contact experiences of her own students.

Before we can be confident about the validity of generalizations from this case study to the broader Hmong community, much additional research is needed. We have not studied relations of children with their English-speaking peers, and we need to know more about how both amateur and professional interpreters manage the process of translation. Of course, a much larger population needs to be studied, including older adults, adults without children old enough to translate, and less isolated families. The process of communication among employees and between employees and employers has also not been studied.

With additional data, a number of interesting questions can be addressed. To what extent does avoidance of direct communication or the choice of communication strategies reflect learners' confidence in their own linguistic abilities and attitudes toward the majority culture? To what extent does the use of individual or communal communication strategies reflect the educational level and cultural traditions of particular refugee groups? And, from a practical viewpoint, how do attitudes toward communication and strategies of communication in the majority language affect the psychological, economic and cultural adjustment of refugees to the realities of life in this new land?

ADDENDUM

Naturally, in the year since this study was completed, things have changed some for the Vang family. They are no longer in the same apartment, although they are still surrounded by Hmong neighbors in their new place. Txiv now has full-time employment as an unskilled laborer. The church continues to help him in his communication with the management. Niam works part-time for a member of the church. They now have a couple of locations where they can raise vegetables in the summer. All three of the children seem to be succeeding in school. Tus Tub continues to integrate more thoroughly with the English-speaking community than either his sisters or his parents. The adult Vangs spend most of their free time with Hmong relatives and neighbors. The language skills of the parents have improved, although this improvement has been slow and their production is marked by fossilized errors. Tus Tub's speaking skill in English is now near-native. The two daughters are still much more shy about speaking than their brother, but seem generally to have improved.

REFERENCES

Bialystok, E., and M. Frohlich. 1980. Oral communication strategies for lexical difficulties. Interlanguage Studies Bulletin.

Faerch, C., and G. Kasper. 1979. Processes and strategies in foreign language learning and communication. Unpublished MS, Linguistics, Copenhagen University.

Gumperz, John J., and Dell Hymes (Eds.) 1964. The ethnography of communication. American Anthropologist (Special Publication) LXVI, No. 6, Part 2 (December 1964). 1979.

Palmberg, R. 1979. On the function of laughs in second language communication. Presented at the First Nordic Symposium on Interlanguage, Helsinki.

Tarone, E. 1978. Conscious communication strategies in interlanguage: a progress report. In On TESOL '77: teaching and learning ESL, H. Douglas Brown, Carlos Yorio, and Ruth H. Crymes (Eds.). TESOL, Washington, D.C.

Tarone, E. 1980. Communication strategies, foreigner talk and repair in interlanguage. Language Learning 30.2.17-31.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 2 September 1982

DESIGNING AN ESL PROGRAM FOR THE PRELITERATE INDOCHINESE ADULT: AN ACCOUNT OF ONE PROGRAM'S DEVELOPMENT

Ellen Vaut

This article describes the development of an adult ESL program for preliterate Indochinese refugees. Although the teachers in the program had training and experience in ESL, a great deal of creativity and flexibility was required of them. In view of the students' needs, special testing and record-keeping procedures were adopted for placing them into appropriate groups and tracking their progress. A curriculum that drew upon the students' real language experiences and needs was gradually established. A component for developing literacy skills at four levels became an integral part of the program. The presence of a bilingual Hmong teacher made it possible to include special presentations, guest speakers, literacy classes in the native language and math classes.

In the mid-seventies ESL classes in the Twin Cities began to include Indochinese refugees who had been resettled in the area. Most of these early refugee arrivals were quite well-educated and had at least some rudimentary English proficiency picked up from their association with American personnel during the war. Therefore, they could be integrated with relative ease into existing ESL programs. By 1978, however, a change was seen in the type of refugees needing English classes. Many of the newcomers were less educated and generally less sophisticated in the ways of the West. They had little or no previous experience with English and were often illiterate in their first language.

Earlier refugee groups had included Vietnamese, Cambodians, Lao and Hmong. In the late seventies more and more Hmong refugees were represented in the arriving groups. These were the family members of that first group of Hmong. Many of them had been soldiers in General Vang Pao's Hmong army. Otherwise, their backgrounds were

---

Ellen Vaut has been the coordinator of the special program for preliterate Indochinese adults since September, 1979. The program is under the auspices of the International Institute of Minnesota.

rural, with farming the main occupation. There were some smiths, tailors and carpenters among them, but basically the skills that they had were not easily transferable to their new communities. Yet they needed language to survive and, with their arrival, English as a second language became a vital step in the resettlement process.

The years 1978-81 were really a boom time for ESL teachers. In fact, many people were attracted to the field through working with refugees as sponsors, as tutors, or in the public schools. The arrival of the preliterate refugees opened a whole new area to those of us used to teaching university students. Suddenly we were faced with a classroom of people who had a lot of other needs besides learning English, and the kind of English they required was not the kind we were used to teaching. Terms such as "survival English" and "coping skills" became a part of our vocabulary.

I. Preliminary Considerations

In September of 1979 a group of teachers that I was coordinating was asked to start a program under the International Institute of Minnesota at First Christian Church in St. Paul. Our two main goals were to develop a curriculum based on the immediate oral language needs of our students, and to teach literacy skills. Students who completed our program successfully would then go into text-based classes at the International Institute of Minnesota, which had a broader curriculum and a more diverse student body. Our courses lasted seven weeks, so we estimated that most students would make the transfer in approximately four to six months. As time passed and we got to know our students better, we realized that it was impossible to set a time limit on a student's advancement to book readiness. The simple reason was that about a quarter of the students never did make it to this level. Because we did not want to make reading ability the one measure of success or failure of the students in the program, we found ourselves creating more specialized classes in oral development. We also found it necessary to limit the time that students could remain in the program, in part because of the long waiting list.

We soon found that learning abilities, rates, and styles among our students varied widely. In particular, we learned a lot about the effects of war and displacement, and how resettlement brought a whole new set of problems to offset the comforts of survival and peace. Some of our students took a full session to become fully aware of their environment. A few seemed permanently dazed. Yet all showed remarkable staying power: with few exceptions, attendance was excellent. Even women who had given birth the week before turned up in class. Our program served so many needs besides teaching English: the church offered the students a place to go, away from the cares of home; it was possible to get to know some Americans (who quickly became Hmong advocates) in a non-threatening atmosphere; the halls of the church could serve as a place of social and commercial gatherings as students met to discuss the latest news or material from Thailand. It was important for us to recognize these other areas of the students' lives in order to develop as humanistic a program as possible.

Developing a curriculum that would address the particular language needs of this group of refugees was a real challenge for us. Although we all had training and/or considerable experience in teaching ESL, we had never been faced with this particular kind of student. We quickly discovered that the key to designing a successful curriculum was cooperation and flexibility. We had a common need for good teaching ideas and materials, and we had common problems. We had a common stake in the eventual success or failure of the program too. Perhaps for this reason, the teachers were willing to put in extra hours developing materials and attending evening curriculum meetings. By the time the First Christian Church program closed, the staff had produced a student workbook with an instructor's guide, a "pre-book" curriculum and an impressive array of teacher-made materials.

The remainder of this article describes in more detail certain elements of the program, in particular evaluation and placement procedures, curriculum content, the literacy factor and cultural orientation. Before going on, it is important to point out one of the major difficulties of the development of a program like those that exist for the refugees. The people who fund the program, the students the program serves, and the community in which they live all will have expectations of the outcome of the program. These expectations may differ and they may not always reflect reality in terms of what the ESL teacher can accomplish. It is best to confront these expectations from the outset by communicating with everyone concerned about the program and its goals and limitations.

2. Evaluation and Placement

Testing and placing the preliterate student was not a skill that I started out with at First Christian Church. I soon discovered that much of what I needed to know about the student's ability and potential could be gleaned from the registration process. Very often, English-speaking relatives would accompany the applicant to help out. A certain amount of testing needed to be done in the first language for me to accurately judge the ease with which students would be able to transfer their experience into English. For example, if students could not tell time according to a clock, it was clear that they would have a great deal of difficulty when presented with this skill in English. Not only would the language be new, but also the skill. On the other hand, reading a clock in Hmong is quite similar to reading a clock in English, so students who already had this ability probably would not have too many problems translating their skills into English.

At the time, there were no commercial tests that were suitable for testing the pre-book levels, so we developed our own informal testing procedure. While filling out the registration card, we would ask common questions (What is your name? Are you married?) to which the students were likely to know the answers. During this time, we could tell quite a bit about the students' potential learning styles, which would affect our decision on how to group them. An applicant who was passive and withdrawn in the interview was likely to be a passive, withdrawn student in the beginning. However, appearances can be deceiving, and sometimes an unresponsive applicant turned into a lively and talented student once in the classroom situation. This is one reason why it was so important for the teaching staff to be flexible, especially during the first week or two of the session when it was sometimes necessary to regroup the classes.

Registering and testing a student took anywhere from ten to thirty minutes, depending on the level of the applicant. After filling out the registration card, we asked accompanying relatives not to translate any more so that we could test the applicant's knowledge of English. We began by having the student identify common objects (pen, book, chair). Even if the student could not respond, we asked several more questions to be sure that the student demonstrated no skill in English. Quite often, I found that the people accompanying the student were quick to say that the student knew nothing. For our purposes, however, any skill at all had meaning.

The sequence of the test questions, including the registration interview, is found in Figure 1:

Figure 1. Registration Interview Questions

1) What's your name?
2) What's your address?
3) What is it? (indicating pen, book, chair)
4) What color is it?
5) Where is the ________?
6) What is it? (indicating two-dimensional representation of common objects, food, clothing)
7) How many ________ do you see?
8) What is it? (indicating the letter A and proceeding in order, then randomly, both upper and lower case)
9) (Same as above using numbers.)
10) What time is it? (indicating clock on the hour, then half hour, then random time.)
11) Write your name.
12) Write your address.
13) What is it? (indicating a handprinted word such as name, pen, book)
14) (The student is asked to read a short sentence, handprinted.)
15) (Same as above using printed material.)

Students who could complete this entire test were transferred to the ESL program at the International Institute to join a text-based class. Students who remained in the First Christian Church program demonstrated ability anywhere between no response to twelve or thirteen responses. The program consisted of four pre-book levels with fast, moderate, and slow classes to accommodate different rates of learning.

Once the students were in a class, it was necessary to assess their progress at the end of every session. Because formal testing in class was difficult under the circumstances, the teachers devised a system of keeping track of the individual student's progress as it was demonstrated during regular classroom activities. The checklist (Figure 2 is a sample) was one efficient way of measuring the student's mastery of material.

Figure 2

Sample Checklist (ac) aural comprehension (op) oral production (rc) reading comprehension (wp) written production	Her, Mai	Xiong, Xoua	Yang, Lia	Vang, Ying	Vang, Yer	Lee, Chou
(ac) Directions						
(ac/op) Name						
(ac/op) Address						
(rc/wp) Name/Address						
(ac/op) Common Objects						
(ac/op) Numbers -25 & Plural						
(rc/wp) Numbers -25						
(ac/op) Time on hour						
(ac/op) Verbs (get up, go, eat, drink)						
(ac/op) Verbs & Time						
(ac/op) Family: husband, wife, child(ren)						
(ac/op) S/he & verbs						
(ac/op) Money - 25¢						
(rc/wp) Food items						
(ac/op) Verbs (like, buy, cook)						
(ac/op) "How much is it?"						
(ac/op) Numbers - 100						

Some teachers maintained a checklist mounted on the classroom wall and therefore visible to the class. The students could then gauge their progress by the checks beside their names. In so doing, they were made aware that progress was expected and that the simple act of coming to class every day was not enough.

In addition to rating the students in comparison with the rest of the class, we had to compare class groups in order to know where to move students next. This was done by my observing every class during the latter part of every session. I was interested in several things: where the class was in the curriculum for the level, what sort of learners the students were in general and individually, and how they had been taught during the session. After my observation, the teacher and I would confer about regrouping the students as they continued to the next level or repeated. Neither the teacher's judgment nor mine alone would have been sufficient in the assessment process.

3. Curriculum Development

I have previously described teacher and student backgrounds in order to put the task of developing a suitable curriculum in its proper perspective. For one thing, it was not possible to depend on what we had learned in school or previous experiences to guide us. Our present group of students was unique. So, to discover their language needs, we tried to look at the resettlement process through their eyes. Sponsors, friends, welfare workers, even bus drivers were helpful in this endeavor.

First, we compiled a list of priority vocabulary words. We then inserted them in simple grammatical patterns which were of immediate use to the students. To do this, we had to learn as much as we could about the students' living situations and daily routines. We also had to take into account what their potential lifestyles in the community would be: would they work outside of the home or be homemakers? Few of the students in our program would be eligible for further training at the vocational level. We therefore had to imagine what sort of jobs the workers would get.

The vocabulary that we compiled was categorized in the following themes: personal information, classroom objects (including colors and numbers), daily activities, home and family, food and shopping (including money), and health (including body parts, clothing and common ailments). At the lowest level, we asked students to concentrate on mastering a core vocabulary. Grammar points were presented in context but mastery was not expected. In the subsequent levels, we could use a familiar vocabulary to teach more grammatical language use as well as literacy skills.

Over the months that we worked with our students, there was a great deal of experimenting with the curriculum. This is another advantage of having a flexible staff. The teachers were always willing to try, and in fact actively sought, new ideas. They learned to capitalize on any occasion that brought real language into the classroom: a visit from a meter reader, a lost bus card, a mugging. Even the lowest level student would retain a word that was important to his or her particular situation. With higher level students, experience stories worked very well. Because these situations were of such interest to the students, we developed a series of dialogues that would enable the students to get out in the community and practice their English.

Methodology was one area where the teachers were left on their own. Although everyone used variations on the audio-lingual approach, we all had our own styles. Some teachers used many more visual aids than others. Some incorporated more formal drilling into their lessons than others. All shared their experiences and were willing to hear about others' and learn from them. For example, some teachers put a great deal of emphasis on developing active listening skills from the very beginning. Over the course of time, all of the teachers agreed on using certain listening exercises. Another time, we experimented with the Silent Way. It was not an effective method for us because it demanded active participation and our students were essentially passive learners. For this reason, we could not use other creative methods that we knew.

4. Teaching Reading

Teaching literacy skills in a second language is quite different from teaching a native speaker to read. Our students were missing the oral ability that the native speaker has. Although they were eager to learn to read and write, our students needed aural/oral skills first. We would present the written word only after it was learned orally. However, even Level I students required some immediate literacy skills, and in this we did not hold back. The sequence of literacy skill development in our program generally followed this pattern:

Level I: – The ability to read and write the name and address, the letters of the alphabet and numbers 1-30, and some key words such as name, address, city, state, which were useful in filling out welfare forms.

Level 2: The ability to read and copy sight words which were learned orally. At this level, we began to work on initial consonant sound recognition.

Level 3: The ability to recognize initial and final consonants, digraphs and blends, and a familiarization with vowels. The extent of phonics work depended on the students.

Level 4: More phonics work and a transition from handwritten words to print in preparation for using a book.

Again, we had to be flexible in our presentation of literacy skills. Not every Level 2 class was ready for consonant sound recognition, and not every teacher taught it the same way.

As with oral language, we found the key to retention was repetition and actual manipulation of words by the students. To this end, we relied on pocket charts a great deal. A pocket chart is a surface area with pockets or slots in which word cards or sentence strips can be displayed and manipulated. By organizing corresponding sight word cards and pictures into thematic kits, we created a small library of teaching materials that could be shared or duplicated for all the teachers. We also made specialized pocket charts for furniture in a house, family members, and a supermarket. The pocket chart and sight word cards enable the student to view the entire word without waiting for it to be written on the chalkboard. This is not only timesaving, but it helps students to learn the word as they would a picture, with an association with the meaning. (You can make a pocket chart using tag board, poster board strips and mystic tape.)

Teaching literacy skills was one of the goals of our program, and most of our students expressed a strong desire to learn to read and write. However, it soon became clear to us that not all of our students would achieve a degree of literacy that would permit them to follow a text-based class. In estimating their probable literacy needs, we decided to concentrate on reading prices, time, survival words such as stop, exit, and danger, and some key personal information words. So, in developing the literacy portion of our curriculum, we needed to know not only how to teach reading but to what extent to teach it.

5. Cultural Orientation

Most ESL classes incorporate cultural aspects of the language to help students better understand the society in which the language is used. In our case, our students were desperate for cultural information, yet they had minimal language ability with which to understand it. While everything we did related in one way or another to their eventual acculturation to American society, we felt a strong need for bilingual help which we did not have for the first nine months of the program. In the summer of 1980, we were able to hire a Hmong teacher to assist us. His presence enabled us to add a new dimension to our program. Some of the additions were not as successful or practical as others, yet all served to enrich our students' experience.

5.1 Weekly Cultural Presentations: For our students to really understand the vocabulary and information included in our curriculum, we organized weekly presentations of cultural information to be given in the students' first language. These sessions preceded language lessons which would deal with the same themes. For example, before presenting the unit on the family, we explained the American conception of the word family and compared it to the Indochinese family as our students explained it. A discussion of clothing included information on where to find free or inexpensive clothing and what was appropriate dress in specific situations. Money was a favorite topic, as was food. Each session gave us the chance to clear up misconceptions on the part of our students, and we learned a great deal more about their cultures and therefore their adjustment difficulties to ours.

5.2 Extracurricular Presentations and Guest Speakers: In addition to the cultural information sessions, we chose different topics, which were not necessarily covered in the curriculum, to be presented once a week after classes were over. These talks were given by members of the staff or by guest speakers representing various sectors of the community with which the students might be required to deal. The large student turnout proved the interest they had in better understanding their new society, yet not all of the sessions were as successful as we had hoped. For example, a representative of the Metropolitan Transit Commission came in to speak about taking the bus. She concentrated on how to read a bus schedule. The students wanted to know how to protect themselves on the more dangerous lines. However, they dutifully accepted the schedules she passed out and used them as fans. In another instance, a police officer emphasized the importance of a victim's being able to describe the perpetrator of a crime. He asked the students to practice by describing him. The students replied that all Americans looked the same to them. The officer went away a little less sure of himself than when he had arrived.

Three very successful sessions were a talk on immigration to this country by one of our teachers, a visit by a lawyer, and a series of presentations by the Ramsey County Nursing Service. These sessions were perhaps better presented to the students because the speakers were more familiar with the Indochinese and could appreciate the concerns and questions that they would raise. Even so, the less successful speakers learned quite a bit about the Indochinese community from their encounter with the students, and in this respect also, the sessions were useful.

6. Additional Components

6.1 Hmong Literacy Classes: Our Hmong assistant had been trained as a teacher in Laos and had a good knowledge of his own language, so we decided to experiment with some Hmong literacy classes. Obviously, it is desirable to become literate in one's own language before attempting to read and write a second language. We felt that learning more about Hmong would help motivate our slower students to learn

English. Although the classes were well attended and interesting to the students, we never had a chance to formally test the outcome. In order to be most effective, Hmong lessons should have preceded English lessons, yet time and funding were prohibitive factors. Also, our Hmong teacher was only able to work with us during the summer session. Subsequent Hmong assistants were not able to carry on the Hmong language lessons, so they were dropped from the program.

6.2 Math Classes: As with the Hmong classes, our math classes depended on the ability of the teacher and his command of the subject. We offered these classes in addition to the math in the curriculum because of the strong interest on the part of certain students. However, there were many problems involved with running successful math classes. In every class, a wide variety of abilities was represented so the teacher had to be prepared to present several levels of problems. This entailed a good bit of materials development and lesson planning. In one group the teacher might spend time explaining the concept of subtraction by using beans, then proceed to another group to explain the concepts of carrying or borrowing. A third group worked on multiplication problems. One excellent feature of these classes was the way in which advanced students became tutors to slower students, learning the importance of showing others how to do something themselves rather than always having things done for them.

This paper has described the development of one ESL program for preliterate Indochinese refugees for the purpose of sharing what was learned from the experience with others in the field of ESL and with future ESL teachers. I hope that this account of our experience will encourage future program developers faced with similar challenges.

MinneTESOL Journal
Vol. 2 September 1982

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORK IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Jeanette K. Gundel

Language teachers are becoming increasingly interested in having their students achieve communicative competence. Assumptions about what constitutes communicative competence are based on research in discourse analysis. This five-part bibliography is divided into a general overview section, a section on linguistics pragmatics, a section on the structure of conversation, one on second-language acquisition, and a concluding section on applications in the classroom.

The goals of most language teachers today go beyond the teaching of grammatical competence—the knowledge underlying a speaker's ability to produce and understand grammatical sentences in a language—to communicative competence—the ability to use such sentences appropriately in a given linguistic and social context. A good language teacher thus needs to be aware not only of the grammatical rules of the target language but also of the rules for using the language appropriately in different discourse contexts. Such rules, like the rules of syntax and phonology, differ from one language to another.

Just as assumptions about what students must learn to achieve grammatical competence are based on research in the syntax and phonology of a given language, assumptions about what must be learned to achieve communicative competence are based on research in discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a somewhat loose label for any investigation of language whose domain goes beyond the single sentence. (It is not, as some might think, the latest linguistic theory, replacing transformational grammar or one of its competitiors.) The bibliography below is intended to give ESL teachers an overview of the kinds of questions that discourse analysts are asking and possible applications that answers to these questions might have for the ESL classroom. The bibliography is far from exhaustive; it includes only those works which directly address implications of various aspects of discourse analysis for ESL and EFL teaching and learning.

Jeanette K. Gundel is Assistant Professor of Linguistics and English as a Second Language at the University of Minnesota.

The bibliography is divided into five parts. Part I includes general overview papers on discourse analysis and its relation to language teaching. It also includes one introductory text, Coulthard's An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. This is not the only (or the most recent) book-length introduction to discourse analysis. It is, however, the one which is probably most useful for ESL teachers because of its focus on applications to foreign language teaching.

Part II is titled Linguistic Pragmatics. Pragmatics may be defined as that field of linguistic inquiry which is concerned with the relation between sentences and the context in which they are used (context here being broadly defined to include speaker, addressee, preceding and following sentences, etc.). Unlike the term discourse analysis, which refers to any investigation of discourse regardless of whether the goal is to understand language or some other form of human behavior such as social structure or psychology, the term linguistic pragmatics generally refers only to studies which have the primary goal of contributing to our understanding of human language. The works in this section fall into two basic groups—those which investigate the relation between discourse context and different grammatical structures (e.g. active vs. passive) and those which are concerned with the kinds of speech acts (e.g. apologizing, asserting, requesting, etc.) that can be appropriately performed with different sentence structures across languages.

Part III, The Structure of Conversation, includes investigations of the structure of units larger than the single sentence. Most of the articles in this part are concerned with the way in which conversations between native and non-native speakers are structured and the effect that aspects of that structure have on communication between members of the two groups.

The papers in Part IV, Second-Language Acquisition, are all concerned with contributions that discourse analysis can make to our understanding of the language learning process. Some of these, like the paper by Michael Long, discuss possible effects of native speaker discourse input on second language learning. Others, like the paper by Thom Huebner, attempt to explain learners' errors in the second language on the basis of discourse-related grammatical features of their first language.

Part V, Classroom Applications, contains work whose primary objective is to make specific recommendations for application of discourse analysis to language teaching and learning.

I. GENERAL

Briere, Eugene. 1980. Communicative competence, variable rules and interdisciplinary research. In Research in second language acquisition. Selected papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Acquisition Research Forum, Robin C. Scarcella and Stephen D.

Krashen (Eds.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 89-94. Note Forum: pp. 89-94.

Canale, Michael and Merrill Swain. 1980. Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. Applied Linguistics 1:1-47.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1977. An introduction to discourse analysis. London: Longman.

Hatch, Evelyn and Michael Long. 1980. Discourse analysis, what's that? In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 1-40.

Paulson, Christina B. 1974. Linguistic and communicative competence. TESOL Quarterly 3.3:347-362.

II. LINGUISTIC PRAGMATICS

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana. 1982. Learning to say what you mean in a second language: a study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. Applied Linguistics 3.1:29-59.

Boggs, Steven T. 1972. The meaning of questions and narratives to Hawaiian children. In Functions of language in the classroom, C. B. Cazden, V. P. John and D. Hymes (Eds.). New York: Teachers College Press.

Borkin, Ann and Susan M. Reinhart. 1978. Excuse me and I'm sorry. TESOL Quarterly 12:57-69.

Carrel, Patricia and Beverly H. Konneker. 1981. Politeness: comparing native and non-native judgments. Language Learning 31.1:17-30.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne. 1980. Contextual analysis of English: application to TESL. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 41-55.

Cohen, Andrew D. and Elite Olshtain. 1981. Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: the case of apology. Language Learning 31.1:113-134.

Fraser, Bruce, Ellen Rintell and Jol Walters. 1980. An approach to conducting research on the acquisition of pragmatic competence in a second language. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 75-91.

Fraser, Bruce. 1981. Insulting problems in a second language. TESOL Quarterly 15.4:435-441.

Grimshaw, Allen D. 1973. Rules, social interactions and language behavior. TESOL Quarterly 7.2:99-115.

Gumperz, John J. 1965. Linguistic repertoires and second language instruction. In Report of the 16th Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study, C. W. Kreidler (Ed.). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, pp. 81-90.

Hademan, Dorothea J. 1977. Pattern in purported speech acts. Journal of Pragmatics 1:143-154.

Holmes, Janet and Dorothy F. Brown. 1976. Developing sociolinguistic competence in a second language. TESOL Quarterly 10.4:423-431.

Rintell, Ellen. 1979. Getting your speech act together: the pragmatic ability of second language learners. Working Papers in Bilingualism 17.

Scarcella, Robin. 1980. On speaking politely in a second language. In On TESOL '79: the learner in focus, C. Yorio, K. Perkins and J. Schachter (Eds.), pp. 275-287.

Selinker, Larry, M. Todd Trimble and Larry Trimble. 1978. Rhetorical function-shifts in ESL discourse. TESOL Quarterly 12.3:311-320.

Sornig, Karl. 1977. Disagreement and contradiction as communicative acts. Journal of Pragmatics 1:347-374.

Vander Brook, Sue, Daren Schlue and Cherry Campbell. 1980. Discourse and second language acquisition of yes/no questions. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 56-74.

Walters, Joel. 1980. The perception of politeness in English and Spanish. In On TESOL '79: the learner in focus, C. Yorio, K. Perkins and J. Schachter (Eds.), pp. 275-287.

III. THE STRUCTURE OF CONVERSATION

Allwright, Richard L. 1980. Turns, topics and tasks: patterns of participation in language learning and teaching. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.), Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 165-187.

Beebe, Leslie M. 1980. Measuring the use of communication strategies. In Research in second language acquisition. Selected papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Acquisition Research Forum, Robin Scarcella and Stephen Krashen (Eds.), pp. 173-180.

Chaudron, Craig. 1977. A descriptive model of discourse in the corrective treatment of learners' errors. Language Learning 27.1:29-46.

Gaskill, William H. 1980. Correction in native speaker—non-native speaker conversation. In Discourse analysis in second language research, Diane Larsen-Freeman, (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 125-137.

Levine, Leslie. 1980. The influence of social role on communication in a cross-cultural medical interview. Plan B paper for MA in English as a second language. University of Minnesota.

Long, Michael. 1975. Group work and communicative competence in the ESOL classroom. In *New directions in second language learning, teaching and bilingual education*, Marina Burt and Heidi Dulay (Eds.). Washington, D.C.: TESOL, pp. 217-223.

Shuy, Roger. 1974. Problems in communication in the cross-cultural medical interview. *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics* 19.

Sinclair, J. M. and R. M. Coulthard. 1975. *Towards an analysis of discourse: the English used by teachers and pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.

Stovall, Mary E. 1977. Strategies of communication in ESL learners. In *Proceedings of the Los Angeles second language research forum*, C. Henning (Ed.). UCLA, pp. 76-84.

Tarone, Elaine. 1977. Conscious communication strategies in interlanguage: a progress report. In *On TESOL '77: teaching and learning English as a second language: trends in research and practice*, H. D. Brown, C. Yorio and R. Crymes (Eds.). Washington, D.C.: TESOL, 194-203.

IV. SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Bradford, Arthur, Richard Weiner, Michael Culver, Joung J. Lee and Dorina Thomas. 1980. The register of impersonal discourse to foreigners: verbal adjustments to foreign accent. In *Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research*, Diane Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 111-124.

Chaudron, Craig. In Press. Foreigner talk in the classroom—an aid to learning? In *Classroom language acquisition and use: new perspectives*, H. Seliger and M. H. Long (Eds.) Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Godfrey, Dennis L. 1980. A discourse analysis of tense in adult ESL monologues. In *Discourse analysis in second language acquisition research*, Diane Larsen-Freeman, (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 92-110.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1978. Discourse analysis and second language acquisition. In *Second language acquisition*, E. M. Hatch, (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

______________, R. Shapira and J. Gough. 1978. Foreigner-talk discourse. *ITL Review of Applied Linguistics* 39-60.

Huebner, Thom. 1979. Order-of-acquisition vs. dynamic pardigm: a comparison of method in interlanguage research. *TESOL Quarterly* 13.1:21-28.

______________. 1980. Creative construction and the case of the misguided pattern. In *On TESOL '80: building bridges*, J. D. Fisher, M. A. Clarke and J. Schachter (Eds.).

Larsen-Freeman, Diane. 1977. A rationale for discourse analysis in second language acquisition research. In *On TESOL '77*, M. D. Brown, C. A. Yorio and R. H. Crymes (Eds.), pp. 172-177.

Larsen-Freeman, Diane (Ed.). 1980. *Discourse analysis in second language acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Long, Michael H. 1981. Questions in foreigner talk discourse. Language Learning 31.1:135-138.

Peck, Sabrina. 1978. Child-child discourse in second language acquisition. In Second language acquisition, E. M. Hatch, (Ed.). Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.

____________. 1980. Language play in child second language acquisition. In Discourse analysis in second language acquisition, Larsen-Freeman (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, pp. 154-164.

Schachter, Jaquelyn and William B. Rutherford. 1979. Discourse function and language transfer. Working Papers in Bilingualism 17.

Schmidt, Richard and Jack C. Richards. 1980. Speech acts and second language learning. Applied Linguistics 1.2.

V. CLASSROOM APPLICATIONS

Allen, J. P. B. and Henry G. Widdowson. 1974. Teaching the communicative use of English. International Review of Applied Linguistics 12.1:1-21.

Candlin, C. N. 1976. Communicative language teaching and the debt to pragmatics. In Georgetown roundtable on language and linguistics, C. Rameh (Ed.). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Press, pp. 237-256.

Carpenter, Cristin and Judy Hunter. 1981. Functional exercises: improving overall coherence in ESL writing. TESOL Quarterly 15.4:425-435.

Di Pietro, Robert J. 1982. The open-ended scenario: a new approach to conversation. TESOL Quarterly 16.1: 15-20.

Eppert, F. and K. J. Kuepper. 1979. A speech act theory approach to second language teaching. Canadian Modern Language Review 36:49-58.

Leech, Geoffrey and Jan Svartvik. 1975. A communicative grammar of English. London: Longman.

Lezberg, Amy and Ann Hilferty. 1978. Discourse analysis in the reading class. TESOL Quarterly 12.1:47-55.

Ross, David. 1981. From theory to practice: some critical comments on the communicative approach to language teaching. Language Learning 31.1.

Widdowson, Henry G. 1978. Teaching language as communication. London: Oxford University Press.

____________. 1978. Notional functional syllabus: part 4. In On TESOL '78, C. H. Blatchford, and J. Schachter (Eds.). Washington, D.C.: TESOL, 33-35.

Wilkins, D. A. 1976. Notional syllabusus. London: Oxford University Press.

The Alemany Press
P.O. Box 5265 San Francisco, Ca. 94101 (415) 661-1915

Reference and Resource

What to Do Before the Books Arrive (And After)

by Jean D'Arcy Maculaitis
and Mona Scheraga

Practical activities and lesson plans from Day One. For new and experienced teachers or administrators. Unique features include ideas for fund raising, parental involvement, welcome booklets, language bank, career and vocational ed units from Kindergarten through Adult ed. Very extensive bibliography.

0-88084-008-0 $6.95

COMMUNICATION STARTERS

by Judy E. Winn-Bell Olsen

Appropriate for: adult classes, short-term intensive programs and high school. Some application to College and Primary levels. Includes some specific lesson plans and suggestions for developing your own activities.

Includes activities with tape recorders, cuisinaire rods, pictures, role plays, interviews, relays, bingo and other games adapted for ESL, activities for spelling, reading and writing in beginning classes, holiday activities and special touches. Annotated Bibliography.

0-88084-000-5 (USA) $5.95

Drawing Out

by Sharron Bassano and
Mary Ann Christison

A teacher's reference and resource guidebook to introduce student-created images to the language classroom. Presents activities for individual work, Dyads, Small Groups and Unified Group projects.

0-88084-006-4 Price not set

LOOK WHO'S TALKING!

by Mary Ann Christison
and Sharron Bassano

A guide to developing successful conversation groups in intermediate and advanced ESL classrooms.

Building a classroom atmosphere where students can learn to express themselves freely and sincerely requires careful planning in 1) design of strategies, 2) preparing the students and 3) selecting subject matter. *Look Who's Talking* offers a manageable approach to prepare students and teachers for conversation and presents 65 detailed activities for the classroom. Extensive annotated bibliography.

0-88084-004-8 (USA) $6.95
0-08-29445-6 (UK) £3.50

English Through Drama

by John Dennis, Suzanne Griffin
and Robert Wills

A reference and resource text for teaching ETD in the ESL classroom as well as for teaching the actual. Covers background & theoretical basis as well as classroom exercises at the beginning, intermediate and advanced levels.

0-88084-001-3 $4.95

English Through Poetry

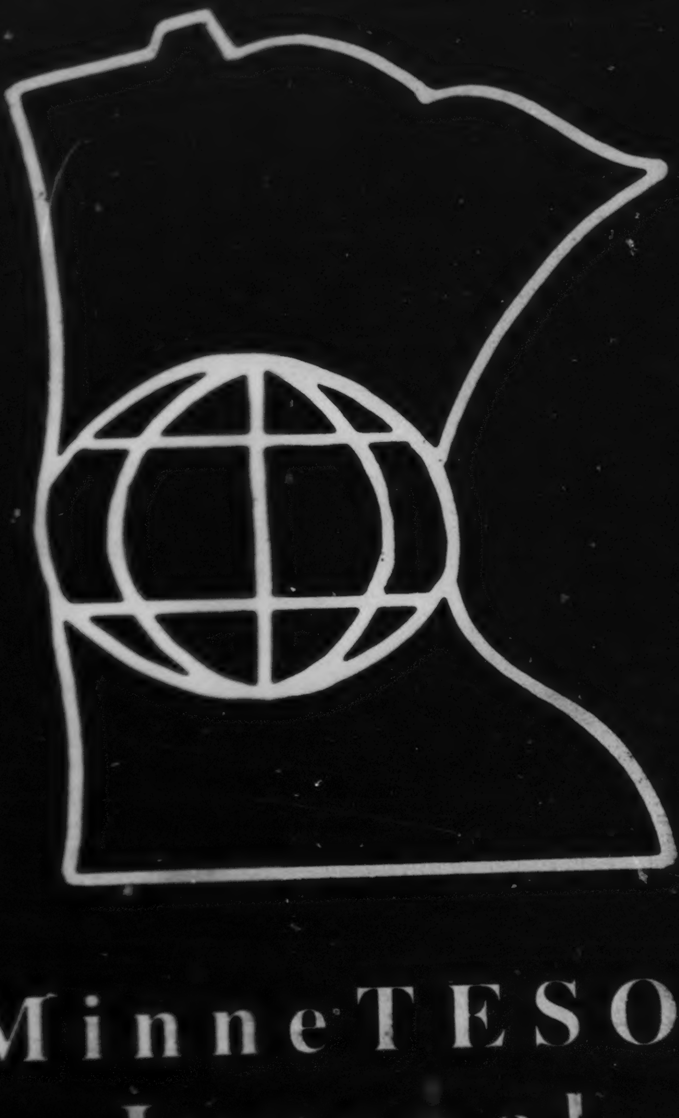
by Mary Ann Christison

Presents guidelines for selecting and using poetry, stimulating students to write poetry, and classroom activities for young children and adults. Includes choral readings, readers theatre scripts and a short anthology of poems which have been successful in ESL classes.

0-88084-002-1 $6.95

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages



MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 3

Fall, 1983

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Volume 3 **Fall 1983**

Table of Contents

Current Events for ESL Students:
A Course Description for the Teacher
Terry L. Fredrickson 6

Cultivating the Cabbages:
An ESP Program for Refugees
Adele G. Hansen 18

Hmong Bilinguals:
How did They Learn English?
Lois Malcolm 29

Facilitating Teacher Growth:
An Approach to Training and Evaluation
Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, and William Perry 42

An Evaluation of a Training Course
For Foreign Teaching Assistants:
A Case Study Approach
Mark Landa and William Perry 56

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

JOURNAL EDITOR

Mark Landa

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Joan Bachman
  Rochester Public Schools
Elizabeth Henly
  University of Minnesota
Robin Murie
  University of Minnesota
Eric Nelson
  University of Minnesota
Diane Pecoraro
  Minneapolis Public Schools
Tom Richards
  University of Minnesota

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Cheryl Anderson
  Windom School,
  Minneapolis
Laura Buchanan
  University of Minnesota
Ellen Comer
  Macalester College
Adele G. Hansen
  Hennepin Technical Center
Cheri Landa
  International Institute
Jenise Rowekamp
  State Dept. of Education
Judith Strohl
  Windom School,
  Minneapolis
Linda Thain
  Cherokee Heights School,
  St. Paul
Nancy Ward
  Minnetonka Public Schools

MinneTESOL OFFICERS
1982-83

President
Mary Jane Lipinski
  University of Minnesota

Vice-president
Mark Landa
  University of Minnesota

Second Vice-president
Kathryn Hanges
  University of Minnesota

Secretary
Martha Faltesek

Treasurer
Lisa Boehlke
  Windom School,
  Minneapolis

EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Officers and

Leslie Crawford
  Moorhead State University
Richard Halverson
  Bloomington Public
  Schools
Ellen Mamer
  Mounds View Schools
Mary Rodriguez
  Battle Creek Junior High,
  St. Paul
Ruth Strubel
  Lyndale School,
  Minneapolis
Jean Teigland
  CPT

Membership in MinneTESOL ($10) includes a subscription to the Journal, which is published in September.

Business correspondence should be addressed to: Editor, MinneTESOL Journal, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

Editorial Policy

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: (1) instructional methods, techniques, and materials; (2) research done in the context of the classroom with implications for ESL teachers; (3) philosophical issues related to curriculum, program design, and the education of LEP students. Submit manuscripts to the Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*, (Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455).

Manuscripts

Manuscripts submitted to the *MinneTESOL Journal* must conform to the guidelines in the *TESOL Quarterly* (June, 1983). Two copies of each manuscript should be submitted with an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to Kathryn Hanges, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

FOREWORD

This third volume of the MinneTESOL Journal includes two articles on ESL course design, an article dealing with the social and psychological factors affecting the acquisition of a second language, and two articles concerning the training of teachers.

There is some evidence in the field to suggest that content-based courses, such as the one described by Terry Fredrickson in the first paper, are beginning to supplement and even replace skills-based courses for advanced students, especially at the college level. However, while it may be true that the daily news is the focus of the course "Current Events for ESL Students"—and this focus enhances student motivation—the development of listening, reading, and discussion skills and the structure of journalistic writing are also given comprehensive treatment in the course described in the paper.

The next two articles reflect the fact that Minnesota has become a major center of Hmong immigration. The first of these, Adele G. Hansen's "Cultivating the Cabbages: An ESP Course for Refugees," describes a course that taught functional and communicative skills to the Hmong through the content areas of agriculture, math, and business. Lois Malcolm's "Hmong Bilinguals: How did They Learn English?" explores a range of factors that influence the process of acquiring a second language. Of particular interest is her finding, on the basis of a limited number of subjects, that a positive relationship existed between time spent in formal education and English proficiency, but that there was no such relationship between time spent in the ESL classroom and proficiency.

Teacher training is the general subject of the last two articles. Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, and William Perry make an important contribution to the controversial area of teacher evaluation and the often elusive role of the teacher-trainer or supervisor in "Facilitating Teacher Growth: An Approach to Training and Evaluation." The final article in this volume draws upon case studies to evaluate the course Classroom Communication for Foreign Teaching Assistants, which has been offered at various times at the University of Minnesota since 1978 in response to a widely recognized need.

One theme of the articles in Volume III is the important role of ESL in promoting communication between non-native speakers of English in the state and long-time Minnesotans, who may have just recently become aware that the field of ESL exists. This issue is dedicated to these people who have come to depend upon our field: students struggling to understand the nightly TV news, vocational-technical instructors explaining equipment manuals to refugee students, Indochinese case workers and their American colleagues, and American undergraduates and their foreign teaching assistants in calculus and other classes. For these groups the purpose of MinneTESOL's existence has never been more compelling.

M.L.

CURRENT EVENTS FOR ESL STUDENTS:
A Course Description for the Teacher

Terry L. Fredrickson

This paper is for the teacher who might be interested in teaching a "content" ESL course. It describes a course based not on a particular language skill, but on a particular subject area—in this case, world news. After giving a rationale for teaching such a course, the article discusses preliminary decisions in organizing the course. Specific questions raised by the use of the various media are addressed in the second half of the paper. Examples of appropriate materials are given in the appendix.

Current Events for ESL Students, a ten-week non-credit course at the University of Minnesota, is intended for upper intermediate and advanced learners. It meets for five 45-minute periods a week. It is designed to help the learner develop the skills necessary to make use of the English language news media, first as a means to language enrichment and growth and, ultimately, as a source of information and entertainment. Course content is based on the major international and national news events of the day as portrayed in newspapers, magazines, and radio and TV news broadcasts.

I. Rationale

Current Events (CE) is a bridge between traditional ESL courses where language acquisition is the paramount concern and academic courses where language is primarily a tool for obtaining new information. It is an ESL course in the sense that language skills are conscientiously developed, but it is also much like an academic course in that these skills are a means to a higher end—the understanding of the news. Thus, students listen to a news analysis not

---

Terry L. Fredrickson is a teaching associate in the ESL Program at the University of Minnesota. He is the author of Meeting People: A New Approach to Listening Comprehension published by Longman Group Limited, 1980, and co-author of English by Newspaper, which is soon to be published by Newbury House.

simply as a listening exercise but to find out why the Russians are hostile to President Reagan's arms control plan. They scan a Time magazine article on West Germany partly to develop this skill, but more importantly to gain perspective on the upcoming elections—a story which will soon dominate the international section of the local newspaper.

Basing an ESL course on the news media has a number of advantages. The content is timely, interesting, useful, and above all accessible. Ambitious learners have innumerable chances to master the subject matter. They can get a five-minute radio news summary on the hour, a 30-minute television report in the evening, a detailed recapitulation in the morning newspaper, and a more reflective account of the very same news from a weekly news magazine. News presentation is, for the most part, formulaic, so the teacher can concentrate on the particular rhetorical patterns common to journalism. Subject matter is recurrent and much of the vocabulary is subject specific. Stories about fires have one set of high-frequency terms; reports of election results have another. CE avoids the artificiality common to most ESL courses. Students can work up to their capacity and interest. Each day the task is clear, and there is little question as to why a particular skill must be mastered.

Perhaps the strongest justification for CE is that it introduces learners to a lifetime self-study program which should enrich their experience in the United States and help prevent the stagnation of language development which so often sets in upon return to the native country. The English language news media is well represented abroad. News broadcasts are available through the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America. Most major cities have at least one local English language newspaper, and the International Herald Tribune and the Wall Street Journal use satellite technology to give same-day distribution to most of the world. Time and Newsweek also have international editions.

The news is inherently interesting. If the teacher acquaints the students with what is available from the media and how to get the most out of it, they will do the rest on their own.

2. Preliminary Decisions

2.1: *Choosing Materials*: The key text is unquestionably the daily newspaper. It is only through regular attention to the newspaper that students see the recurrent nature of news stories and acquire the background necessary for successful use of the other news media. Fortunately, student subscriptions are available (see details below). It is also important, however, that students be exposed to a range of materials, so that they can see how the news is presented throughout the mass media.

The following materials are used in the Minnesota course:

1) Minneapolis Star and Tribune. This is available weekdays at the student subscription rate of ten cents a day (minimum of 10 copies a day).
2) Excerpts from English by Newspaper by Fredrickson and Wedel (Newbury House, forthcoming). This is a self-study text which covers both the hard news format and the other styles of newspaper writing.
3) News magazines. Students are assigned periodically to read excerpts from Time and Newsweek and are required to buy one of these magazines at least once during the term.
4) Articles from the New York Times and USA Today.
5) Taped radio news reports.
6) Videotaped TV news broadcasts.

2.2 *Determining the focus:* It would appear that the teacher faces a major decision in focusing the course. Is it to be primarily a language course which only incidentally draws its material from the news media? Or is it to be a content course whose only language input comes from the fact that English is the medium of instruction? In fact, there is no conflict. Mastery of content requires the development of (1) background and (2) language competence. Presumably, students who enroll in this course are deficient in both, and the course must, therefore, deal with both.

2.3 *Organizing the News Component:* There seem to be two basic approaches to dealing with the news in the classroom. Class sessions could be devoted to the daily news, drawing heavily on the newspaper and the radio. Or they could be concerned with in-depth studies of major events, with one or more sessions devoted to a single topic and drawing on a wider range of materials.

The first approach is somewhat unwieldy, especially for a 45-minute class. It is difficult to cover many stories in this time, and it is impossible to deal adequately with the background necessary for a real understanding of current events. The second approach has a number of advantages. Major stories are often long-term, recurring periodically for weeks, months, even years. Thus, an in-depth look at a major story can pay dividends over the entire term. Equally important, this approach gives the teacher time to collect material from a variety of sources, and students can research different aspects of a situation.

Topics are chosen in three ways. Certain stories are known well in advance. During the winter of 1983, for example, it was clear from the beginning that the West German elections would take place on March 6. The arms control talks in Europe, a major issue in this campaign, were scheduled to reconvene in late January. The crisis in Lebanon showed no signs of resolution and was bound to make news throughout the term. Other stories happen without warning, but when they occur it is immediately clear that in some cases they will be long-term. The 1983 oil price war is a good example. Finally, class composition and student interest must figure in story selection. A large Latin American contingent will warrant emphasis on this region of the world. Students want a say in determining course content.

2.4 *Organizing the Skills Component:* For the most part, the skills component follows automatically from the content covered in the course. Reading skills must be sharpened to deal with the print media and listening skills to deal with radio and TV. Students must learn to deal efficiently with massive amounts of new vocabulary. But in addition to the skills necessary to comprehending the news, there is considerable opportunity to improve spoken and written competence as well. Students can, for example, learn to organize, lead, contribute to, and summarize discussions. And they can submit written reports of their conclusions.

Each of these skills will be dealt with in detail in the next section. In organizing the course, however, it is necessary to have a clear idea of how skill development will mesh with the presentation of content. Vocabulary acquisition requires immediate attention since it is only through a systematic approach that retention is maximized. Discussion activities, too, should begin immediately, with various techniques introduced progressively throughout the course. For example, students should learn how to prepare for discussions, how to make and defend their points, and how to disagree with opposing positions. The strongest students could also be trained as discussion leaders.

Major news events will largely determine the subject matter of the newspaper stories, news broadcasts, and magazine articles assigned, but skill development can proceed irrespective of content. With the newspaper, for example, the highly systematic hard news format would be considered prior to the more idiosyncratic feature format. The news magazine, a far more difficult medium, would be used intitially for skimming and scanning activities to supplement. A radio news broadcast might simply be used to update the morning newspaper. As the course progresses, however, the radio could be used independently of the newspaper—especially for news analysis and interpretation.

3. Presentation

3.1 *General Organization:* Classes are of three basic types.

1) One type of class session deals with one or more major issues

in the news. The ability to use the news media to gain information is as much a matter of background as it is of language. This type of class is devoted primarily to building this background through lectures, handouts, and student research.

The lecture is a good way of presenting information on subjects for which readings would normally be long and complex—subjects such as the U.S. budget or the U.S. electoral system. As with any listening activity, however, there is the danger that many students will miss essential information. For this reason, the teacher may want to hand out a summary of the lecture in the following session, underlining, and sometimes defining, new vocabulary items. The summary fills in the gaps for the weaker students and acts as a review sheet as well.

It is inevitable that at least one story considered during the term will be a continuation of a story which first appeared in the news months prior to the start of the course. In such cases, it is helpful for the teacher to prepare a background handout which includes a brief history and some of the vocabulary likely to be associated with a story of this type. Since this involves a great deal of work, a useful format for the handout is a timetable which lists major events in chronological order and can be easily updated from term to term. (I am still able to use material on Poland which I developed in 1980.)

Particularly complex stories provide opportunities for group work. If, for example, Time magazine produced a lengthy article on nuclear weapons in Europe, one group might focus on the weapons systems involved, another on the NATO position, and another on the Soviet position. Alternatively, the various groups might examine magazine, newspaper, and radio treatments of the same problem. They would then, of course, pool their information.

Major events have the nasty propensity of occurring simultaneously, and there is no way a course of this allotted time can keep abreast of everything. During the spring of 1983, however, I was able to cover a surprisingly large number of stories by delegating responsibility. By giving different homework assignments culled from newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts to individual class members, and by encouraging students to retrieve this information during class discussions, I was able to increase the information content of the course dramatically. To focus these discussions, I prepared worksheets using both a multiple-choice format and open-ended questions. Many of these questions could be answered from general knowledge or from previous background sessions, but certain questions could only be answered conclusively from the individualized homework assignments. I purposely gave many of these assignments to weaker students to ensure that they would have something to contribute. I particularly like this type of activity since it provides for purposeful homework assignments and at the same time it fosters a sense of community effort.

2) Another type of class deals with the news of the day. During the spring of 1983, I devoted one class session a week to the viewing of a videotape of the day's news. I taped the noon news for a 1:15 class, so the content was extremely current. I conducted this class in a variety of ways with a variety of purposes. The first several sessions dealt strictly with the TV news broadcast. Students would first try to anticipate what would be on the news on the basis of the morning newspaper, or from any other news broadcast they might have heard. I would then play the tape through once (7-8 minutes) without stopping, and students would summarize what they were able to catch. We would then decide what additional information was needed to understand this broadcast, and I would assign individuals to listen for specific points. I would then replay the tape, stopping whenever necessary and discussing content and vocabulary as needed.

Later in the course, I would also tape a radio news broadcast and prepare a handout glossing essential vocabulary. In class I would give the tape to a group of students, who would go to another room to work on the tape for a specified period of time—usually 25 minutes. In the meantime, I would work on the videotape with the remainder of the class. When the radio group returned, I would replay the videotape. The TV group would explain any difficult content, and the radio group would supplement the TV broadcast with information gleaned from the radio.

Still later in the course, the TV and radio groups would produce their own 'newscasts,' in which students would alternate coming to the front of the room and 'anchoring' stories. Announcers were often chosen from the weaker students, the better students having acted as language coaches during the listening sessions.

Aside from the advantage derived from the division of labor, the comparison between radio and TV broadcasting was in itself instructive. Radio, unburdened by the need for film footage, was usually strongest in covering the late-breaking story, but was at the same time severely restricted by its four-minute allotment. TV—at least the noon variety—was strongest on the feature story, but often missed major stories which had broken during the morning.

3) The third type of class is devoted to skills development. Several classes during the term were devoted strictly to the development of particular skills. These sessions involved vocabulary acquisition, the hard news format, and the news magazine. For the most part, however, language skills were covered within the context of a news story. For example, the first ten minutes of a discussion activity might be devoted to a particular discussion technique, but the bulk of the class would involve the discussion itself.

3.2 *Vocabulary Acquisition:* The vocabulary acquisition process can be broken down into four steps: (1) the use of context for guessing meaning, (2) dictionary use, (3) retention of essential vocabulary, and (4) activizing vocabulary. All should be addressed early in the course.

The first two topics are covered thoroughly in the text English by Newspaper. Vocabulary retention is handled in several ways. First, students are introduced to the concept of 'core vocabulary,' the vocabulary likely to be encountered in a particular subject area. A story about a fire would have its own set of terms, including items such as char, gut, extinguish, explode, and arson. A report of a trial might include indict, testimony, verdict, and appeal, depending on the stage of the proceedings. During the spring of 1983, when the situation warranted it, I would make up a list of core vocabulary items to which the students could add as a story developed. The advantage of this approach is that such items do recur, greatly increasing the chances of retention. I also used the class summary for retention purposes and consciously recycled previously introduced vocabulary in handouts.

The final step—making a word part of the active vocabulary—is by far the most difficult. It involves comprehension, pronunciation, forming a hypothesis as to how a word is used, actual use in writing or conversation, assessing the native speaker's reaction, reevaluating the hypothesis, and reuse. During the last term, I developed a handout which outlines an eleven-step procedure (See Appendix 1).

3.3 *The Newspaper:* Newspaper stories are written in a variety of formats, some more amenable to description than others. CE considers the following four: (1) the hard news format, (2) the feature format, (3) the news analysis, and (4) the editorial.

The hard news format is known in the newspaper parlance as the 'inverted pyramid.' This format is used for most basic news stories and is by far the most common story-type encountered by students in CE. In many respects, it is an ideal format for the learner. A story is summarized at the beginning and then retold in greater detail. Items are arranged in descending order of importance. Sentence structure is highly consistent, and vocabulary is largely topic specific. Technical vocabulary is explained, and the writer supplies necessary background.

It is the teacher's job to make the students aware of the predictable nature of this format and how to exploit it. A simple reading comprehension procedure for students to follow might be:

1) Read the beginning of a story very carefully because it contains the most important facts.

2) Try to anticipate what will follow in the rest of the story. Good journalists carefully consider the questions their readers are likely to have, and they answer them.

3) If you don't understand something at the beginning of a story, keep reading. You will often get a second (and perhaps a third) chance to understand.

Feature stories are far less systematic than hard news stories and offer serious difficulties to the learner. Since their purpose is often to entertain as much as inform, they contain troublesome interest-catching devices. Key facts are often delayed, and it may take three or four paragraphs to find out a story's topic. Features tend to be lengthy and concentrate on stories with high human interest value. Considerably more attention is spent on setting and character development.

Since CE is primarily concerned with hard news, the feature format is a minor subject in the course. It is important, however, to point out the difference between the inverted pyramid and the feature format to avoid creating the false impression that all news stories can be read the same way.

News analysis is usually clearly marked as such and is quite straight-forward. Here, it is not style but background that creates the most serious problem for the learner. A news analysis will not be particularly meaningful unless the student has had previous exposure to the news event under discussion. Yet news analyses are especially useful to a current events course because they organize and interpret the facts discussed in hard news stories, and they give the learner an idea of how a story might develop in the future.

The editorial is, of course, a statement of opinion. The learner's purpose should be to find out (1) the topic under consideration, (2) the writer's opinion, and (3) the writer's supporting arguments. A quick look at the beginning and the end of the editorial will generally yield the first two points and set the stage for the third. While there are as many styles as there are editorial writers, it is helpful to point out one very common editorial format: (1) the statement of the problem, (2) the consideration and rejection of opposing solutions, and (3) the presentation and defense of the favored solution.

The text English by Newspaper deals extensively with the language of newspaper journalism—especially the hard news variety. Since the text is designed to be a self-study program, many of the formulaic aspects of news writing can be dealt with in homework assignments. Classroom time can therefore be spent on the application of the principles learned in the homework to actual news stories. Here, the emphasis is on content rather than format.

3.4 *Radio and TV:* One of the delightful features of a current events class is that the learner gets more than one chance to understand the material. The subject matter discussed in the print media is also available through radio and television, so the learner has a listening back-up to reading, and vice versa.

The teacher's overriding purpose in using material from the electronic media is to make the students aware of this accessible resource and to help them to use it. One of the best ways of doing this is to schedule a regular radio and TV session, such as the one discussed earlier in this paper. (See 2 in section 3.1.) Many teachers, of course, do not have access to TV in the classroom, but it is a simple matter for a teacher to obtain taped, even live, radio material for a class.

There are many ways of using this material. The five-minute news summary, an essential topic for CE, can be used to update the morning newspaper. Students can take control of the tape recorder, stopping the tape wherever necessary and discussing the content. In such a situation, the teacher is merely a resource person. Another useful activity is to compare newspaper and radio treatments of the same story.

News analyses such as those found on National Public Radio are another good source of material. They can be used in small research groups or sent home with individual class members. If they are used without teacher supervision (a good idea), the teacher should supply a gloss of new vocabulary and give explicit listening tasks to give purpose to the exercise. The teacher should provide the students with a list of regularly-scheduled news programs to encourage independent listening.

3.5 *The News Magazine:* Throughout most of the course, I use magazine articles as supplementary material for the major news stories we have been following in the newspaper. I make copies of articles for small groups, or for individuals who act as experts in class discussion. During the spring of 1983, I noticed that more and more of the better students were actually buying Time or Newsweek on a weekly basis. I eventually had the whole class buy one issue. We spent several weeks working on the magazine article format and discussing how it fits into a student's learning program. The suggestion sheet in Appendix 2 is a partial result of that unit.

4. A Final Consideration

In this short paper I have concentrated on class organization and some of the presentation techniques that might be used in a content course on the news media. The teacher should not, however, lose sight of the ultimate goal of such a course. Success is measured in what happens after the course has been completed—the goal is for the student to acquire the 'news habit' and actively use the English language news media.

Appendix I

MAKING A WORD PART OF YOUR ACTIVE VOCABULARY

Suppose you are reading a newspaper and you find the word "access." Suppose you have already seen this word many times before, but you have never looked it up in the dictionary. Now you want to know its exact meaning and you want to learn how to use it—you want to make it part of your active vocabulary. What do you do?

1. Look at the full sentence in which you found the word.

> "There is no way that the developing countries can repay their debts if they don't have access to growing markets in the industrialized world."

2. Find out what part of speech the word is. (Is it a noun, verb, etc.?) In the above sentence "access" is clearly a noun. It is the object of the verb "have."

3. Find out as much as you can about the word by looking at the sentence.

—"Access" is something that you can have.
—You can have access to a market.
—Developing countries need to have access to markets in the industrialized world in order to repay their debts. Therefore, it seems that "having access" must be something good. It allows a country to repay its debts.

4. If you can, try to make a guess at the word's meaning. A good guess for "access" would be "the ability to use, enter or compete in."

5. Now look in your Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. (The guess you make in step 4 will help you find the most appropriate meaning if the word has many meanings.) Find the correct meaning of the word.

access 1. (C) means of entering; way in; entrance.
2. (U) means or right of using, reaching or entering.
3. (C) a sudden attack.

Meaning 2, "right of using," is the most suitable meaning.

6. Study the word's pronunciation. This is necessary because you want to be able to use the word in speaking as well as writing.

access / 'ækses / Notice that the stress is on the first syllable.

7. If the word is a noun, find out how to form the plural. If it is a verb, find out its various forms and whether or not it can take an object (The Longman dictionary uses "T" for transitive and "I" for intransitive.)

access n. 2. (U) means or right of using.

(U) means "uncountable" so "access" has no plural form.

8. Look at any example phrases or sentences in your dictionary. Notice any surrounding words.

2. (U) means or right of using, reaching or entering. "Students need easy access to books."

Note: need easy access to books

9. Look back to the sentence where you found the word. Notice the words that surround it.

"have access to markets"

"Access" seems to occur with "to" + object.

10. Try to make up several sentences using the word.

"I need access to speakers of English."
"I don't have access to a tape recorder."
"Mexico needs access to low interest loans."

11. Try to use the word in a conversation with a native speaker. Watch the native speaker's reaction. If the person doesn't seem to understand, use a synonym and again watch the reaction.

Appendix 2

THE NEWS MAGAZINE

The news magazine is another tool that you can use to learn about the world and to improve your English.

Most people who read news magazines also read newspapers and follow the news on radio and TV, so they already know much about the news before they begin their magazine. Thus, the function of the news magazine cannot primarily be to report the news. Instead, its purpose is to analyze and interpret the news.

While the news magazine is not as up-to-date as your daily newspaper, it does have certain advantages. Probably the biggest advantage is time. The news magazine has one week to prepare its stories and they are, therefore, better researched and better organized than newspaper stories. The news magazine also provides pictures, charts, and graphs to help you understand each story.

Magazine articles are similar to newspaper feature stories, so they may appear difficult. If you follow these suggestions, however, you should be able to catch the main points:

PREREADING

1. Look at the contents at the beginning of the magazine. It often gives short summaries of the main stories.
2. Look through the whole magazine for stories of interest.
3. Look at the pictures, at the captions beneath the pictures, and at the headlines.
4. If a story looks interesting, skim through it to see if it really is interesting and if it is easy enough to understand.

READING A STORY OF YOUR CHOICE

1. Read the headline carefully.
2. Look at the pictures and read the captions.
3. Read the first paragraph to get a general idea of what the story is about. The first few sentences of the first paragraph are often "interest catchers." The main point of the paragraph generally comes towards the end.
4. Skim the rest of the story, focusing on the first sentence of each paragraph. These sentences usually
   a) connect the paragraph with the previous paragraph
   b) introduce the topic of the new paragraph
   These sentences can be very informative. For example:
   "However, the next experiment succeeded."

   "However," is a connective of contrast. The preceeding paragraph must have discussed a failed experiment. The new paragraph discusses the opposite situation: a successful experiment.
5. If you get lost, reread the headline and the picture captions to remind you of the story's main point.

CULTIVATING THE CABBAGES:
An ESP Program for Refugees

Adele G. Hansen

This article describes the creation and development of an English for Special Purposes (ESP) curriculum used in a refugee agriculture project. That project, funded by Church World Service and Hennepin Technical Center, was aimed at teaching American agricultural techniques to adult refugees. The first participants of the program, Hmong refugees, had little or no formal education in their native land. The ESP curriculum focused on these students' needs. It consisted of two components: 1) an ESL component which stressed the language of agriculture and used everyday functional and communicative skills and 2) a math and business skills component which taught mathematical computations and financial considerations. Course development necessitated close cooperation between technical and language instructors.

I. Background

The late 1970's saw an influx of Hmong refugees into the state of Minnesota. These people were different from earlier groups of refugees in that most had little or no formal education in their native land. Some were prenumerate (unfamiliar with any formal written numerical system) as well as preliterate. These refugees presented a challenge for adult education programs.

Most adult education instructors were trained to work with students literate in their own language, students who had the experience of at least a few years in school and who possessed some study skills. Suddenly this new group entered ESL classrooms, forcing teachers to revise their methods. Instead of teaching English grammar, reading, and composition, instructors began to focus on the functional role of

---

Adele G. Hansen is an instructor of English as a Second Language at Hennepin Technical Center. She is currently working with the Refugee Agriculture Project at that school.

English in various survival situations. Students were taught how to locate apartments, find health care, become knowledgeable consumers, and search for jobs.

For many of the Hmong refugeees, the hope of finding employment in their new land became an elusive dream. Most had no marketable skills. They had lived as subsistence farmers in an agrarian economy in small villages. In the United States, they had been placed in an urban environment that valued technical skills. Language learning was a slow process, made even slower by budget cuts at the federal and state levels which reduced the number of available language programs and decreased the number of classroom hours. The refugees' limited English and lack of marketable skills made most jobs unattainable to them.

In 1981, a Church World Service survey of Hmong in the Twin Cities found that many of the refugees hoped to move to the countryside, where they could once again farm. Service administrators discussed the idea of providing a farm for the Hmong. Their discussion focused on how American farming differed from that practiced in the Laotian hills and on the need that the refugees would have for instruction in American agricultural techniques.

At the same time, Hennepin Technical Center's ESL coordinator and Agriculture Resource Management coordinator were discussing the feasibility of operating an agricultural training program specifically for refugees. The school offered vocational training in specialty crop production at its Long Lake campus. With some modification, that training could be made suitable for refugees; however, financial sponsorship was necessary.

Pure chance brought the sponsoring agency and the training program together, and the Refugee Agriculture Project was born. This program could give the refugees hands-on training in the fields—planting, cultivating, and harvesting a variety of vegetables and fruits. Area markets could be utilized and studied by the trainees. Planners introduced the idea of teaching technical English along with agriculture.

At its conception, the project planners assumed that program participants had studied in a traditional adult education program. They also assumed that the participants possessed some basic knowledge of English, but no initial assessment of English skills was made. The main criterion in the screening process was an interest in farming.

Ten male refugees were selected for the first class. All had been in the U.S. for eighteen or more months. All were employed as primary wage earners. English competence among the ten varied widely.

2. Planning

An important step in the ESP curriculum planning was an analysis of the language used in agriculture. This involved an in-depth interview with the instructor of the agriculture class. The interview led to the compilation of an agriculture vocabulary list which included words for tools, machines, and various activities.

Oral language was the primary need of the program participants. The students learned by watching the instructor, listening to his explanations, and then repeating his actions. Specific activities were performed under his direction. Given the technical nature of the language, close cooperation between the agriculture and language instructors was essential. Weekly meetings were planned so that instructors could discuss the progress of the students and their farming activities.

The project also involved the refugees in marketing. They would communicate with many people and transact business. A knowledge of American money and basic mathematics was necessary. The language instructor needed to teach math and business skills as well as language skills.

The students studied a total of 40 hours per week. Language class met two hours per day, five days per week. Four days emphasized language skills. One day emphasized math and business skills. The rudiments of an ESP curriculum were shaped.

3. Implementation

Language classes began in June, 1982. Skills were assessed with the multiple choice Ilyin Structure Test of English Language (STEL) and a general interview. Most of the students needed general English communication skills. A majority of the class had limited vocabularies, nine could not sustain conversation, and two were illiterate.

Theoretically, a technical English curriculum is meant to "clarify and reinforce the language needed in order to succeed in a particular training program" (Menges and Kelly, 1981). Such a course is not meant to be a substitute for a general ESL course. Yet because of the special needs of the Hmong, a language course with special English for agriculture topics was created.

The ESP curriculum consisted of two components: 1) a language component of eight units emphasizing mathematical computations and farm management skills. Material within the units was presented in a spiral fashion so that the students had the constant review necessary to make new language meaningful. Within the language component, units were presented and then reviewed as more grammatical patterns were practiced. The math/business skills component first introduced basic computations and then related them to farming and business transactions.

4. The ESL Component

The focus of the first part of the ESL component was on the language of agriculture. The students' interest in their technical studies served as an incentive to acquire some basic linguistic skills. Grammar was taught within the context of agriculture-related subject matter. The students profited most from the material when it directly related to their experience in the fields. In coordination with the technical instructor, the curriculum units were sequenced to follow the order of the vocational training.

Despite the emphasis on oral work, some written exercises were created to reinforce particular grammatical patterns. To solve the problem of a multilevel class, two versions of the exercises were prepared.

Reading skills were not ignored. Volunteer tutors were enlisted to work with the lower level students.[1] Three ESP reading lessons were created for the more advanced students. Each of these lessons contained an illustrated reading passage, comprehension questions, and grammatical exercises based on the language used within the passage. The passages focused on technical subject matter, but the passages were not used to teach new material. They were rather a supplement to technical coursework. For example, a passage about insects and pesticides was used after the students had sprayed pesticide on their fields and had discussed spraying in their technical class.

The units of the language component aimed at introducing new technical vocabulary and increasing the oral fluency of the students. Language was taught as a function of specific situations, and grammatical exercises were related to the farm context. (For a more complete description of the curriculum, see the appendix.)

Four units, Units 1,2,3, and 7, emphasized description in an effort to build the students' vocabularies. In Unit 1 (Introductions), the students practiced the verb be while describing themselves. They also practiced some new descriptive vocabulary that they would later use when filling out business forms. In Unit 2 (Vegetables and Fruits), the students first identified some common Minnesota crops and then practiced describing them. The vocabulary in the unit was later reviewed when information about count and non-count nouns was presented.

---

[1] These tutors, trained by the Minnesota Literary Council and the Westtonka Adult Education Program, used the Laubach Skill books and the supplementary reader, Hills' Garden Shop, which contained many agriculture-related vocabulary items.

Hand tools were identified and described in Unit 3 (Common Hand Tools). In this unit the passive voice was practiced. While this grammatical point is not ordinarily taught to low-level general ESL students, it is prominent in English for science and technology texts.[2] Therefore, the students were taught to use sentences containing passive constructions when they described various tools. (Two examples of practice sentences are The sprayer is made of metal and The rake is used for cultivating.)

Unit 7 (Domestic and Wild Animals) was the fourth unit emphasizing description. In this unit, the students identified and described various animals that they might encounter in the fields. This unit was created after one refugee had an encounter with a skunk, and all participants agreed that the skunk was a dangerous animal. The vocabulary in this unit was useful when the students practiced comparative sentences.

Unit 4 (General Activities) and Unit 5 (Routine Activities) were included to help the students review and learn some new verbs as well as to practice the English tense system. The specialized nature of the class was evident as low-level students learned vocabulary such as cultivate, till and harvest in order to discuss their activities in the fields.

Unit 6 (Health and Safety) focused on the functional use of English as students reviewed the vocabulary used to talk about health problems and discussed the idea of health maintenance. Program participants also learned some common first aid procedures. A nurse and a CPR instructor were enlisted to help present some of the material in this unit, and with them the class described some traditional Hmong remedies and enthusiastically practiced CPR.

In Unit 8 (The Tractor), the students learned new vocabulary and practiced various adverbial constructions. The material was later reviewed when causative constructions were introduced.

---

[2] Writing Scientific English, John Swales; Nucleus General Science, Martin Bates and Toney Dudley-Evans; A First Course in Technical English, Lynette Beardwood, Hugh Templeton and Martin Webber; and A Course in Basic Scientific English, J.R. Ewer and G. Latorre are four examples of such texts.

The final two units were created because the instructors believed that all the students would need some specialized reading and writing skills. Since most farmers rely on seed catalogs for information about various crop varieties, a unit on ordering supplies (Unit 9) was created. The class read excerpts from various catalogs, discussed their content and then answered specific questions about the information that they had read. They also practiced filling out catalog order forms.

A unit on the banking system (Unit 10) was included so that project participants would learn the vocabulary needed to use an American bank. All of the students had a chance to practice writing checks, balancing a checkbook, and reading a bank statement.

5. The Math/Business Skills Component

The second major part of the ESP curriculum taught math and business skills. The students seemed intrinsically interested in this material. The Hmong students entered the program with varied mathematical abilities. Some were acquainted with the four basic mathematical processes; others simply had more new material to learn.

The first three units of the math/business component dealt with basic mathematical procedures: addition and subtraction, multiplication, and division. Because the students needed to know the four math functions in order to sell their produce, all math procedures were eventually related to the marketing task. In the fifth unit (American Money), the students had to practice computing total sales, making correct change, and calculating prices of fractional amounts of produce.

Unit 4 (Fractions) introduced most of the students to the concept of fractions, which they utilized in their marketing transactions as well as in the sixth unit of study (Measurement). In this latter unit, students were taught the English vocabulary for measures of length and weight. They practiced using a ruler and various scales. They also practiced measuring volume with the various containers and dry measures used by farmers. While the math/business component concentrated on using mathematical procedures, certain linguistic structures that seemed appropriate were introduced and practiced during the units. For example, comparatives were studied in the measurement unit.

Sound business skills are a necessary part of farm management. For students from a culture with little or no written history, the concept of recordkeeping was a new idea. A unit on budgeting (Unit 7) was created to foster an awareness of the various expenses an American farmer would incur and to demonstrate the value of keeping accurate records of those expeditures. This unit was taught late in the course of the year and the students were able to use information about their own project to calculate annual farm income and expenses.

Finally, Unit 8 (The Tax System) was created so that the students would become aware of the various types of taxes and familiar with the forms associated with those taxes. Given the complexity of the tax system, the students were not expected to comprehend the various forms. Rather, it was hoped that they would learn to recognize where tax information and assistance could be obtained and what type of records should be kept for tax purposes.

6. Cooperation Between Technical and Language Instructors

An important element in an ESP program is the supportive interaction between technical and language faculty.

Technical instructors are an easily located source of information about a particular field of study. In this project, the agriculture instructor was extremely helpful in providing information about the training program and the day-to-day activities in the fields. Technical expertise also permitted the development of the business skills curriculum directly related to specialty crop farming.

During the course of the year, both technical and language instructors attended each others' classes to gain an understanding of the students' educational needs. The technical instructor was a resource person for the specialized vocabulary of agriculture. The language instructor was able to suggest to the technical instructor teaching methods which suited non-native speakers of English. The technical instructor provided a weekly schedule of field activities so that the language instructor could relate grammar exercises to the students' vocational training. Because of the free flow of information between the instructors, the language class was able to review material discussed in earlier technical classes. This additional review was especially helpful for the refugees.

ESP curricula are essentially ad hoc because they cater to the needs of a particular group of students. Each new group poses different problems for the instructors. An open channel of communication between language and technical faculty permits speedy curriculum revision to meet the needs of each new group of students. In such a way, language learning can be an integral part of a vocational training program.

APPENDIX

Hennepin Technical Center Refugee Agriculture Project ESP Curriculum

ESL Component

Unit 1 Introductions
Objectives: The students will introduce themselves.
The students will describe themselves.

Unit 2 Common American Vegetables and Fruits
Objectives: The students will identify the names of some common vegetables and fruits.
The students will describe the vegetables and fruits.

Unit 3 Common Hand Tools
Objectives: The students will identify some common hand tools.
The students will describe the tools in terms of length, weight, and composition.
The students will correctly state the use of some common hand tools.

Unit 4 General Activities
Objectives: The students will review some general activities vocabulary.
The students will learn some general activities vocabulary related to farming.

Unit 5 Routine Activities
Objectives: The students will review vocabulary pertinent to daily routine activities.
The students will describe their daily activities.
The students will learn vocabulary pertinent to seasonal farm activities.
The students will learn vocabulary pertinent to cyclical events related to agriculture.

Unit 6 Health and Safety
Objectives: The students will know the English vocabulary for talking about health problems.
The students will be able to ask and answer questions about health problems.
The students will know some American remedies for some common ailments.

The students will be aware of the concept of health maintenance and relate this awareness to their own lives.
The students will know the English vocabulary for describing accidents.
The students will know some common first aid procedures.
The students will be aware of American drug laws.

Unit 7 Common Domestic and Wild Animals Found in Minnesota
Objectives: The students will identify some common domestic and wild animals.
The students will describe some common domestic and wild animals.

Unit 8 The Tractor
Objectives: The students will learn the vocabulary for the different parts of the tractor.
The students will describe the functions of the different parts of the tractor.

Unit 9 Ordering Supplies
Objectives: The students will learn how to use seed catalogs to order some supplies.
The students will learn how to fill out an order form.

Unit 10 The Banking System
Objectives: The students will learn the terms necessary for using the American banking system.
The students will practice using a checking account.
The students will learn how to open a savings account.

Math and Business Skills Component

Unit 1 Review of Addition and Subtraction
Objectives: The students will review the English numerical system.
The students will review the principles of addition.
The students will review the principles of subtraction.
The students will apply the principles of addition and subtraction to simple business transactions.

Unit 2 Multiplication

Objectives: The students will learn the principles of multiplication.

The students will use multiplication in business transactions.

Unit 3 Division

Objectives: The students will learn the principles of division.

The students will use division in business transactions.

Unit 4 Fractions

Objectives: The students will understand the concept of fractions.

The students will correctly pronounce the names of some common fractions.

The students will use fractions when completing some business transactions.

Unit 5 American Money

Objectives: The students will recognize the different types of American bills and coins.

The students will transact simple business (marketing) using American money.

Unit 6 Measurement

Objectives: The students will learn the American English vocabulary for measuring length and weight (solid and liquid).

The students will correctly state the measurements of various objects.

Unit 7 Budgeting and Record Keeping

Objectives: The students will learn about various farm expenditures.

The students will prepare a budget based on the income and expenses of a farm.

The students will recognize the function of business receipts, sales brochures, and check stubs.

The students will learn the importance of recordkeeping.

The students will learn that effective farm management depends on recordkeeping.

Unit 8 The American Tax system

Objectives: The students will be aware of the various taxes.

The students will be familiar with the vocabulary related to the tax system.

The students will be aware of the uses of tax dollars.

The students will be familiar with some of the forms associated with taxes.

The students will know where to locate tax information and assistance.

References

Lotte, Charles Walter. 1978. The English used in lectures to students of engineering. Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Menges, Patricia A., and Michael G. Kelly. 1981. Putting the V in VESL. In Selected papers from the ninth Illinois TESOL/BE annual convention, Richard Orem and John Haskell (Eds.).

Moorehouse, C. 1980. Linked-skills courses. ELT Documents 106: Team teaching in ESP, The British Council.

HMONG BILINGUALS:
How did They Learn English?

Lois Malcolm

How does bilingualism evolve? Sociolinguistic studies of the contact between two speech communities have focused on the larger social, political, and economic forces affecting language usage patterns. Most research in second language learning, however, has been concerned with the variables affecting an individual's acquisition of another language. This paper raises the following question: Does the social structure emerging when two cultural groups interact influence the strategies and skills individuals bring to the task of language learning? The intent in this study is to discuss the nature of the role played by bilingual facilitators of Hmong resettlement, and to describe aspects in the experience of these individuals that have enabled them to function in these roles. The suggestion is made that social role within the intersection of speech communities is an important variable affecting the potential individuals bring to the task of learning another language.

I. Introduction*

What factors influence the development of bilingualism? Sociolinguistic studies have looked at this issue from the perspective of the social and political forces affecting the contact between two speech communities. The bulk of research on second language

---

Lois Malcolm is a teaching associate in the ESL Program at the University of Minnesota.

*This study is based on work done under a National Endowment for the Humanities grant for the study of Hmong resettlement in the Twin Cities. I would like to express my appreciation to the facilitators who graciously took time out of their busy schedules to participate in interviews. William Smalley (senior researcher on the NEH study project) initially suggested that I explore this area and has given much time helping me develop the study.

acquisition, however, has focused on factors affecting the individual, for example, motivation, attitudes towards the target language community, personality, and cognitive styles. The following questions can be raised: Are there sociological forces shaping the effect these variables have on an individual's language learning? More specifically, do specialized roles within the intersection of two speech communities affect the strategies and motivations individuals use in acquiring another language? This paper looks at one group of successful language learners, Hmong bilinguals[1] serving as facilitators in Hmong resettlement, and discusses aspects of their experience in light of these questions.

2. Review of Related Literature

Sociolinguistic studies of populations that use more than one speech variety have been concerned with the effect social processes have on the degree of change (stability) in language usage patterns (Fishman 1972, Haugen 1953). A variety of questions can be considered in regard to an immigrant population's acquisition of a new language. To what extent, for example, does the minority group wish to identify itself with the host culture? Is the goal to assimilate fully with members becoming increasingly monolingual in the host language? Or is the goal to maintain a strong ethnic identity within the mainstream culture, and establish a stable state of bilingualism where the host language is used for one set of functions and domains, and the native language another? Practically speaking, how will such a minority identity be maintained when economic advancement is often correlated with the dislocation of traditional home, neighborhood, and organizational practices (Fishman 1972)? And what are the host population's attitudes towards the immigrant group (Gardner and Lambert 1972)? More important, what are the prevailing economic and social conditions influencing these attitudes?

---

[1] The term bilingual is used here to refer to persons who possess at least one of the language skills (listening, speaking, reading, or writing), even to a minimal extent, in a second language.

Although sociolinguistic questions are important to an understanding of second language learning, the bulk of research in second language acquisition has focused on the variables affecting the individual learner. One such variable, motivation, has been described as being either 'integrative,' in which the learner wants to communicate with speakers of the other language, or 'instrumental,' in which the learner wants to use the language for some utilitarian purpose. Of these two, the integrative appears to be more crucial (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Related to motivation are the attitudes a language learner may have towards the foreign culture. Although yielding slightly different conclusions, studies by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and John Oller and his colleagues (Oller et al 1977, 1978) have shown that positive attitudes towards the target language group enhance proficiency. With regard to studies of personality characteristics, the little research carried out on the relationship between self-esteem and second language acquisition suggests that the self-confident, secure person is more successful at language learning (Dulay et al 1982). In a similar vein, Gardner and Lambert have proposed that individuals with a high need for achievement are better language learners. Other studies have explored differences in cognitive styles and the effect this has on language learning (Naiman 1978). Krashen (1976) has looked at the effect of formal education as well.

The few studies on Hmong acquisition of English have dealt with both sociological and individual factors. Reder (1982) studied the English acquisition of a 3,000-member Hmong community in an urban center in the western United States. He concluded that both the social organization of Hmong communities in Laos and the characteristics of their resettlement in the United States influence the motivations and strategies individuals used in learning English. Robson (1982) came to similar conclusions with regard to factors in the native environment. She studied the effect of Hmong literacy and formal education on the performance of 114 students in ESL classes at the Ban Vinai camp in Thailand and found that both Hmong literacy and formal education were correlated with better English proficiency. With regard to characteristics of the resettlement community in the U.S., Schwartz (1982) observed a relationship among isolation from the broader English-speaking community, unemployment, and limited English proficiency in a study of 40 Hmong students in Orange County, California.

From another perspective, Downing and Dwyer (1982) have postulated that a category of 'communal communication strategies,' involving the selection of one fluent speaker to represent the group, must be recognized in analyzing second language communication among tightly knit groups such as the Hmong family. They analyzed the English language interactions of one Hmong family and found that spokespersons were usually employed in situations where communication with English speakers could not be avoided.

Perhaps a parallel can be drawn between the communal strategies used by a family and the strategies for communication utilized by an immigrant group within the host culture. In the same way that certain individuals are chosen to represent the family, perhaps a particular group of individuals within the Hmong community is chosen to represent that minority group in its interactions with the broader host society. Factors partially determined by the social organization of the Hmong community in Laos (access to literacy, formal education, contact with the Lao society, etc.) help to develop in these individuals' capabilities for effective language learning. These capabilities enable them to rapidly acquire a functional competence in English. A functional competence in English qualifies them for facilitating positions in Hmong resettlement. These roles, in turn, provide access to a variety of contacts with native English speakers which further enhance English proficiency. Thus, it can be seen that both the social structure in the native environment, and the social patterns that emerge within the resettled community shape the potential certain individuals have for acquiring another language.

This paper explores this interaction between social forces and individual motivations and strategies in regard to language learning. It describes the experience of those individuals serving as facilitators in Hmong resettlement, and discusses factors relevant to their role within the interface of Hmong and English speech communities.

3. Method

3.1 *Informants:* Interviews were requested of seventeen Hmong bilinguals serving in professional positions as facilitators in Hmong resettlement. 'Facilitator' is used here to refer to those persons hired by social agencies, church groups, etc., to aid in the resettlement process of Hmong refugees in Minnesota. Table I lists the agencies these facilitators represented along with their job title, age, and sex.

Table I

Agency	Job Title	Age	Sex
Ramsey County			
Welfare Department	Social Worker	30's	male
Public Housing	Management Interpreter	30's	male
East-West Metro Project	Interpreter	20's	female
	Interpreter	30's	female

Voluntary Agencies			
International Institute	Hmong Case-worker	40's	male
Project RISE	Hmong Case-worker	40's	male
Lao Family Community, Inc.	Bilingual Education Coordinator	30's	male
Hmong Enterprise Project	Director	30's	female
Church related Agencies			
Lutheran Social Services	Hmong Case-worker	40's	male
Catholic Charities	Hmong Case-worker	40's	male
Church World Service	Hmong Case-worker	30's	male
Hmong Christian Church	Clergyman	40's	male
Southeast Asian Ministries	Interpreter	20's	female
University of Minnesota			
College of Education	Bilingual Specialist	40's	male
Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project	Bilingual Assistant	20's	male
	Bilingual Assistant	20's	male
	Bilingual Assistant	20's	male

These informants were chosen because they are functionally competent in English, i.e. they have been hired for their positions precisely because they are able to function well enough in both English and Hmong to accomplish the tasks entailed by these roles.

3.2 *Procedures:* The following content areas were covered in 45-minute interviews: 1) a list of languages the facilitators speak, where they learned them, how, for what purposes, and with whom they spoke them; 2) a description of their formal education, including time spent in the ESL classroom; and 3) a description of the jobs they have held both in Laos and in the U.S.

The interviews followed an approach to ethnographic interviewing suggested in Spradley (1979). Descriptive and structural questions developed the content areas in different ways depending on the nature of each interview. Descriptive questions were used to elicit as much information as possible about particular events in the facilitators' lives. They included such general 'grand tour' questions as "Could you tell me about your experience in the military?" These were then narrowed to 'mini-tour' questions like "Could you describe the responsibilities you had as a colonel in the army?" Facilitators were also asked to give accounts of particular incidents they experienced, for example, in the army, refugee camps, ESL classes, etc. Structural questions were used to obtain an understanding of the facilitators' organization of relationships within a domain or category being discussed, for example getting a picture of how the different ranks in the primarily Hmong section of the Royal Lao Army were seen in relation to each other.

4. Findings

4.1 ***Degree of Multilingualism:*** With the exception of one 20-year old woman who had not attended school in Laos and was therefore illiterate in Lao, all of those interviewed could speak, understand, read, and write in Hmong, English, and Lao. Eleven had some familiarity with French. Ability in this language tended to be related to the level of education attained. Two were highly proficient: both had gone through graduate training in French and had lived in France for at least three years prior to coming to the U.S.; one of these had published in French. Four others had gone to the Lycee (high school) in Vientianne where classes were held in French. The five remaining had not reached the high school level but had gone to school in the province of Xieng Khouang during the 1950's when classes were still held in French. Those who could not speak French attended public schools during the late 1960's and early 1970's when French was only taught on an everyday basis in the private schools (or at the Lycee). All said that they could understand Thai. The only ones who had to actually use it, however, were those who had to communicate with Thai officials as part of their responsibilities in resettling Hmong refugees at the Thai refugee camps. (Seven had such responsibilities). Two facilitators were proficient in Vietnamese. One of these could speak Cambodian as well; he had been granted a scholarship to Cambodia but studied in French there and so had only used and learned Cambodian informally.

To provide some comparison with the rest of the Hmong population, Reder's study of 3,000 Hmong showed that only 2.5 percent were proficient in spoken Lao and only 1 percent were literate in this language prior to coming to the U.S.

4.2 ***Educational Background:*** Table 2 displays an estimate of the number of years these facilitators have been in school along with the level of education each has attained.

Table 2

Estimate of Years in School	Level Attained	Number of Facilitators
20	Ph. D	1
15	Equivalent to graduate work	2
15	Enrolled in university	3
10	High School (Laos)	2
5-7	Grade School	8
3	High School (U.S.)	1
	TOTAL	17

This group shows a high level of academic achievement in comparison with the rest of the Hmong population. In his study of 3,000 Hmong, Reder (1982) found that only 27 percent had any education in Laos. Of this group, less than four percent had more than four years of school.

4.3 *English Training:* The most common experience for male facilitators over thirty was to have had from around three to six months of intensive ESL instruction (four hours a day, five days a week) immediately after arriving in the U.S. They would stop taking classes as soon as they got jobs or went on for vocational-technical training. Within this group, four had some English instruction in Laos, two through the Royal Lao army (one for six months and the other for two years), another at the Lao-American Association (for three months, four hours a day, five days a week), and finally one attended classes held by independently hired Hmong teachers who had been educated in a teacher's college in Vientianne. As a variation in this pattern, one facilitator attended ESL classes for more than a year after arriving in the U.S. and had more than a year of English classes in Laos taught by independently hired Hmong and Lao teachers.

Those in the university attended ESL classes in their high schools and were mainstreamed into regular American classes after at least a year. At the university, they took ESL classes geared for Southeast Asian students and were mainstreamed into regular courses after several quarters. Again, in an exceptional case, one facilitator did not attend high school in the U.S. but went straight into the university-level ESL courses, and after one quarter, took a regular college course load. The three married women could not attend ESL classes on a regular basis because of responsibilities in the home. Each mentioned having attended ESL classes sporadically, however, for at least a three-month period. Of the remaining facilitators, one is currently enrolled in the English Program for International Students at the University of Minnesota, and the other has not attended any ESL classes at all.

4.4 *Job Experience:* The following paragraph describes job experience prior to arrival in the U.S. The one Ph.D. recently arrived from France, where he was a freelance writer and columnist. Prior to the communist take-over, he had served in a number of important government positions in Laos. Six other facilitators had served in high-ranking positions in the Hmong army. Of these men, one served with the Laotian National Treasury and the Department of Agriculture before working with the military. He also came from France, where he served as the President of the Lao-Franco Association. All of these high-ranking military and government officials had positions of responsibility in the refugee camps (e.g. deciding who was to be in which camp, assisting in transferring refugees to third countries, rationing supplies, etc.). Of the others, one worked as a supply officer with General Vang Pao's army, and another worked for the U.S. Embassy. A third worked for the Public Works Division of the U.S. government (U.S.A.I.D.) and was involved as a lay evangelist among Christian churches for about eight years. Of the university students, one had been a hospital administrator in a refugee camp in Thailand. The rest of the facilitators (the women and the other university students) had not worked prior to coming to the U.S.

In regard to employment since arrival in the U.S., the majority in this group have been employed throughout most of their stay in the U.S. By contrast, 70 percent of the adult refugees surveyed in a study funded by the Office for Refugee Resettlement were unemployed in the U.S. in 1982. These persons have moved rapidly into professional positions. Those with more than ten years of formal education have gone straight into professional jobs after arriving in the U.S. Those with less than ten years have worked in manual labor positions for around two to three years before working in facilitator roles. Of the women, three interviewed are in their first jobs. The fourth, who had more ten than years of education, has worked in three different facilitating roles since she arrived in the U.S. and is now the director of a Hmong needlework business.

4.5 *Facilitators' Roles in Resettlement:* The following sections are organized according to the types of facilitating roles these individuals have.

4.5.1.*General Welfare:* Case workers working with voluntary and church-related agencies play a crucial role in both the initial and ongoing phases of Hmong resettlement. Responsiblities during the initial phase of resettlement include assisting new arrivals with the application process for Public Assistance, finding low-cost housing for them, placing them in ESL or vocational training courses, and channeling them to agencies that provide job placement. Other responsibilities include acquainting them with the U.S. medical system, the public transportation system, the money system, and a variety of other more technical details like social security numbers, tax forms, insurance policies, etc. Work with refugees who have been in the U.S. for a period of time revolves primarily around problems related to unemployment or limited access to ESL classes. Crises also arise such as being cut off from public assistance, running out of food, encountering snags in the American legal system, and so forth, and these need to be dealt with as well.

Case workers have also had to serve as counselors for a variety of personal problems that have emerged as a result of contact with

American society. Two main areas of conflict have been the changing roles in husband/wife and parent/child relationships. Conflicts have also emerged in relationships with American sponsors.

These case workers show a strong commitment to their work. Several were being paid for less than 40 hours a week. All said that their work continued beyond a 40 hour work week since involvement with individual families often carried over into evenings and weekends.

4.5.2. *Job Development:* Two case workers were specifically assigned to the task of finding employment for refugees. This entails, first, an assessment of the skills, educational background, and health of each Hmong client. Following assessment comes placement in a program that can train the client in a particular skill area. The next, more difficult step is placement in an actual job. Not only are few jobs available, but those that are are usually low-paying and temporary. Job development is even more difficult. This entails developing contacts with businesses and encouraging them to either hire Hmong for existing jobs or create jobs suited for them. Smaller companies usually do not have the capital to develop jobs for refugee labor, and larger businesses will not negotiate with the facilitators unless they have official labor union connections. These are difficult to obtain, however, since unions generally see refugee labor as a threat to their earnings.

One facilitator serves as the director of a small business established for the purpose of creating jobs for Hmong women. The intent of this project is to use the abilities Hmong women have in embroidery and applique to create marketable products suitable for American customers.

4.5.3. *Housing:* One facilitator has been hired to work with Hmong clients that apply for public housing assistance. He takes housing applications from all Indochinese who apply for assistance and serves as an interpreter for the Lao and Hmong in their dealings with the American staff in his office.

4.5.4. *Medical Services:* Two female facilitators serve as interpreters for medical services provided by Ramsey County hospitals. Their job description includes taking incoming calls from Hmong patients, interpreting for American nurses on home visits, and interpreting for doctors and nurses in the hospital. Much of this entails explaining the American medical system to the Hmong clients as well as explaining Hmong patterns for handling illness to American medical personnel.

4.5.5. *ESL:* Two facilitators were involved with English language training. One serves as the director of the bilingual program at the Lao Family Community. This entails coordinating the full-time bilingual teachers and the Hmong and American volunteers who assist with teaching, developing the curriculum for the English classes, and training both the teachers and volunteers. The other facilitator serves as a bilingual specialist with the College of Education at the University of Minnesota. His role involves course presentations for college courses on Hmong culture, language, and refugee resettlement at the University of Minnesota, as well as work with state and local programs for limited English students.

4.5.6. *Study of Hmong Resettlement:* Three facilitators serve as bilingual research assistants on research projects at the University of Minnesota that study Hmong resettlement. Their duties include interpreting and independent interviewing in the local Hmong community, transcribing and translating tape-recorded Hmong conversations, and providing first-hand information on Hmong language, culture, and resettlement.

5. Discussion

Factors probably due to both social patterns within the Hmong community structure and individual abilities and motivations enabled these facilitators to have access to a variety of educational, occupational, and linguistic opportunities in Laos, many of which were not shared by the rest of the Hmong population. Not only did these individuals have more formal education than most Hmong, but a majority also participated in high-ranking positions in Lao military and civilian life, or were employed by the U.S. Embassy. These educational and employment opportunities, along with other factors, gave them exposure to a variety of languages in both spoken and written form. For example, exposure to the Lao school system entailed acquisition of both spoken and written Lao.

Such experiences apparently had an impact on the potential these individuals brought to the task of learning English, since, although these individuals spent little time in the ESL classroom, they learned English rapidly enough to be hired as bilinguals in facilitating positions for resettlement. Functioning in these roles, in turn, has provided further access to language learning contacts. Not only does the facilitating role entail involvement at crucial points of contact between the Hmong community and the wider U.S. society, but the very nature of that role implies much verbal exchange in both Hmong and English.

It should be pointed out that this group's contact with Americans is primarily through their specialized roles as facilitators. Most of these facilitators' free time is spent within the Hmong community, with Hmong family and friends. To a large extent, it appears that their primary motivation for acquiring competency in English is instrumental: to function within the facilitating role. However, integrative factors can be seen operating as well since congenial relationships are established through contact within the facilitating role. Yet, it is apparent that these facilitators' primary identification is with the Hmong community; they wish to maintain a core of Hmong values and traditions even while participating within the broader American society.

The longevity of these facilitating roles is contingent on the length of time the Hmong community is able to contain itself as a minority culture within the intersection of these two speech communities where the differentiation of functions within the resettled community necessitates that some members maintain a level of functional competency in both English and Hmong, thereby allowing other members to survive in the American context without the same level of competency. How long will this allocation of functions last? Will economic survival within the broader American culture require all Hmong to reach a level of functional competence in English? Will this participation in American society in turn lead to the decreasing importance of traditional home, neighborhood, and organizational practices giving little reason for maintaining fluency in Hmong? If the Hmong community were to head in the direction towards functional competency in English for all Hmong society members, then the facilitating role would not be as necessary to the survival of the group. Regardless of future directions, however, it appears, from observations of the facilitating function at this time, that the social role of individuals functioning at points of contact between two speech communites does affect the strategies and motivations these individuals bring to the task of developing English proficiency.

6. Conclusion

This paper has focused on the experience of one successful group of language learners: Hmong bilinguals serving as facilitators in Hmong resettlement. The intent has been to discuss the nature of the role these individuals have in Hmong resettlement and to describe aspects in their experience that have enabled them to function in these roles. It has been suggested that the factors emerging from social patterns within the Hmong community in Laos have shaped the potential these individuals have for language learning. This potential has led to the acquisition of functional competency in English enabling these individuals to operate in facilitating roles. Participation in such roles, in turn, has provided further access to opportunities for improving English proficiency. Whether or not this facilitating role continues to serve a vital function for the Hmong community is contingent on the directions this resettled group takes in regard to assimilation within U.S. society.

Regardless of the directions the Hmong may take in the future, it can be suggested from observations made at this point in the resettlement process that the social role of individuals functioning within the intersection of two speech communities needs to be considered as a variable affecting second language acquisition.

References

Downing, Bruce, and Sharon Dwyer. 1982. Hmong refugees in an American city: a case study in language contact. MinneTESOL Journal 2:17-81.

Dulay, Heidi, Marina Burt, and Stephen Krashen. 1982. Language two. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fishman, Joshua. 1972. The sociology of language. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Gardner, Richard, and Wallace Lambert (Eds.). 1972. Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Haugen, Einer. 1953. The Norwegian language in America: a study in bilingual behavior. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Krashen, Stephen. 1976. Formal and informal linguistic environments in language acquisition and language learning. TESOL Quarterly 10.2:157-68.

Literacy and Language Program. 1982. A study of the extent and effect of English language training for refugees. Prepared for the Office of Refugee Resettlement. United States Department of Health and Human Services.

Naiman, N. 1978. The good language learner. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Oller, John, Lori Baca, and Alfredo Vigil. 1978. Attitudes and attained proficiency in ESL: a sociolinguistic study of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. TESOL Quarterly 11.2:173-183.

Oller, John, A. Hudson, and Phyllis Liu. 1977. Attitudes and attained proficiency in ESL: a sociolinguistic study of native speakers of Chinese in the United States. Language Learning 27.1:1-27.

Reder, Stephen. 1982. A Hmong community's acquisition of English. In The Hmong in the West, Bruce Downing and Douglas Olney (Eds.). Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. University of Minnesota.

Robson, Barbara. 1982. Hmong literacy, formal education, and their effects on performance in an ESL Class. In The Hmong in the West, Bruce Downing and Douglas Olney (Eds.). Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. University of Minnesota.

Schwartz, Laurie. 1982. The role of ESL instruction in the linguistic acculturation of Hmong refugees. Unpublished M.A. thesis. California State University.

Spradley, James. 1979. The ethnographic interview. New York: Academic Press.

FACILITATING TEACHER GROWTH:
An Approach to Training and Evaluation

Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith,
and William Perry

The role of teacher trainers and supervisors in promoting effective teaching is described and analyzed through a study of a series of videotaped discussions of ESL classes. Five components of teacher development are identified and discussed, and the language and discussion strategies by which a trainer/supervisor can support this development are described. The importance of encouraging teachers to take an active role in their own development is stressed. By providing feedback in a non-threatening manner, the trainer/supervisor can facilitate the development of teacher introspection and internal motivation for appropriate change.

1. Introduction*

The basic goal of any ESL teacher trainer or supervisor is to

---

Nancy Stenson is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota and Director of the Committee on Language Programs. Jan Smith is Director of the Summer Intensive Language and Orientation Program and a graduate student in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota. William Perry is an instructor of English as a Second Language at the University of Wisconsin.

*This paper grew out of a workshop presented at the 1979 TESOL Convention in Boston on the use of videotape in the training and evaluation of ESL teachers. The comments and questions of participants in that workshop have greatly helped us in clarifying our ideas about videotape and the role of the facilitator. We have profited immeasurably from conversations with Dennis Godfrey, as well as from observation of his ESL Practicum classes at the University of Minnesota, and thank him for providing the original inspiration for our own work in teacher training and evaluation. We are also grateful to Elaine Tarone and Kathryn Winkler for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

promote effective training. Though it is unlikely that anyone would take issue with such a general statement, we would like to suggest in the following paper that the claim has broader implications which are often overlooked in the process of training and evaluating teachers. In particular, we wish to emphasize the choice of the word promote and distinguish promoting teaching effectiveness from creating (or controlling) it. Effective teaching is not simply a matter of knowledge gained through instruction, but is a skill which must be developed, and for which each teacher must take ultimate responsibility. To help teachers achieve the goal of effective teaching, however, a teacher trainer/supervisor may feel compelled to exert authority over teachers who appear reluctant to change or may be tempted to try to control the development of new teachers by assuming the role of expert. A major focus of this paper will be to argue that only when the trainer/supervisor is willing to give up a certain amount of control in order to allow the teacher to take an active role in the evaluation process will professional growth be possible.

Our work in the use of videotape for teacher training and evaluation has led us to see that acquiring effective teaching skills is a developmental process. We will begin by describing five necessary components of this developmental process, delineating in each component the role of the teacher and that of the trainer/supervisor. We will then discuss in more detail some ways in which a trainer/supervisor can assist the teacher through this process.

2. Five Components of the Developmental Process

2.1 *Obtaining Feedback:* In order to determine how effective their teaching is, teachers first need to have information about their performance in the classroom. Obtaining feedback is thus the first component of the developmental process. This feedback may come from the teacher's own observations of class response or from the comments of a trained observer. We have found that a crucial aspect of feedback is the extent to which the teacher feels able to accept it and work with it. Videotape, when properly used, can be an invaluable tool for providing teachers with objective information about their classroom performance.

2.2 *Becoming Introspective:* Given a source of feedback, the teacher needs to be able to analyze the information in a productive way. We feel that the most important factor of this component is the ability to be introspective about one's own teaching. The teacher must begin to develop the capacity for self-evaluation rather than continue to rely on external judgement. The trainer/supervisor can assist at this stage by helping to focus the teacher's attention on basic questions (and away from trivialities if necessary)[2] and by encouraging the teacher to think constructively about the process. What the teacher trainer/supervisor cannot do is force a teacher to become introspective or to begin to develop the practice of constructive self-evaluation.

2.3 *Accepting Responsibility:* The ability to be introspective and to evaluate one's own teaching is a prerequisite to the third component, the teacher's acceptance of responsibility for his or her further growth as a teacher. Only from this point of view is it possible to recognize and accept both positive and negative aspects of one's own teaching as a preparation for bringing about appropriate change.

2.4 *Choosing What to Change:* The fourth developmental component involves the teacher's decision to devote the time and energy necessary to effect change. A major part of this decision will be the teacher's choice of which aspects of teaching to work on. It is our experience that it is only when teachers themselves decide when and what to change that any real change occurs. Outside pressures may produce superficial or temporary change, but such change is unlikely to last if the teacher does not understand and accept the need for it. Internal motivation for change is the only guarantee that a teacher will continue to grow throughout his or her career, independent of external control.

It must be emphasized that the developmental components involving the teacher's capacity for introspection, acceptance of responsibility, and internal motivation for change are all aspects of teacher behavior that no trainer/supervisor can control. The most that the trainer/supervisor can do, regardless of what he or she might want to do, is to act as a guide and resource and provide an atmosphere conducive to the process of teacher growth. To do this effectively, a trainer/supervisor must be willing to give up control, acknowledge the teacher's ultimate responsibility for the classroom, and allow the teacher to take an active role in the evaluation process. In so doing, the trainer/supervisor provides the appropriate atmosphere for growth and accepts the fact that the task of effecting change belongs to the teacher alone.

---

[2] Teachers who are unable to focus on basic teaching problems and ways of resolving them may feel powerless to change their teaching due to low self-esteem. These individuals may be so critical of their own teaching that they are unable to see what they have done well. In this case, the role of the teacher trainer/supervisor will be to help focus the teacher's attention on positive aspects of his or her teaching.

2.5 *Effecting Change:* The final component of the growth process addresses the need of teachers who have chosen to change some aspect of their teaching and are looking for information on ways of bringing about the desired changes. Such individuals may also need help in seeing how the acquisition of a particular teaching skill can be achieved in manageable steps. At this point the trainer/supervisor can take an active role, serving as a resource for the teacher by suggesting alternative techniques, providing bibliographical references, demonstration videotapes, etc. The value to the trainee of contributions from a more experienced observer will be obvious, but we feel that the observations of a peer can be equally valuable to experienced teachers in creating an opportunity for discussion of problems of mutual concern, sharing new perspectives on a problem, or just providing a sounding-board for the teacher's own ideas.

It is important to stress that the growth process we have described above is a continuous one and that all teachers, no matter how experienced, can profit from introspection about and analysis of their own teaching. An important task of the teacher trainer/supervisor, then, is to help teachers develop the capacity for introspection about their teaching by encouraging objective self-evaluation.

3. Videotape as a Source of Feedback

The Committee on Language Programs' Teacher Learning Resource Center (COLP Center) at the University of Minnesota was established to provide language programs with a means of promoting teacher effectiveness through the use of videotape. In our work at the center, we have found videotape to be a valuable source of feedback because it allows teachers to see themselves from the students' point of view and to obtain an accurate record of what happens in the classroom. By viewing tapes of their classes, teachers can profit from the information videotape provides on teacher performance, student participation, and the lesson itself.

The value of videotape lies in its objectivity. The tape can show specific aspects of a teacher's behavior, techniques of presentation and practice, sequencing of materials, and methods of providing feedback to students. It can show the verbal and nonverbal performance of students, their degree of participation in the class and level of attention, as well as individual student behavior. Finally, the tape can provide information on the content and organization of the lesson, variety and pacing of classroom activities, use of teaching aids, and ratio of teacher talk to student talk. Videotape provides the facts without itself making any judgements.

By viewing a tape of his or her class the teacher can relive the experience from a different point of view. Teachers may become aware of aspects of their own performance, the lesson, or student behavior that they did not notice during the class session because they were too involved in the actual teaching process. For example, the teacher may have failed to notice students' mistakes in drills, may have called on some students more than others without realizing it, or may have overlooked an essential step in giving directions.

Videotape also allows a teacher to gain emotional distance from the class by viewing the tape at a later time. For example, a teacher may wish that a particular classroom incident had been handled differently. Upon viewing the tape of the class, the teacher can step back from the image on the screen, and with this new perspective, may be able to determine how to handle the situation the next time it arises.

The availability of information alone may not be enough to ensure that a teacher can make use of this information profitably. Initially we assumed that merely exposing teachers to videotapes of their classes would be enough to enable them to make use of the information on videotape to effect appropriate changes in their teaching. In some cases, they did not know what to look for because of inexperience; in others, the inherent threat of videotape caused them to focus on superficial aspects of the tape and to react only to their appearance or to the shock of seeing themselves; in still other cases, teachers felt they were too experienced to benefit from viewing the tape. It became apparent that teachers need guidance in the use of videotape to evaluate their teaching. What is needed is someone who can facilitate the viewing of the tape by (a) raising topics of discussion and (b) encouraging teachers to become introspective about what they see on the tape. It is our contention that all teachers, no matter now experienced or inexperienced, can benefit from discussion generated by viewing themselves on tape. The presence of a second person, a facilitator who can focus the attention of the teacher on particular issues, is crucial in motivating teachers to become introspective about their role in the classroom. The role of the facilitator can be taken on by anyone who works with teachers, whether as a peer or as a trainer or supervisor.

4. Teacher-centered Evaluation As an Aid to Teacher Growth

In the framework outlined above, the goal of the evaluation component of a training or ongoing teaching program is to enable teachers to become independent of external evaluation and take control of their growth as teachers. The degree to which this is possible may be influenced by a number of variables, including the teacher's attitude about his or her teaching, the teacher's past experience with evaluation sessions, the degree to which the facilitator's behavior is seen as non-threatening, and the facilitator's ability to determine which steps a teacher might be ready to take to improve his or her teaching effectiveness. A facilitator who is sensitive to the interaction of these variables is more apt to be able to help the teacher develop self-awareness and self-sufficiency.

The role of the teacher in the evaluation session can be compared to that of the learner in the language classroom. Teachers, like learners, may take active or passive roles in their development, depending on the degree to which they feel capable of making desired changes. The teacher who perceives the challenge of teaching to be an overwhelming one may have adopted a passive attitude about teaching, responding only to external demands for change and exhibiting a defensive attitude toward the process of learning to become more effective in the classroom. Conversely, a teacher who has assumed an active role in the development of his or her teaching is more likely to welcome an opportunity to learn from the evaluation session, and through the process of introspection may decide to make certain changes in his or her teaching and then put these changes into effect.

Just as we as language teachers strive to develop learner-centered classrooms, where learners take an active role in facing the challenges of learning another language, so should language teacher trainers and evaluators strive to create conditions in which teachers can take an active role in their own development. A teacher who has developed a sense of control over his or her teaching skills can move away from the need for and fear of external control through external evaluation and begin to rely on the continuous internal process of self-evaluation. Such teachers are more open to constructive feedback and are able to actively participate in discussion centering on their teaching.

Teachers may also enter the session with an attitude of fear and resistance due to previous experiences with the evaluation process. From the teacher's point of view, the thought of being judged may pose a significant threat. To the extent that the facilitator is in fact in a position of authority over the teacher, this threat is likely to be increased, but even where no such authority exists, the very fact of exposing one's class to view is for many a frightening experience.

In order to diminish this threat and to be more effective in encouraging the teacher to take an active role in the evaluation process, the facilitator must be aware of both the teacher's perception of the session's purpose and the balance of control between teacher and facilitator. We have found that a facilitator who can demonstrate an openness to different points of view and who can take the role of concerned colleague rather than expert or authority figure is much less threatening and better able to involve the teacher in the process of active self-evaluation.

As a colleague, the facilitator must become aware of his or her biases and refrain from imposing them on the teacher. The facilitator can encourage the teacher to think out the reasons for a particular choice of lesson, help in pointing out the pros and cons of a method or technique, and offer alternatives for the teacher to choose among, without necessarily advocating a particular one. In taking on the role of resource person, asking challenging but non-threatening questions, and encouraging the teacher to focus on issues the teacher is ready to face, the facilitator can create an atmosphere in which the teacher is able to begin to take responsibility for his or her own development. By providing an atmosphere open to an exchange of ideas based on mutual respect, the facilitator is able to step back and relinquish control of the session, allowing the teacher to take a more active role. Evaluation then becomes an ongoing process of development, rather than a test which a teacher will either pass or fail.

We have found it useful to conceptualize the variables of interaction in the evaluation process in terms of a continuum that reflects the dynamic nature of teacher-facilitator interaction. Possible attitudes of both teacher and facilitator toward the evaluation process can be described by the continua shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Continua for Teacher and Facilitator Attitudes

Teacher

External control	Internal control
Defensiveness	Openness
Reliance on the judgement of others	Introspection
Lack of confidence	Self-confidence
Passive role	Active role
Resistance	Acceptance

Facilitator

Judgemental	Open to different points of view
Egocentric	Empathetic
Expert	Colleague
Authority	Resource

When both teacher and facilitator attitudes fall closer to the right hand side of the continua, the evaluation process itself is more likely to move toward the right hand side of the continuum as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2

The Evaluation Process

Testing	Training
Evaluation by facilitator	Self-evaluation by teacher
Teacher avoids introspection	Teacher learns to control teaching behavior

5. The Evaluation Process

In an effort to identify the components of successful interaction, we videotaped and examined a number of sessions in which a COLP Center staff member and an ESL teacher viewed and discussed an earlier videotape of the teacher's class. Participating teachers ranged in experience from those with several years' teaching to those in the first months of a training program. In viewing the tape of our discussions with teachers, we became aware of our behavior as facilitators and were able to use the videotaped sessions to analyze our effectiveness in much the same way as teachers can use videotape as feedback in becoming introspective about their teaching. We were able to isolate a variety of linguistic forms and discussion strategies which seemed to us to affect the success of the sessions. Our judgements of the success of a session, like teachers' decisions about the success of a particular class, are mainly subjective. While such factors as a teacher's active involvement in the session may be cited as an indication of success, the grounds for determining whether or not a particular session is successful are necessarily intuitive. What follows, then, is a summary of what we learned from viewing the tapes and includes suggestions on language and discussion strategies which we feel will prove effective in future sessions with teachers. It is our hope that these suggestions may serve as a guide to others involved in the training and supervision of language teachers.

5.1 *Language:* The language the facilitator uses can contribute to reducing the threat of evaluation. Throughout the tapes we found ourselves constantly qualifying comments with 'hedges' which had an overall effect of evoking a tone of suggestion rather than instruction. Adverbial qualifiers, such as maybe, sometimes, in general, in a way, modifiers such as some, kind of, a little, and introductory phrases like as far as I know seem to us to de-emphasize the role of the facilitator as expert and give the teacher the opportunity to reflect on the comment as no more than a possibility being presented and to accept or reject it in favor of an alternative. Likewise, we feel that qualification of negatives (not necessarily, not exactly, not really, maybe not) diminishes the threat of disagreement from the facilitator and reduces the teacher's perception of the facilitator as an authority figure, as does a tendency to choose the more qualified of the modal auxiliaries: would/could instead of will/can, could/might instead of should.

In keeping with the need to separate fact from judgement and to identify the latter as such, we also found ourselves using a variety of subordinating mechanisms, such as I think, I suppose, and perception verbs like seems, looks like, sounds like, to introduce opinions or interpretations of the facts shown by the videotape. The relative nature of such interpretations was further suggested by the use of statements in which the facilitator identified his or her thoughts and feelings as subjective: I found it difficult to understand, I don't think it was clear. These allow for the possiblity that other viewers might react differently, which not only is true, but also lets the teacher know that the facilitator doesn't have all the answers.

All of the above share the feature of contributing indirectness to the dialogue and providing a kind of 'escape hatch' for the teacher who isn't yet prepared to accept a particular aspect of a lesson as needing work. The syntax used by the facilitator can also contribute to the sense of relativity and indirectness in a number of ways.

The use of sentences which present a topic before commenting on it provides an indirect approach to making suggestions. Sentences beginning with such phrases as

One thing you could do is . . .
Another thing I wondered is . . .
I think what you're doing is . . .
The question I'd ask is . . .

give the teacher time to prepare for what's coming and suggest more tentativeness than a flat statement, without in any way indicating uncertainty about the suggestion. A similar syntactic device which contributes to indirectness is the use of existential there. Sentences like There's a problem with X, or There are a couple of ways to do this tend to be less abrupt than X is a problem or This is the way to do it. Existentials have the added advantage of being somewhat more impersonal (and therefore less directly threatening) than more direct statements. Thus, the above phrase, There's a problem with X is less likely to be taken personally than a more direct reference to the teacher's performance such as You had a problem with X or X was a problem for you, but suggest much the same content.

Other means of depersonalizing commentary which occurred in the tapes include use of agentless passives and expletive it (It was unclear what was expected of them rather than They didn't understand what you expected of them; That might have been mentioned rather than You might have mentioned that) and use of generic verb tenses rather than specific reference to the moment on tape (Do you think you perceive . . . , Do you often find that things take longer. . .).

5.2 *Strategies to Encourage Teacher Participation:* The teacher's own participation in the interaction is of paramount importance, and the facilitator's language and discussion strategies should be aimed at this goal. The sessions we felt were most successful all shared one thing: the teacher whose class was being discussed was actively involved; the teacher was not merely responding to observations from the facilitator but initiating dialogue as well, thinking aloud about what appeared on the tape and pursuing consideration of alternative approaches. Teacher participation in the session is crucial to the development of self-evaluation skills, and therefore is to be encouraged. Where the teacher is a reluctant participant, various techniques can help draw out the beginnings of introspection.

The objectivity of videotape can be exploited to aid in reducing the threat of judgement by allowing the facilitator to focus the discussion on the classroom and away from the individual teacher. This requires that the facilitator be able to distinguish observations from judgements in commenting on the videotape, and to reserve judgement whenever possible. Ultimately, the teacher must learn to monitor his or her class alone, and the facilitator who can encourage the teacher to do this through the teacher's own interpretation of the observable facts provided by the tape will thereby do more to help the teacher than a facilitator who imposes judgements which may cause the teacher to assume a more passive role and abdicate responsibility for decisions about the class.

By focusing on specific classroom events, rather than the teacher's performance, the facilitator can make use of the distance videotape offers to trigger general discussions of the teacher's goals for the class and view of the teaching role. This can begin with a brief discussion of goals and objectives even before viewing the tape. While some teachers may be inclined to be excessively harsh on themselves, the teacher's own interpretation can often provide the basis for productive discussion of why the class worked the way it did, what was intended, and what alternative approaches might be available. Using the teacher's comments as the starting point for any specific suggestions not only assures that a suggestion will be taken seriously by the teacher (because it addresses a need the teacher recognizes), but also shows that the facilitator takes the teacher's role in the session seriously.

When discussing the class, it is important for the facilitator to be sensitive in interpreting the teacher's own remarks and questions. The fact that a teacher has asked for an opinion on a particular point of the lesson does not necessarily mean that the teacher is prepared to hear whatever the facilitator may have to say; rather he or she may be looking for reassurance. Instead of a judgement, a counter-question addressed to the teacher's goals for that segment of the lesson or to the student's responses will accomplish more toward the goal of getting the teacher to think independently about the lesson and about teaching in general. In most cases, questions asking for the teacher's observations on a specific aspect of the class or comments on a particular issue in language teaching can be valuable in promoting teacher introspection. It must be noted, however, that even carefully phrased questions may be interpreted as criticism by over-sensitive teachers, or that the facilitator may be unaware of the judgemental undertones of some questions. In this regard, it is important for the facilitator to take care to formulate questions in as non-judgemental and open-ended a way as possible.

In situations where a facilitator feels obliged to express an opinion, doing so in general terms rather than with specific reference to the particular teacher can help to take pressure off the individual teacher and depersonalize the comment. What is important when expressing opinions is to identify them as such, thus maintaining the distinction between objective facts and judgements about those facts.

Whenever possible, it can be helpful to provide the teacher with choices, as a means of encouraging autonomy. This gives the teacher control even in a situation where he or she might expect to be a passive participant. Choice can also be suggested by presenting only one approach but showing a consequence of that choice. The teacher who does not wish to accept this consequence may well take the initiative in seeking an alternative approach.

In the case where a teacher makes a choice that would not be the facilitator's, it is important for the facilitator to recognize both that there may be more than one right answer and that only the teacher can determine, by trial and error if necessary, whether or not a particular choice is appropriate for his or her class.

Acknowledgement of the teacher's expertise where appropriate can also facilitate the teacher's active participation in the session. For example, a videotaped session with a beginning teacher who had

had extensive phonetic training showed the facilitator focusing discussion of a pronunciation drill on phonetic detail to a greater degree than might have been done with a teacher less well-trained in phonetics. This permitted the discussion to center on phonetic facts and their implications, which led the teacher to recognize certain flaws in the presentation of the drill without the facilitator having directly pointed them out. At the same time, the teacher was made aware of an already established area of expertise that could be useful in further developing her teaching skills.

At some point selective avoidance of certain topics may be necessary. Teachers are often more sensitive about some aspects of their teaching than others, and at times this sensitivity may interfere with their ability to think objectively about that aspect of the class, despite the best efforts of the facilitator. In such cases, we have found that forcing the issue is not likely to achieve anything beyond upsetting the teacher to the extent that he or she cannot deal with any aspect of the session. Since the goal of the sessions is to get the teacher to think constructively about teaching, pressing a sensitive issue may be counterproductive.

Finally, in selecting what is to be discussed in the time allotted, it is important to balance qualified criticism and thought-provoking questions with positive feedback. Teachers need to know when they are doing well. Often the most effective teachers are unable to recognize their own expertise in language teaching and thus waste time worrying over points they have already mastered. Less experienced teachers may desperately need positive feedback as encouragement to keep trying. It must be pointed out, however, that while every teacher needs positive feedback, restricting one's comments only to the positive can be dangerous. Depending on the teacher's experience, self-esteem, and dedication, constant praise may lead to complacency and destroy motivation to think and grow as a teacher. On the other hand, it may simply not be taken seriously by the teacher who lacks confidence or experience, or who recognizes from class response that improvement is needed. What is important is to balance the discussion, focusing on areas where the teacher is effective and on areas where the use of introspection and self-evaluation may prompt the teacher to make the changes which will lead to more effective teaching.

6. Conclusion

Through our work using videotape in teacher training and evaluation, we have found that learning to be a more effective teacher is a process of ongoing development.

The five components of this process which we have identified are obtaining feedback, becoming introspective, accepting responsibility, choosing what to change, and effecting change. The teacher who recognizes that professional growth is a continuous process is able to focus on one aspect of his or her teaching at a time, without feeling compelled to confront everything at once. It is our opinion that all teachers, regardless of experience and training, can benefit from discussion and analysis of their teaching. It is important, however, to note that each teacher comes to the evaluation session at a different point in this developmental process, and that these differences will influence the course a particular session takes. For example, some teachers will still need help in finding a productive way to analyze their performance in the classroom, whereas others may fully recognize a need for change but need help in discovering ways to increase their teaching effectiveness. In all cases, however, we believe that the facilitator should encourage the teacher to take an active role in assessing his or her performance because it is the teacher, not the trainer/supervisor who bears the ultimate responsibility for decisions about his or her own teaching.

Though part of the facilitator's role is to offer suggestions of possible ways to implement change, it is our belief that if change in teaching is to be permanent, teachers themselves must first take responsibility for self-evaluation and for finding the means of changing their teaching to conform to their own goals. A facilitator using videotape as a training tool has the potential to help teachers through each step of the process by providing the guidance and encouragement necessary for development of the internal motivation to accept this responsibility. With an understanding of the many variables of interaction, the facilitator can help create a non-threatening atmosphere conducive to the development of introspection and self-confidence. In this way, all teachers, regardless of where they are in their own professional development, can remain open to the possibility of change. If a facilitator can enable the teacher to recognize the need for continuous growth and to assume responsibility for changes in his or her own teaching, then the goal of promoting effective teaching will be achieved.

Appendix

For further reading:

Acheson, Keith, and Meredith Gall. 1980. The feedback conference: technique in the clinical supervision of teachers. London: Longman.

Bailey, Leona. 1975. An observational method in the foreign language classroom: a closer look at interactional analysis. Foreign Language Annals 8.4: 335-344.

Bailey, Leona. 1977. Observing foreign language teaching: a new method for teachers, researchers, and supervisors. Foreign Language Annals, 10. 6.

Goldhammer, Robert. 1969. Clinical supervision: special methods for the supervision of teachers. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Knop, Constance. 1977. Developing a model for student teacher supervision. Foreign Language Annals 10. 6.

Knop, Constance. 1980. The supervision of foreign language teachers. In Learning a Second Langauge, Frank M. Gritterner, (Ed.). University of Chicago Press.

Moskowitz, Gertrude. 1971. Interaction analysis—a new modern language for supervisors. Foreign Language Annals 5. 2.

Smith, Jan, Nancy Stenson, and Kathryn Wrinkler. 1980. Toward more effective teacher observation and evaluation. Paper presented at the 1980 TESOL Convention, San Francisco.

Withall, John, and Fred Wood. 1979. Taking the threat out of classroom observation and feedback. Journal of Teacher Education 30. 1.

AN EVALUATION OF A TRAINING COURSE FOR FOREIGN TEACHING ASSISTANTS:
A Case Study Approach

Mark Landa and William Perry

This paper is an evaluation of an ESL course that was designed to train foreign graduate teaching assistants (TAs) at the University of Minnesota. The evaluation was done through case studies of foreign TAs who had completed the course at least one year before they were interviewed. An analysis of the data obtained in this course evaluation has led not only to improvement of the TA course but also to a means of isolating the variables that affect the foreign TA's success in the American classroom. It has been widely assumed that the problems of foreign TAs and their students derive solely from the TAs' lack of proficiency in English. This investigation found that culturally appropriate teaching skills and a flexible attitude toward differences in educational systems are also essential to the foreign TA's success.

1. Introduction

Since the early 1970's a serious problem regarding the role of foreign graduate students as teaching assistants in the American classroom has arisen. This problem is clearly reflected in the following excerpts:

> This is directed to all University academic departments which hire foreign students as teaching assistants and instructors. It is not fair for students to take a class such as math, economics, or statistics and listen to someone whom they cannot understand lecture, but whose material they are responsible for to pass with a satisfactory

---

Mark Landa is the director of the English Program for International Students at the University of Minnesota. William Perry is an instructor of English as a Second Language at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

grade . . It is ridiculous to go in to obtain individualized instruction when students can't understand the teacher to begin with. Note that . . . one cannot understand their writing either . . .

(Student letter to the editor, Minnesota Daily, Sept. 29, 1977)

My concern is the use of foreign teaching assistants (TAs) to teach our students at the University. I do not object to the foreign person being an instructor, but I do strongly object to the very, very poor English they use in trying to communicate to our students, particularly in such technical subjects as math and chemistry, among others. I'm sure I need not remind anyone at the University that teaching is a true form of communication, and to try and communicate to American students with people who can barely speak our language seems a very inefficient way indeed to instruct our young people. I further object for the taxpayers in this state, who include the parents of these students, who are forced to pay considerable sums of money to highly paid professors to educate their children and then in turn have them subjected to this very poor communication technique.

(Correspondence from concerned citizen to University administrator)

It is not a secret that foreign-student TAs have some language problems. Therefore, it is only natural that there are some complaints about their teaching. It is unrealistic, however, to believe that the House Education Subcommittee "hears more complaints about this problem than any other higher education matter."

As a foreign student TA, I myself have experienced a student complaint regarding my speaking ability. Feeling concerned about this, I consulted with other foreign-student TAs. To my surprise, I learned that they too had experienced similar criticism. In no case, however, was there any criticism

> of our knowledge of the subject. In my own case, in fact, I have received a number of evaluations praising me for my professionalism.
>
> (Student letter to the editor. Minnesota Daily, May 27, 1983.)

> We . . . find ourselves with a veritable glut of foreign TAs, most of whom cannot speak English . . . It pains me grievously to see my peers sit anxiously in class on the first day, awaiting . . . the first words out of the TA's mouth to determine if he or she speaks English . . . TAs are only required to pass written tests of English proficiency. No verbal tests are administered. Complaints by students are considered sour grapes. Selections of TAs are made according to academic standing and it's terrible to see qualified American TAs driving cabs for lack of positions.
>
> (Student letter to the editor, Minnesota Daily, May 15, 1978)

In an age of increasing consumerism and ethnocentrism, the foreign TA has been criticized for not providing the quality of education that undergraduate students demand. American undergraduates complain that their learning is often severely hampered by foreign TAs. They argue that it is impossible to learn the required course material unless they are able to understand their TAs. As a result of this attitude, the credibility of foreign students as effective classroom teachers has been greatly undermined.

Overall English language proficiency has traditionally been measured by standardized written tests such as the TOEFL[1] and the Michigan tests.[2] These generally include sections on grammar, reading, vocabulary, and listening comprehension but no measures designed to assess oral production. In the late 1970s the Educational Testing Service (ETS) introduced the TSE.[3] This standardized test of oral production provides a variety of situations requiring spoken English. The test-taker's responses are recorded on an audiocassette, then reviewed and scored by a panel of expert raters at ETS.

---

[1] Test of English as a Foreign Language, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey.

[2] Michigan Test of Aural Comprehension and Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, Testing and Certification Division, English Language Institute, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[3] Test of Spoken English, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey.

University graduate departments, which in the past have had to rely only on scores on written English tests to determine the language proficiency of prospective students, can now get a reliable measure of spoken English by requiring the TSE. If a graduate student has been offered financial support in the form of a classroom teaching assistantship, and if, upon arrival, the TA's command of English does not meet the standards of the department, the TA may be referred to an intensive English program for further training. If the institution offers a special course for foreign TAs, they may receive training directly related to the use of English in the classroom.

The purposes of this investigation are to evaluate the foreign TA course developed at the University of Minnesota and to attempt to isolate the variables affecting the success of the foreign TA in the American classroom. The variables that will be examined include English language proficiency and classroom teaching skills as well as the individual TA's attitude toward the role of teacher at an American university.

2. Description of the TA Course

The first course for foreign TAs at the University of Minnesota grew out of a faculty seminar on instructional design. It was initially designed and taught by an ESL instructor. The ten-week course focused on improving the TA's interactional skills, pronunciation, and listening comprehension. The class met twice a week, and each TA had a weekly tutorial session with the instructor. Videotape feedback was used, but on a very limited basis. When the course was offered for the second and third times, it maintained the primary focus on interactional skills and added a component emphasizing effective teaching skills using extensive videotape feedback. The fourth offering of the course, made possible by a Cooperative Projects Grant from the National Association of Foreign Student Affairs, included three weekly class sessions and an individual tutorial. The classroom work was divided into an ESL component and a cross-cultural/teaching component.[4] The course has subsequently been offered during three academic terms.

---

[4] This project has resulted in two sets of videotapes: one set for those who are interested in developing a course of this type and one set for the foreign TAs themselves. A detailed manual accompanies these sets of tapes. The purpose of the videotape package is not to give solutions to the problems but to help those who are designing and teaching foreign TA courses to become aware of the questions and issues involved in such an undertaking.

The experience of developing the course has brought with it a variety of insights concerning the needs of the foreign TAs. It is apparent that they need to concentrate on specific language problems in an intensive, individualized tutorial program. They also need practice in performing a range of teaching tasks which can be followed by group and individual feedback sessions.

The ESL component of the foreign TA course is designed to place the TA in a variety of classroom situations requiring different types of interactional skills (Appendix 1). The teaching tasks include simulating the first day of class; defining a specialized term or concept; fielding student questions; giving oral insturctions; explaining a diagram, model, or illustration; presenting a short lecture; and leading a group discussion. During the class sessions the TAs are not only expected to make their own presentations but also to evaluate the performances of other TAs. As the course continues, the TAs assume major responsibility for providing useful feedback to the presenters. An atmosphere of trust and openness gradually emerges among the TAs in the class, helping them develop self-confidence and the ability to evaluate themselves in their own roles as teachers. Self-evaluation is encouraged throughout the course in the development of both teaching and language skills. In order to become more effective classroom teachers, however, they also learn to integrate these skills with an understanding of the cultural variables involved in classroom interaction.

3. Method

In evaluating the effectiveness of the course, a case study method was adopted. This method made it possible to interpret the TAs' evaluative responses on a questionnaire concerning the course in relation to their success as classroom teachers (Appendix 2). An attempt was made to determine whether the TA had successfully integrated into the academic community and the extent to which success could be attributed to the foreign TA training course.

The evaluative questionnaire was divided into a set of introspective questions focusing on the TAs' feelings about their actual teaching experiences, and a set of retrospective questions concerning the foreign TA training course that had been completed twelve to fifteen months prior to the investigation. Both sets of questions were open-ended and were intended to allow the TAs to comment at length on their own development and on the various aspects of the course.

The following procedure was used: Ten TAs (eight men and two women) who had completed the course were given the three-page questionnaire. They were asked to give factual information, including TOEFL scores, positions held in their departments, and an estimate of their amount of daily interaction with English speakers. They were also asked to rate themselves in the areas of listening, pronunciation, speaking, composition, and grammar. The questionnaires were completed prior to individual interviews.

Using the questionnaire as a guide, two instructors of the foreign TA course conducted interviews with each of the TAs. The TAs were given an opportunity to expand on Parts II and III of the questionnaire. The interviewers were interested not in eliciting any particular kind of response but in creating an atmosphere in which the TAs would feel comfortable discussing their teaching and the effectiveness of the foreign TA course. Their oral responses were used as a means of assessing their spoken English proficency and attitude toward teaching. Having served as foreign TA course instructors, the interviewers were in a position to comment on changes in language proficiency and attitude. The interview information was used to complement the other sources of evaluation, such as direct observations of classroom teaching, interviews with colleagues and supervisors, and student opinion surveys.

4. Results

In their evaluations of the foreign TA course, the TAs' were asked to name the most useful component of the course. There appeared to be agreement that videotaping, follow-up tutorials, peer teaching practice, and individual exercises on language difficulties were thought to be valuable features of the course.

Most of the TAs felt that the course helped them improve their English language skills. Several commented that they had seen no marked improvement in their langauge skills. However, they were at least aware of what their problems were and of what specific kinds of practice might help them improve. Most of the TAs found the teaching component of the course quite useful. They gained a new appreciation of the importance of communication with an audience and also became aware of the need to adapt, to an appropriate extent, to student expectations in the American classroom. Several of the TAs stated that the course was too short to deal effectively with the problems facing the foreign TA. Only one felt that the course was not useful.

A more detailed case by case analysis made it possible to complement the written data with the deeper insights that could be gained through the interview process. In considering individual cases, an interpretation of each TA's evaluative statements was made. From an analysis of these statements, it was possible to construct four distinct profiles or types grouped according to two factors: first, whether the TAs in question had decided to continue working as teachers in an American classroom after taking the TA course, as opposed to working under a professor as a research assistant (RA) or as a paper-grader; and second, whether the TAs' evaluations of themselves as speakers of English and as classroom teachers were consistent with external evaulations (interviews, classroom observations, comments from academic advisors, supervisors and colleagues, and student evaluations).

Figure 1

	Did not continue teaching	Continued teaching
Self-evaluation consistent with external evaluation	A N=2	B N=5
Self-evaluation not consistent with external evaluation	C N=1	D N=2

(N=Number of subjects)

In Category A are the TAs whose evaluations of themselves matched external evaluations but who chose not to teach. This choice appeared to be based on their concern for high standards in education, which, in their view, depended greatly upon the teacher's ability to communicate effectively in English. These TAs were aware of the inadequacies in their communication skills and felt that they needed more specific training before taking on the responsibilites of teaching in the American classroom. They consistently made efforts to improve, but by the end of the course, they were still not satisfied with their improvement and chose not to teach.

The first TA in this category came to Minnesota from another university in the U.S. where he had earned an M.A. in a social science field without having to demonstrate proficiency in English. He had written his thesis and all of his papers in his native language. Upon arrival at Minnesota, he was required to take courses in English as a Second Langauge before pursuing his Ph.D. One year after fulfilling the minimum ESL requirement and having studied at the Ph.D. level, he voluntarily returned to the ESL Program and expressed doubts about the adequacy of his English. He wanted to support himself with a teaching assistantship, but his lack of proficiency in teaching in the English language made him hesitant to do so. He then enrolled in the course for foreign TAs.

By viewing his videotapes with the instructor of the foreign TA course, he was able to understand how his language differed from that of native speakers of English. He began to monitor himself carefully and to improve his English. Even though he did manage to improve, he chose not to teach because of his concern for the educational needs of American students. He still felt his skills were inadequate for a regular teaching assistantship in his department, though he would lecture in English on special occasions.

Among the ten case studies there is a second example of a TA whose decision not to continue teaching was based upon feelings of language inadequacy. As a research assistant in a clinical field, he realized that the Americans with whom he came in contact were not understanding him. During the TA course he learned how to interact more effectively with clients, but his speaking skills remained clearly inadequate for classroom teaching. However, it is interesting to note that even his academic advisor was reluctant to tell him that his pronunciation was unintelligible.

When interviewed eighteen months after completing the course, the TA reported that he had worked six months with a speech therapist but had finally given up his hope of becoming a classroom TA. He reluctantly chose to support himself by working as a test-grader.

The five case studies that comprise Category B are those TAs who evaluated themselves in essentially the same way they were evaluated by others and who chose to continue teaching. They were aware of the factors inhibiting their successful commmunication with American undergraduate students, but nevertheless chose to support themselves as classroom teachers. They developed strategies for integrating into the academic environment and for coping with their classroom communication problems. Through the TA course, they became aware of obstacles to communication and took steps to improve. They learned from the TA course that the success of their own courses also depended in part on the cooperation and motivation of the students. They recognized their own need to develop techniques for interacting with American students who had never encountered a non-native speaker of English in the role of classroom teacher.

Although each of the five TAs in this category had unique problems in the areas of language and teaching, their evaluations of themselves were consistent with external evaluations which were based on classroom observations, interviews, student evaluations, and comments from people they worked with on a daily basis. TAs in this group tended to rate their proficiency in the various skills in English as either good or fair with pronunciation consistently given the latter rating. They felt there was only slight improvement in their ability to use English for teaching, but all of these TAs felt confident about teaching, and most of them noted improvement in their teaching since they had begun as TAs.

The most salient characteristic shared by TAs in this group was their concern that their students understand them. One TA emphasized the importance of being able to pass on her knowledge to her students. She found it was essential to understand her American students in order to succeed in this. Her attitude was shared by the other TAs in this category. They actively sought feedback from their students regarding communication in the classroom. An analysis of their successful integration showed that each of them had a different set of needs, but that all of them had either very little or no previous teaching experience.

In Category C is a TA who chose not to continue as a classroom teacher and whose evaluation of herself did not match the external evaluations. She lacked self-confidence, although her colleagues and supervisors believed she had excellent language skills and considerable potential for classroom teaching. Interviews with her and videotapes of her teaching led to the same conclusions. She rated her proficiency as fair in all skills except composition, in which she rated herself as poor.

As a person of small stature, she faced the problem of projecting her soft voice over the background noise in lab science classes. Even in traditional lecture settings, her students found it difficult to hear her. She attempted to solve this problem by using a microphone but found the situation unsatisfactory and decided to support herself as a research assistant rather than as a classroom teacher.

In the final category, Category D, are the TAs who decided to continue as classroom teachers, yet whose evaluations of the themselves did not match external evaluation. These TAs are of particular concern in contrast to those in Category B, who also continued teaching. There are two TAs in this category.

The first is a teacher of an introductory lab course who had considerable teaching experience before coming to the United States. When asked how he felt about his teaching, he responded in writing that it was a perfect way to learn English. He felt that 90 to 95 percent of foreign TAs are effective teachers and that if their students did not understand them, the students need only to "watch and learn." He felt he had no problems in teaching or in using English despite the fact that his TOEFL score barely met the minimum requirements of his department at the time of his admission to graduate school. He rated his skills in all language areas as good. As for the evaluative questionnaires filled out by his students every term, he read and destroyed them routinely, so none were available for this analysis.

When he was observed in the classroom for this study, both his language use and teaching style were highly formal. For the first 30 minutes of the 45-minute class period, he lectured to the twelve undergraduates by commenting on a totally pre-written outline on the blackboard. He was seated on a table at the side of the room and spoke in a low monotone with his eyes fixed on the board. He asked two questions during the period, but the students were unable to answer them. Student names were not used. The TA provided the answers to his questions and said that he hoped they understood. He then urged the students not to sleep.

After this observation, it was concluded that either the students understood the concepts taught before the class session had begun or they had arrived at new insights during the period without choosing to interact with the TA. A third very real possibility, of course, was that they still had not grasped the concepts by the end of the period. In any case, the TA did not modify his lecture style even though the class was small. At this point it was suspected that the TA's concept of an effective teacher did not match the expectations of the students.

The other TA in this category taught a beginning language course. He had been teaching his native language in the U.S. for four years at the time of the study. He rated himself as good in listening, speaking and pronunciation, and as fair in grammar and composition. When he assumed his TA position, he had difficulties associated with his lack of experience in teaching and with aural comprehension. As he gained experience, he became very confident and felt that he was an effective classroom teacher. Like the first TA, he felt that his English improved through his teaching and through contact with Americans. He felt he had no problems with his teaching.

There was, however, considerable discrepancy between this TA's evaluation of himself and others' evaluations of him. In an interview it was found that his English had in fact improved markedly. He was able to understand and respond to all of the questions with little or no difficulty and appeared to be confident in his use of English. He felt that he had reached a point at which his teaching was effective and saw no need to be interested in further improvement.

A subsequent interview with his supervisor and an analysis of his students' evaluations of him revealed a very different profile from the one he had given. His supervisor had received a number of complaints about his teaching, and in her observations of him she felt that he had considerable difficulty communicating with the students in his classroom. The written evaluations of the instructor were generally favorable except for several complaints concerning the lack of clarity in his grammatical explanations in English. His students also complained about not having an opportunity to practice the target language in class. One student wrote that the teacher and the class were "seldom on the same wave-length," which made learning difficult. An analysis of a videotape of this TA's classroom teaching confirmed the discrepancy described above. The atmosphere in his classroom was highly formal with only minimal interaction between the TA and the students. It was perhaps easier for the students to accept his shortcomings as a teacher because he was teaching a foreign language not requiring exclusive dependence on English for instruction. Because he was teaching a language course and not a course in a field like math or physics, the students may have extended some degree of cultural acceptance to him that would most likely not have been extended to his counterpart in those other fields.

5. Discussion

Although each of the participants entered the foreign TA course with unique characteristics and specific needs, it was possible to isolate the variables of English language proficiency, teaching skill, and attitude for each TA. The development of the four discrete categories presented in the previous section has facilitated analysis of these variables and has led to some useful generalizations about each of the variables.

Most of the TAs felt that English was their main problem. Although some TAs showed dramatic improvement in various areas of English language proficiency, this was generally not the case. As the course continued, the TAs in Category B saw the need to compensate for their lack of fluency in the classroom setting, realizing that language improvement at their level would take place only as a gradual process. These TAs were especially open to classroom strategies designed to support their oral presentations—for example, using the blackboard to ensure that students have understood particularly troublesome vocabulary items or asking for immediate feedback on key points in the presentation.

On the other hand, the TAs in Category D, who also chose to continue teaching, remained convinced that a mastery of English was the key to being a successful classroom teacher. TAs in this group were open to activities specifically designed to improve their English language ability. They were less interested in learning strategies to support their communication with students in the classroom.

Even though language is clearly a major variable in classroom interaction, immediate or dramatic improvement in this area was not frequently observed or expected. It appears to be extremely important that the TAs be persuaded that there are crucial variables other than English involved in overall teaching effectiveness.

In the area of teaching skills, it was found that the TAs with limited teaching experience were very open to making changes in their teaching and that, in many cases, these changes were made quickly. On the other hand, some of the TAs who had previous teaching experience came into the foreign TA course with certain preconceived notions about teaching and learning and were not as open to change or adaptation. They came into the course with specific ideas and expectations concerning their roles as teachers at an American university and left the course with essentially the same ideas. It appeared that they had decided in advance that they had certain deficiencies, particularly in language ability, which, when remedied, would make them effective classroom teachers. They resisted the idea of looking at the whole range of skills and attitudes that might affect their performance as TAs. The other TAs with teaching experience chose not to teach even after taking the foreign TA course because of their respect for high standards in education. They felt that because of their inadequacies in English, they would take non-teaching positions until they had improved sufficiently. It was apparent that some of the TAs in this category could have functioned adequately as classroom teachers.

In contrast to the variable of language proficiency, dramatic improvement was frequently observed in the area of teaching skills. It was often easier for inexperienced teachers to make changes in their teaching because they generally had not developed rigid ideas concerning the best way to teach and learn. Experienced teachers, on the other hand, were faced with the difficult task of adapting their notions of teaching and learning to the expectations of their American students. For both experienced and inexperienced foreign TAs, an appropriate attitude toward differences in educational systems seemed to be essential. The TAs who were successful in this area developed an appreciation of their students' perspectives on classroom interaction.

The cultural and attitudinal variables involved in teaching are perhaps the most difficult to isolate and analyze but at the same time may be the most reliable predictors of success. When foreign students come to the United States, they find themselves in a very difficult situation. They may have a strong desire to integrate completely into their new environment. For many of them, this may mean trying to become like the Americans they encounter in their daily lives. Through this desire to become a part of American culture, they may try to minimize differences and emphasize similarities.

This desire to identify with Americans may be the reason that most of the TAs in this study claimed that English was the primary factor determining their success in the classroom. This perception may have been the reason that some of the TAs were not open to activities designed to improve their teaching effectiveness or to increase their awareness of cultural differences in the classroom. However, the cultural differences involved in classroom teaching, including assumptions about learning, may be the source of the greatest difficulty for the foreign TA in the American classroom. Therefore, a foreign TA who is not receptive to analysis and discussion of these differences will have limited success.

6. Conclusion

A foreign TA in an American university is faced with a difficult situation. These TAs, who are required to provide quality education to their students, may encounter serious problems in classroom communication because of their level of proficiency in the English language, their teaching skills and experience, and their attitude toward classroom education.

This paper has presented ten case studies of foreign TAs who had taken a special course designed to improve their classroom effectiveness. Although the TAs had different language needs, different levels of teaching experience, and different attitudes toward the educational process, it was possible to create four distinct categories based on 1) how the TAs evaluated themselves, 2) how they were evaluated by others, and 3) whether or not they chose to continue as classroom teachers after completing the training course for foreign TAs.

The two categories of TAs who chose not to continue as classroom teachers, Categories A and C, are not of particular interest in this study because these TAs, for a variety of reasons, have made the choice not to be involved in the education of American undergraduates. On the other hand, Categories B and D include the TAs who have continued as classroom teachers.

Those in Category B, the largest group, achieved some degree of successful integration into the American classroom. Although each of them still had specific difficulties in the areas of language and teaching skills, their open attitudes toward classroom education in the United States served as a moderating variable. These TAs had a realistic perception of themselves as speakers of English and as classroom teachers, as shown by the match between their evaluations of themselves and external evaluation. They saw classroom teaching and language skills both as gradual processes requiring constant attention for improvement to take place.

In contrast, the TAs in Category D, who also continued teaching, did not show the same degree of successful integration into the American classroom. These TAs had shown improvement in their English language skills but exhibited a rigid attitude toward classroom education. They had specific preconceived notions about the educational process which may have been a reflection of their cultural or personal attitudes toward education. The study found that these TAs did not have a realistic perception of themselves as speakers of English or as classroom teachers. They saw English language proficiency and effective teaching skills as two separate, unrelated variables. (Their attitude toward improving classroom effectiveness was that if their English skills improved, they would become more effective teachers.) The discrepancy found in the way these TAs perceived themselves and the way others, including American undergraduate students and immediate supervisors, perceived them suggests that this category requires the most immediate attention, assuming that quality education for undergraduates is a high priority.

These case studies support the commonsense notion that proficiency in the English language and adequate teaching skills are essential to the foreign TA's success in the American classroom. More important, the studies indicate that the individual TA's attitude toward the educational process in the United States is a key variable in classroom effectiveness that merits further attention and research.

References

Bailey, Kathleen M. 1977. The ESL Service Course at UCLA: A Progress Report. In J. Povey (ed.) Workpapers in Teaching English as a Second Language XI. University of California, Los Angeles.

Educational Testing Service. 1981. TOEFL test and score manual. Princeton, New Jersey.

Educational Testing Service. 1982. Test of spoken English: manual for score users. Princeton, New Jersey.

International students at the University of Minnesota. 1982. (Prepared by a presidentially appointed administrative committee.) University of Minnesota.

Landa, Mark, and William Perry. 1980. Classroom communication skills for foreign graduate instructors. NAFSA Newsletter XXXI, 6.

Report of a special course for foreign student teaching assistants to improve their classroom effectiveness. 1980. International Student Adviser's Office and Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota. NAFSA Cooperative Projects Grant.

Appendix I

CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION FOR FOREIGN TAs

Description of Teaching Activities

Presenting a Syllabus

The TAs present the syllabus and essential information for the course they are teaching. The focus of this first activity is on clearly presenting the pertinent information and establishing rapport with the class. (3-4 min.)

2. Definition of a Term

   In this activity the TAs present a definition of a special term or concept from their fields. It is essential that that the TAs adapt their material to meet the general level of the audience and that the length of the presentation be kept within the prescribed time limit. (5-7 min.)

3. Explaining a Diagram, Model, or Illustration

   The TAs choose a diagram, model, or illustration from their fields to present to the class. This activity requires the TAs to use the blackboard or some other teaching aid and at the same time to maintain adequate eye contact with the class. (5-7 min.)

4. Giving Directions to the Class

   In this activity the TAs give the class directions for drawing something (usually a geometric design or symbol). Only oral communication can be used. The class members can ask questions to focus or clarify the TA's directions. The TAs receive immediate feedback on their success in communicating the specified information.

5. Fielding Question

   Questions based on each TA's previous presentation asked by native speakers of English are audiotaped and then played for the TAs to answer. The TAs are videotaped in front of the class as they listen to, restate, and answer the questions. The class members can ask for clarification or elaboration. This activity focuses on listening ability as well as the ability to restate questions clearly and accurately.

6. Short Lecture
   The TAs present short lectures based on topics of general interest from their fields. This activity requires the TAs to synthesize the skills emphasized in the course and is intended to give them a clear sense of what they have accomplished during the quarter. (10 min.)

7. Follow-up Lecture
   In this activity the TAs can draw on the information presented in the previous lecture and can assume a certain amount of shared knowledge on the part of the class members. This gives them an opportunity to clarify problems from the previous presentation and to elaborate on a specific point. (10 min.)

Appendix 2

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
CLASSROOM COMMUNICATION SKILLS FOR INTERNATIONAL TAs
FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I

1. Name______________________________
2. Department______________________________
3. Primary area of interest______________________________
4. When did you begin your studies at the U of M?______________
5. How many graduate credits do you usually take per quarter?____
6. When do you plan to finish your degree?____________________
7. What types of assistantships have you held at the U of M?______

   ____
8. What classes have you taught at the U of M?_______________

   ____
9. Are you teaching this quarter?______________________
10. How large are the classes you teach?____________________
11. How often do you have TA meetings?____________________
12. Native language______________________________
13. Country______________________________

14. TOEFL Score______________________________

15. Michigan Test Score__________________________

16. What language do you speak at home?_________________

17. How many hours do you generally speak English?__________

18. Please give the name of at least one person who has observed your teaching or has a good idea of your proficiency in English.

____

____

PART II

Please rate your own proficiency in English in the following areas:

Grammar	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
Listening Comprehension	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
Speaking	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
Pronunciation	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor
Composition	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor

(For people who have been teaching during the last year.)

1. How do you feel about teaching at the U of M?

2. Have there been any changes in your *teaching* since you have been at the U of M?

3. If you feel your teaching has changed, what do you think the causes of the change are?

4. Have there been any changes in your *ability to use English* for teaching?

5. If you feel your proficiency in English has changed, what do you think the causes of the change are?

PART III

1. Thinking back on the course "Classroom Communication for International TAs" that you took, what were the most useful parts of the course for you?

2. What specific benefits did you gain from the various parts of the course?

3. As a student or TA at the University of Minnesota, what specific problems do you *still* have that the course did not help you with?

4. How could the course have helped you with these problems?

5. If you were a foreign TA just beginning at the U of M, would you take this course? Why or why not?

6. Would you recommend that other foreign TAs take it? Why or why not?

The Alemany Press (415) 661-1515

P.O. Box 5265 San Francisco, Ca 94101

new
acquisition activities

Jami Ferrer & Patty Warner de Poleo

Bridge the Gap

A Three Tier Approach to Grammatically Structured Acquisition Activities

The authors have devised a three-tiered model for contextual, situational, communicative activities that tend to evoke only particular structures without opening a Pandora's box of communicative or structural problems.

TIER 1

Highly controlled exchanges in Tier One require only a simple 2-part communication between teacher and student or between student and student. Although Tier One activities might resemble traditional drilling, the highly active and personalized content shifts the focus from repetitious pattern practice to meaningful communication.

TIER 2

Activities in Tier Two require four-to-six part interchanges. In either whole class or small group activities, the teacher has a less dominant role. Students rely less on teacher prompting, and more on context to stimulate target structures.

TIER 3

Tier Three activities stimulate open-ended communication allowing for maximum autonomy and creativity on the part of the students. These activities involve students in prolonged conversation while continuing to provide practice of target structures. The situations are defined but allow for free exchanges.

Bridge the Gap is designed to bridge the gap between tightly controlled pattern practice of grammatical structures *in vacco* and spontaneous communicative discourse *in vivo*.

This Three-Tiered framework and the activities in ***Bridge the Gap*** were developed for ESL and field tested both in University and Elementary School settings. The authors have also found them to be invaluable in Special Education, native speakers who are delayed in language acquisition.

Bibliography

0-88084-074-9 $9.95

materials by and for esl teachers

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 4

Fall, 1984

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Volume 4 Fall, 1984

Table of Contents

ARTICLES

Montessori Language Lessons: The Almost Silent Way 7
Ann Eljenholm Nichols

The Excommunicative Approach (and how to avoid it) 23
George Yule

Some Neglected Vocabulary Needs of ESL Students 43
Tom Richards

The Doughnut that Fell into the Dishwater: Thoughts about Teaching Relative Clauses and other Structures 52
Eric Nelson

REVIEW

Understanding Academic Lectures 70
Abelle Mason
Reviewed by Susan Gillette

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

Journal Staff

Eric Nelson, editor
University of Minnesota
Elizabeth Henly
University of Minnesota
Kim Koffolt
University of Minnesota
Diane Pecoraro
Minneapolis Public Schools
Tom Richards
University of Minnesota

Publications Committee

Laura Buchanan
University of Minnesota
Martha Faltesek
Honeywell, Inc.
Adele Hansen
University of Minnesota
Margaret Holper
Adult Community Education
Center, St. Paul
Darlene Kunze
Minneapolis Public Schools
Chris Lindemer
University of Minnesota
Ellen Mamer
St. Paul Community
Education
Vivian Mann
St. Paul Public Schools
John Marston
University of Minnesota
Mary Ostrander
Minneapolis Public Schools
Diane Pecoraro
Minneapolis Public Schools
Kathryn Poethig
Minnesota Literacy Council
Lora Polack
University of Minnesota
Kathleen Roehl
International Institute
for the Handicapped

MinneTESOL Officers
1983-1984

President
Mark Landa
University of Minnesota

First Vice-president
Kim Brown
Macalester College

Second Vice-President
Kathryn Hanges
Concordia College

Secretary
Martha King Faltesek
Honeywell, Inc.

Treasurer
Lisa Boehlke
Minneapolis Public
Schools

Executive Board

The officers and

Joan Bachman
Rochester Public Schools

Leslie Crawford
Moorhead State University

Anne DeMuth
Minneapolis Public Schools

Dick Halverson
Bloomington Public Schools

Ellen Mamer
St. Paul Community
Education

Jean Teigland
CPT

Editorial Policy

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to pubish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome. Submit manuscripts to the Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*, Program in ESL, 152 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, 320 16th Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts should conform to the guidelines of the *TESOL Quarterly*. Submit two copies of each manuscript, along with two copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14162, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55114.

Membership in MinneTESOL ($10.00) includes a subscription to the *MinneTESOL Journal*, published in the fall.

FORWARD

The fourth volume of the MinneTESOL Journal includes something old, something new, and three things in between. Old but still fresh and important are the principles of the Montessori method, the subject of our first article. New is the review at the end of the volume, the first to appear in the *Journal*. In between (spatially now, not temporally) are an article about communicative language teaching, one about vocabulary, and one about grammar.

In describing the "Almost Silent Way" that Maria Montessori devised for teaching the so-called "unteachable" students of her day, Ann Nichols reminds us of some fundamental principles that our discipline shares with all types of education: the principles of subordinating teaching to learning, making the difficult understandable, and providing the means by which learners can continue to learn independently. Nichols shows how Montessori methods can be used in ESL and provides sample lesson plans for teachers to adopt or adapt. Readers who know the name *Montessori* only from reading it on school buildings will appreciate this look at an early educational pioneer and her methods.

From the second article of this volume come these words, spoken by a hypothetical student in an ESL class: *I'm coming to school now*, *I was coming to school yesterday*, *I will be coming to school tomorrow*. We can all smile a little at the unnaturalness of an activity that encourages this kind of language behavior. Many of us might, a little smugly, think of our own classes, in which we have largely replaced the recitation of grammatical paradigms out of context with something we call "communicative" or "functional." Our students, we might think, don't recite patterns; they greet, they describe, they explain, they agree and disagree. They don't say *I'm coming now*, *I was coming yesterday*, *I will be coming tomorrow*; they say (quoting again from the article) *I can't agree with you*, *I can't accept your argument*, *I beg to differ*. There is an irony here that we may have missed. A class in which the teacher instructs students to disagree with one another in three different ways in the same breath is not more communicative than one in which the teacher orchestrates choral practice of paradigms. Just what do we mean by "communicative" anyway? George Yule addresses this issue. In trying to pin down and argue for a restricted use of the loaded term "communicative approach," Yule introduces a new term: "The Excommunicative Approach." In his discussion of what is "communicative" and what is "excommunicative," Yule outlines some features of communication, shows how classroom activities often fail to promote (or even work against) the goal of developing students' communicative abilities, and offers advice on how to avoid "excommunication" -- how to help students develop skills that will enable them to participate in the English-speaking community.

Among those skills are the ones that Tom Richards describes in our third article, "Some Neglected Vocabulary Needs of ESL Students." In order to help students to develop adequate vocabularies, Richards argues, we have to go beyond the "quantity" approach to vocabulary (five new words a day!); we have to teach words and phrases, and above all, skills which will help students when they don't know or can't recall a word and when communication breaks down.

My own article, "The Doughnut that Fell into the Dishwater," offers some ideas for teaching relative clauses. More important, it illustrates an approach to grammar in which our understanding of the function of a structure shapes the classroom activities we design.

Finally, Susan Gillette examines Understanding Academic Lectures by Abelle Mason. Gillette's lengthy description of content, her careful evaluation, and her suggestions for using the material will be welcomed by readers who seek depth and detail in a review.

E.N.

MONTESSORI LANGUAGE LESSONS:
The Almost Silent Way

Ann Eljenholm Nichols

Montessori language lessons, which antedate Silent Way methodology by fifty years, offer a solution to some of the problems facing ESL elementary teachers, in particular limited time with mixed-proficiency students. The basic principles of a Montessori lesson, the three period presentation, isolation of difficulty, control of error, and relative silence of the teacher, enable the student to work independently yet purposefully. Sample ESL lessons based on Montessori principles are supplied. A list of Montessori's works is appended.

Most ESL teachers know about Gattegno's Silent Way because of the work of Earl W. Stevick (1980:37-82). Few teachers, however, know much about Maria Montessori, and even Stevick seems not to know of Gattengo's indebtedness to her. I first became interested in Montessori twenty-five years ago. I was a graduate student in linguistics when a friend and mother of two small children gave me a copy of The Montessori Method and asked me if what Montessori said made any sense. Allowing for a certain Italianate style preserved by her translator, she did indeed make sense, particularly in what she had to say about language. First, her description of Italian was linguistically sound; second, what she said about language learning sounded remarkably like some of the work I had just been reading in linguistics. Marveling, for example, at the child's ability to absorb language, she concluded: "This is not the result of conscious work. It is something done at the unconscious level of the mind. It begins and unfolds in the darkest depths of the

---

Ann Eljenholm Nichols teaches ESL at Winona State University.

unconscious, and when it emerges it is as a fixed acquisition" (1967:111).

After twenty years of teaching and relying on a number of Montessori techniques, I can still reaffirm my initial evaluation. Montessori makes sense, not just in a Montessori classroom, but in any classroom. Montessori makes particular sense .for ESL elementary teachers who face the sort of problems described by Marsha Santelli (1982:5): low budgets, hostile classroom teachers, limited time with students, and mixed proficiency levels.

Montessori had enormous respect for the child, not a vague, amorphous aren't-children-wonderful sort of respect, but respect for the child's mind. Because of this she believed that all real education was self-education: "Education is not something which the teacher does, but ... a natural process which develops spontaneously in the human being" (1967:8). Because of this respect for the child as an active agent, the adult in a Montessori classroom is never called a teacher, but rather a director or directress, someone who prepares the materials by which children can learn and teach themselves.[1] This may sound incredibly idealistic, but Montessori did not develop her theory in the ivory tower of a middle class drawing room; she developed it working with the SLBP students (students with special learning or behavior problems) of her day.

Born in 1870, Maria Montessori was the first woman in Italy to become a doctor. It was her medical training, more than anything else, I believe, that developed in her an ability essential to good teaching, the ability to observe accurately and objectively. Montessori must have been a very tenacious young woman to pursue studies and succeed in a field that had hitherto belonged only to men. Having completed her studies, she worked at a number of part-time positions, at the Spiritu Sancto Hospital in Rome and also as an assistant at a psychiatric clinic. There she was given what must have been the least attractive work, dealing with what were then called idiot children, the "unteachables." In 1898 Montessori delivered a paper at the Pedagogical Congress in Turin in which she argued that the children she had been seeing as a medical doctor were not unteachable, that what they needed was educational care rather than medical. As a result of this paper she was asked by the Minister of Education to set up a training school for teachers of such children, work that developed into the State Orthophrenic School. There Montessori worked herself from eight in the morning until seven at night. She later referred to the two years she worked there as "my first and indeed my true degree in pedagogy" (1909:32). It was during this time that Montessori first began to produce the didactic materials still found in Montessori classrooms all over the world.

---

[1] Gattegno's position is remarklably similar: "Everyone of us enters school knowing how to be a responsible learner, an independent judge, an autonomous judge. . ." (1970:67); "... no doctoral student in a university has ever done as good a job equivalent to what we all did when we were one and two years of age, finding by ourselves how to acquire the extremely complicated system called language" (1970:11).

CHARACTERISTICS OF MONTESSORI LANGUAGE LESSONS

The Three-period Lesson

In her early work at the State Orthophrenic School, Montessori had read about and been influenced by Seguin's pioneering efforts in sensory education (1812-1880). In his work with the deaf Seguin developed a three-period lesson: first, teach the child to associate a sensory perception with a name; second, test to see whether the child can still associate the name with the perception; and finally, test whether the child can produce the name belonging to the perception. The lesson must focus on only one sense perception at a time.[2] For teaching colors Montessori developed a set of wooden tablets identical except for color. They are introduced to a child as follows.

First Period:	*red* (or *This is red*.) *blue*(or*This is blue*.)	The teacher articulates carefully while pointing to each tablet.
Second Period:	Show me the red. Show me the blue.	(or *Give me the red tablet*.) (or *Give me the blue tablet*.)
Third Period:	*Which is this*?	(or *Which color is this*?)

It is only in the third period that the child must speak. In a second lesson on color the teacher might begin with the second stage for review.

Because the three-period lesson is so simple, teachers sometimes think that it only belongs at an elementary level. Actually it is useful in all disciplines at all levels. All teachers, of course, use the first phase, but many skip phase two altogether, and others use phase three only on test days. I believe that many students would do better at algebra, geometry, biology or chemistry if their teachers used all three phases.

---

[2] Montessorians call this the isolation of difficulty or the principle of simplicity. Stevick aptly calls it the "one thing at a time" principle (1980:44, 78). He has an equally aphoristic label for the three period lesson: "teach then test" (1980:56).

Silence

A Montessori lesson always begins and ends in silence. Furthermore, in the three-period naming lesson the child is not required to produce the new word(s) until phase three. It is now generally accepted that forcing a language learner to speak too soon may be detrimental, that the child learner of a second language, in particular, should be allowed to remain constructively silent (Gingras 1978; Day 1981). Thus contemporary research supports a basic principle of Montessori education. The lesson also proceeds very slowly.

Silence is, of course, what has given Gattegno's methodology its name. Actually, the silence in the Montessori method has always seemed natural to me, unlike that of the Silent Way, which sometimes seems contrived. For example, although a Montessori teacher will often use gestures rather than speech, they are never used just to avoid speech but rather to avoid distracting the child from the object being perceived. Both Montessori and Gattegno are at one, however, in wishing the child to be independent. The silence of the teacher is one of the things that makes this possible. The silence also enables the teacher to observe the students more perceptively. "The teacher whose work is subordinate to the work of her students must be continually learning from them about where they are--must be constantly 'learning them,' so to speak, at the same time that the students are learning the subject matter" (Stevick 1980:45).

A NAMING LESSON

Let us look at a naming lesson in more detail. Say that I wish to introduce the names for the attributes thick and thin to children who have already learned the names of the geometric shapes. I choose for materials a set of attribute blocks - blue plastic circles, squares, rectangles, and triangles, half of which are 1 cm thick, and the other half .25 cm thick. I sit facing the children at a small table or on the floor. I say nothing, but carefully and slowly place the box in the center of the demonstration area. Slowly I remove the lid and put it under the box. Next, and equally slowly, I take out one thick circle, look at it carefully, rub my finger vertically over the side, and then say thick. (If the word involves sounds which are difficult for the children, I repeat the last two steps.) Then I carefully lay the thick circle down. Next I repeat the procedure with a thin circle. The exercise continues until all the thick figures are in one row and all the thin in another. The only words that are spoken are those specified by the three period lesson.

I have noticed that whenever a well-trained Montessori teacher demonstrates such a lesson to adults, they become restless; they are ill at ease, even impatient with the slowness and silence of the presentation. Yet is it the silence that enables the child to isolate a sense perception before a new word is attached to it. This silence is also enormously restful for children bombarded with a strange language at the same time they are trying to cope with teachers and peers in a foreign culture. Montessori loved to quote Dante to her teachers, "Let thy words be counted," or to use her words, "The more carefully we cut away useless words, the more perfect will become the lesson" (1970:108).

ADOPTING AND ADAPTING MONTESSORI IN ESL TEACHING

Once teachers understand the basic principles involved in a Montessori lesson (teach one thing at a time, cut away all useless words), they can easily create their own language activities from materials already available in their schools. (In fact, in some of the best Montessori training schools, trainees are required to make many of their own materials so that they will better understand the principles involved.) Math materials are invaluable for language lessons, for example, attribute blocks, geometric solids, or Cuisenaire rods, the famous colored rods of the Silent Way.[3] The only other materials needed are colored cards for labels, clear contact paper to cover the labels, and storage containers.

THREE MORE SAMPLE LESSONS

Teaching Ordinal Numbers: A Sequence of Lessons

Materials Needed:
- five or six Cuisenaire rods of the same color
- five or six rods, each a different color
- word cards for *first*, *second*, *third*, ... *sixth*
- the box or bag in which the rods are kept

Lesson 1: Use one color of rods -- all orange, for example. Arrange them in a row. Use the three-period naming technique to teach *first*, *second*, etc. Label the rods with word cards.

Lesson 2: Use rods in a variety of colors; follow the same procedure as in Lesson 1.

Lesson 3: This lesson can follow immediately after Lesson 2 or be used for review another day. Give the following commands: *Give* (child's name) *the* *third rod* . *Put the fifth rod in the box* (or *bag*). *Make the second rod first*.

The last command is more complicated than the others; it was actually produced by a child using the materials and started a marvelous group game. This sort of student-initiated activity is typical of Montessori lessons.

---

[3] Gattegno coauthored a basic manual for the use of the colored rods (1954). The rods, however, were developed by the Belgian G. Cuisenaire and are marketed under his name.

Lesson 4: Additional materials: word cards, several each color, the, rod, is, blue, red, orange, etc.

Lay out the materials as in Lesson 2. Point to one of the rods, saying "Tell me about this rod." Lay out the word cards and construct the appropriate sentence.

Many Montessori activities involve writing and reading, the composing of sentences preceding reading. The "tell me" formula used in this lesson is a useful way of introducing such activities. If the child should respond not in a complete sentence but with something like "second blue," the teacher completes the predication, "The second rod is blue." Since the rod already has the label second placed above or below it, the teacher now picks up the label, repeating the word second. As the word cards for the sentence are arranged, the teacher should pronounce each word carefully, inviting the child to "read" with her. The cards can then be mixed up, the child rearranging them to form the descriptive sentence. (Since this lesson involves five or six sentences, it is necessary to keep the words sorted, for example, all the color words in one box or Ziploc bag.) Finally, the child can copy the sentence to practice spelling and handwriting.

Once these materials have been presented, children can work independently, arranging the six rods in any sequence and writing sentences about them. Since it takes relatively little time to present the lessons, the teacher is able to work effectively with a number of different students grouped by proficiency. Furthermore, the reading/writing activities can be used independently in the regular classroom while the classroom teacher works with mainstream lessons. All the classroom teachers needs to do is to provide a corner of a shelf where the

ESL materials can be kept. Once classroom teachers realize that these materials make their work easier, a spirit of cooperation between specialist and nonspecialist teachers can develop in place of the wary indifference and hostility so often complained of.

Teaching Fractional Numbers: From Sentence to Paragraph

Materials needed: two each of brown, yellow, and orange rods
word cards:
brown
yellow
orange
one-third] three each
are]

Set out the rods in a row in random color order:

brown yellow orange brown orange yellow

Say, "tell me about the rods." (If necessary, ask how many rods there are, what colors they are, and how many there are of each color.) Have the students write out sentences as they compose them. (The lesson may be stopped at this point and continued later. Save the written text so that the random order can be reconstructed.)

Now, without speaking, regroup the rods as follows:

brown brown yellow yellow orange orange

Say, "There are three colors -- brown, yellow, and orange." Label each color group one-third, and compose sentences with the cards:

brown brown yellow yellow orange orange

One-third are brown. One-third are yellow.One-third are orange. Finally, add these three new sentences to the earliest ones.

The result is a model descriptive paragraph, something like this:

> There are six rods. The first and fourth rods are brown. The second and sixth rods are yellow. The third and fifth rods are orange. There are three colors, brown, yellow, and orange. One-thid of the rods are brown, one-third are yellow, and one-third are orange.

> Help the child reread the entire paragraph outloud. As the child reads the rods should be rearranged to match the original order: the first and fourth rods are brown, etc. This activity tests both reading ability and comprehension of ordinality.

It is instructive to note a parallel between this typical Montessori activity and recent communication-oriented ESL texts with similar activities. These texts, for example, ask students to label diagrams of physical objects using a written description for data and conversely to write descriptions from a labeled diagram (Allen and Widdowson, 1974; Maclean, 1975).

Once an activity like the preceding one on fractional numbers has been introduced to the children, it can be stored in a tell-me box on the ESL shelf in the regular classroom for independent use. The tell-me label tells the child to repat the activity which the ESL teacher initiated with the phrase, "Tell me about ...." The child constructs a physical model, labels the objects, and writes a description of the model. During the next ESL lesson, the student begins by reading the description and reconstructing the model for the teacher. If the child's penmanship is clear enough, students can exchange descriptions, build models, and check each other's work. In this way the children take control of their own learning activities requiring less and less direct supervision the from ESL specialist at this stage of their work.

If, after an initial presentation of the fractional lesson, the teachers feels that a child needs to review the material, the same six rods and cards should be placed in the tell-me box. Otherwise the ESL teacher should change the colors, number of rods, and the ratios. This particular activity is a popular one with students. In fact, it is not unusual for non-ESL students to become equally fascinated by the Cuisenaire rods, thus providing a common interest for communication between native and nonnative speakers.

Noun Phrase Lessons

In the preceding exercises the physical objects, in addition to providing a perceptual basis for the language lesson, also make the lesson self-correcting. Since it is not always feasible to use such objects, color coding can also control error; for example, in this lesson it focuses on determiner distribution. One color of card is used for the plural count nouns, a second for the nouncount; a later, more difficult lesson would include singular count nouns as well. Quantifier colors match the color of the subclass of noun they pattern with.[4] At the first stage this is primarily a matching activity.

on	a little	snow	on	a few	snowflakes
blue	not much	furniture	white	many	chairs
cards	some	tea	cards	several	cups of tea

Other nouns can be added to the list, particularly those the children meet in their school environment. Once the pattern is acquired, the color coding can be eliminated, all the quantifiers and nouns being written on white card. The learner's initial task is to sort the words into two classes, the quantifiers and the nouns. For independent work it is wise to provide a framework such as a sorting sheet, a large piece of paper on which the work can be done. Grammatical labels are not necessary, though it is easy to see how these materials could also be used in a three period grammar lesson.

---

[4] A few, many, and several can only pattern with plural count nouns; a little and not much only with noncount nouns. Although some has no such limitation, it is included in this lesson because of its common use with noncount nouns.

Figure 1
Sorting Sheet for Noun Phrase Lesson

Words like a little/many	Words like fun/parties
Phrases like a little fun	Phrases like many parties

This type of sorting and classifying exercise is more than a language lesson. It also prepares children to deal with a culture that values classification and for higher education where success in large part depends on the ability to move from the specific to the general and back again.

Similar noun phrase activities can be devised for use with the attribute blocks described earlier.[5] Each of the geometric figures comes in seven editions, large/small, thick/thin, red/yellow/blue. Thus students are able to construct noun phrases with a series of modifiers, for example the large, thick, blue triangle. By selecting different combinations of the blocks, teachers can create about one hundred different activities. For unsupervised classroom use, the teacher can set up simple classifying exercises like "Put all the thick blocks together," or for more advanced pupils add a tell-me paragraph assignment. And the children, too, will create their own activities; I once worked with a group of children who invented a lotto-game with the blocks: Do you have a large, thin, yellow circle? Whenever children take charge of their own education in this way, teachers can be pleased at their success. For the teacher's task, according to Montessori, is not to talk but "to prepare and arrange" activities so that the chld can use inner resources to direct language learning (1909:8).

LEARNING MORE ABOUT MONTESSORI METHODS

Teachers often ask how they can learn more about Montessori methods, and so I have included a Montessori bibliography. However, the best way to learn about Montessori education is to observe it in action. Minnesota teachers are fortunate because of the large number of Montessori schools in the state, particularly in the Twin Cities vicinity. Normally observations are limited, so people wishing to visit should make an appointment in advance.[6] It is advisable, too, to make sure that the school is affiliated with either the AMI (Association Montessori Internatinale) or the AMA (American Montessori Association). Schools without one of these affiliations may bear the Montessori name without practicing Montessori principles.

---

[5] If the school does not have attribute blocks, I would recommend that ESL teachers buy their own sets. Herder and Herder, for example, markets a small edition called Logical Blocks as part of their Mathematics Experience Program.

A MONTESSORI BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list is arranged chronologically by the date of the original Italian edition or the approximate date of composition. Information about later editions appears in parentheses. The first three titles are seminal works.

Early Works

1909. The Montessori method. By 1917 this work had been translated into a dozen languages, including English, German, Catalan, Rumanian, Russian, Japanese, and Chinese. (1970. New York: Shocken Books.)

1914. Dr. Montessori's own handbook. This book, the first to be translated into English, was written shortly after Montessori returned from her first major tour of the United States. (1965. New York: Shocken Books.)

1916. The advanced Montessori method. This work was published in English in 1917 as two separate volumes, Spontaneous activity in Education (1965, New York: Shocken Books) and Montessori elementary material (1973, New York:

---

[6] I have visited Montessori schools in Europe and in a number of different states. I am, however, particularly grateful to Pat and Larry Schafer of the Lake Country Day School in the Twin Cities for what I learned during a two-week visit to their school, and especially to Antoinette Gomez Blane, the directress for eight years of the Delahanty Montessori School in Winona.

Schocken Books).

The Middle Period

1922. The child in the church (by Montessori et al.). E.M. Standing (ed.). An application of methods to the religious development of the child. (1965. St. Paul, Minn.: Catechetical Guild.)

1923. The child in the family. Based on a series of lectures delivered in Vienna. (1970. Chicago: Regnery Co.)

1932-1939. Education and Peace. A selection from a series of lectures delivered to peace conferences during the 30s, first published in Italian in 1949. (1972. Chicago: Regnery Co.)

1936. The secret of childhood. (1983. India: Orient Longman.)

The Indian Period

1948. The discovery of the child. A revised and enlarged edition of The Montessori method. (1972. New York: Ballantine.)

1949. The absorbent mind. A summary of training course lectures in India. (1967. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston) (1969. New York: Dell.)

The remaining works were translated into English and published in India during the 1940s. Some of the works were either not written directly by Montessori or were translations of translations.

1946. Education for a new world. Madras: Kalakshetra Publications.

1948. The child. Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.

1948. Reconstruction in education. Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.

1948. To educate human potential. Madras: Kalakshetra Publications.

1948. What you should know about your child. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Bennet.

REFERENCES

(The Montessori works are listed with the dates of current editions.)

Allen, J.P.B., and H.G. Widdowson. 1974. English in physical science. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cuisenaire, G., and Caleb Gattegno. 1954. Numbers in colour. London: Heinemann.

Day, Richard R. 1981. Silence and the ESL child. TESOL Quarterly 15(1):35-39.

Gattegno, Caleb. 1970. What we owe children: the subordination of teaching to learning. New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey.

Gingras, Rosario C. 1978. Second language acquisition and foreign language teaching. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Maclean, Joan. 1975. English in basic medical science. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Montessori, Maria. 1970. The Montessori method. New York: Shocken Books.

Montessori, Maria. 1967. The absorbent mind. New York: Shocken Books.

Santelli, Marsha. 1982. The care and nurturing of the elementary and bilingual teacher. TESOL Newsletter 16(5):1,5,14-16.

Stevick, Earl. 1980. A way and ways. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

THE EXCOMMUNICATIVE APPROACH
(and how to avoid it)

George Yule

If an ESL student has her learning time largely devoted to the study of linguistic form, taking an essentially passive role and rarely speaking English in any interactive context, she is experiencing the excommunicative approach. If what she actually requires is the communicative approach, then her time should be devoted to using and manipulating whatever English she has, with our support, to get her message across. This paper offers some ideas on how this might be accomplished.

It is a standard principle in semiotics, the general study of signaling systems, that it is impossible not to communicate. In simple terms, this means that if you sneeze, you communicate, if you are wearing a hat, you are communicating, and if an ESL student says this my this this my em yes, she's communicating.[1] Consequently, a methodology which is labeled "the Communicative Approach" could be interpreted as a system designed to get people to do what they're doing already and, in essence, cannot avoid doing. Presumably, ESL teachers have something else in mind when they say they would like to make their classroom teaching more "communicative" in orientation. So, what does "communicative" mean in this context? I doubt if I will be able to provide anything resembling a complete answer to this question, but I may come up with one or two useful ideas on

---

George Yule is Assistant Professor of Linguistics and English as Second Language at the University of Minnesota.

[1] The problem of the appropriate pronoun to be used when referring to a teacher or a student has been resolved in this paper by opting for the feminine forms throughout.

what is and what is not a "communicative" activity.[2]

To do this, I will suggest that the concept of "communicative," as it relates to human behavior, in the context of ESL, has to do very broadly with participation, or training which facilitates participation, of a primarily linguistic nature, in the activities of the wider community of English speakers. The connection proposed has a basis in the etymological connection between "communicate" and "community." By way of contrast, I will use the term "excommunicative," again within the limited world of ESL, to characterize acts or activities which serve to remove the ESL student from participation, or training which does not facilitate participation, in the community of English speakers. The contrast should become clearer in the course of the paper. First, let us try to put some harder edges on the extremely fuzzy notion of "communicative" behavior.

SOME FEATURES OF COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOR

It's Intentional

The earlier examples of sneezing, hat-wearing, and word-uttering are clearly not the type of "communicative" behavior an ESL teacher normally wishes to promote. This type of 'signaling' (to use a more neutral expression) can certainly lead the receiver of the signal to have some information about the person from whom the signal orginates, but it is unlikely that the information so received was voluntarily or intentionally sent. So, let us call such signals informative, define them as unintended, and limit the term communicative to signals which are intentionally sent.

---

[2] This paper is full of ideas which were, for the most part, prompted by students in the graduate ESL program at the University of Minnesota, who forced me to make my thoughts on the matter clearer. Credit for whatever seems worthwhile in this paper should consequently be shared with those students. Responsibility for what seems mistaken or badly expressed is all mine.

(For more on this terminological distinction, see Lyons, 1977:33.)

It's Recipient-designed

Yet, intention alone is hardly sufficient as defining communicative behavior. We need a means of disqualifying all intentional communicative behavior which does not take the receiver into account, particularly the receiver's ability to comprehend the message. For example, one of your ESL students can intentionally communicate what she thinks of you (who don't speak the Spanish of northern Mexico) by uttering, "no sirves ni de cacahuate." However, her signal is not designed to facilitate your comprehension of the intended communication. She might even be smiling when she says it, but you probably would not be, if genuine communication had taken place.[3] So, we also need a factor involving "designed for the recipient's comprehension" to be incorporated within our concept of communicative behavior.

There's an Information Gap

Closely connected with the notion of recipient-design is the requirement that communication usually operates with the assumption of an information gap. To be considered communicative, a verbal message must, in some sense, provide information which the speaker believes the hearer does not have. That is, the speaker must operate as if the message she is communicating is not already known to the hearer. This seems a rather obvious point, since we tend not to spend our time telling each other all the things we assume are known, but rather place a premium on telling "what's new."

---

[3] Well, it depends on whether you like to be told that "you don't even do as much as a peanut."

There's a Purpose
However, we do not simply recite random new information to our partners in communication. We usually have some purpose in giving a particular item of information to one person rather than another. In most instances, the purpose is very clear because the hearer needs the information. In fact, one of the ways in which we might identify pathological or mentally-unbalanced behavior would be if an individual started telling you random, purposeless information. So, we would want to exclude such verbal messages from the range of communicative behavior.

It's Appropriate
There are no doubt a number of other factors, but let us consider only one more, concerning "appropriateness". For many theorists, notably Hymes (1972), this factor is crucially important and can be more narrowly defined as "sociolinguistic appropriateness." In simple terms, it has to do with the distinction between using an expression like Please leave me alone and an alternative like Get lost, you creep. Knowing when, where, and to whom these expressions might be appropriate ways of communicating what you mean is an essential facet of what Hymes called the English speaking person's "communicative competence."

INTO THE ESL CLASSROOM: EXCOMMUNICATIVE ACTIVITIES

We have listed some properties which can serve as identifying features of communicative behavior. We are not necessarily aware of such components in our everyday use of language, but we normally have no difficulty recognizing that some element is missing. That is, we know when something is "odd" or "off-key" in someone's interactive behavior. We know what "normal" participation in a verbal interaction (between speakers of English) feels like and we know how communicative behavior fits into that "norm." Yet, we can also pick up our chalk, our books, our handouts, and walk into ESL classrooms, and, in many ways, ignore what counts as "normal" participation in communication via the English language.

I do not pretend that there are not a number of excellent reasons why this comes about. Much of what we do in the classroom stems from the requirements of existing course goals, established syllabus designs, compulsory textbooks, and the nature of standard English language tests. Such requirements have, for a number of years, been a source of frustration and dissatisfaction for many ESL teachers. The constraints created by such requirements have locked us into a number of activities which cannot really be carried over into our so-called "communicative approach."

To return to the issue: we have some idea of what one would expect in communicative language use, yet we also have a suspicion that this is not what's being fostered, at least some of the time, in ESL classrooms. What is being fostered, I will suggest, is some type of "excommunicative" language use, which may be serving as a means of removing ESL learners from participation in the community of English speakers. What are these obvious excommunicative activities which turn up in classrooms ostensibly devoted to the communicative approach?

Let us start with some really clear examples of excommunicative English language behavior. Having an ESL student, comfortably seated among her excommunicated peers, produce sentences like *I'm coming to school now*, *I was coming to school yesterday*, *I will be coming to school tomorrow* is one example. In fact, anything resembling a drill, concentrating on the forms of the English language, is inherently excommunicative. It may be useful for a number of other purposes (for example, passing tests which focus on correctness of form), but it is not communicative.

However, not so obviously to many people, an exercise which asks Maria to disagree with Chang one way, then to use another way, and then to do it another way, is, in fact, another example. This exercise may produce *I can't agree with you*, *I can't accept your argument*, *I beg to differ*. Reciting phrases of this type is the product of a lot of 'functional' course materials which have not really changed the format for student participation, but have changed the types of expressions which can be recited. Essentially, students are given the opportunity to practice, via repetition, not the progressive verb forms, or different tense forms, but ten ways to disagree in English or ten ways to ask for permission. Here is an example from a course called Communicate, by Morrow & Johnson (1979:76).

> You have rented a room in Mrs. Armstrong's house. Here are some things that you want to do. To be polite, you ask Mrs. Armstrong first. You say ...
>
> Could I possibly have a TV in my room?
> Could I possibly put some pictures on the walls?
> Could I possibly ask some friends to call round?
> (plus seven other 'Could I possibly...' sentences)
>
> Now ask her permission in three other ways.
>
> I'd like to ...
> You don't mind if ...
> Do you mind if ...

I suspect that, by this point, Mrs. Armstrong is about to come after you with a carving knife. Exercises of this type may also serve some purpose in the grand ESL scheme, but they are not communicative activities. At best, any exercise on form, whether the form of the present progressive or the form for asking permission, is merely a prerequisite for communicative activities. At worst, and more typically, such exercises are insidiously excommunicative, since they are so dominant in the ESL student's experience with the English language. They are what we give the ESL student to do with the English language, and mostly, we don't move on to have her do anything else. If the English speaking community needed members who can repeat sets of phrases and carry out substitution drills, then we have the trainees. Unfortunately, it doesn't. Such exercises lead students to say what they don't mean, without purpose, in artificial interaction, with no intentions, no recipient, no information gap, and no sense whatsoever of where, when and to whom such expressions would really be appropriate. They are not communicative.

SOURCES OF THE EXCOMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

Teacher-centered Classrooms

Most of the activities which tend to have an excommunicative effect can be identified in the typical formats of strongly teacher-centered classrooms. The student spends most of her time in a receptive role, she is not encouraged to initiate interaction, and, when she is called upon to speak, the expected linguistic production tends to be very brief, phrase- or short sentence-length, and it will inevitably be in the form of a response. In fact, if the student tries to break out of this essentially passive role, it can look like a disruption of the teacher's lesson plan. In a recent paper, Allwright (1984) cites a nice example to illustrate the teacher's desire to get on with what was planned and a student's attempt to interrupt that plan and get what she needs.

Teacher: Okay, let's get back to this
Student: Oh, please. At the second line, on second sentence it is, says: "Which word means 'hatred'?" (Pause) What is 'hatred'?

In a sense, this brief exchange contains another clue to the results of the excommunicative approach. The student's production in this example is typical of the type of communicative style a number of students develop by themselves. It is very much a format for classroom communication. The ability to use the English language in this way is not something we ordinarily teach. It illustrates the kind of strategy the students develop by themselves to try to compensate for the perceived gaps in their lessons. Some teachers discourage this type of interruption on the grounds that it plays havoc with the lesson plan.

The Model we Provide

Let us focus on a different aspect of the classroom interactive format which may foster excommunication. Typically, the teacher directs interaction by asking questions to which she already knows the answers. This is not a particularly novel observation - indeed, such behavior may simply be an occupational hazard for all teachers, a kind of classroom silicosis. However, though it may have a traditional place, it surely cannot be part of a 'communicative' approach. The function of questions in the English speaking community at large is surely more often aimed at getting information you do not know. Questions can also be used to make sure that what you thought was, in fact, correct. So, lack of information or doubt about the correctness of information seem to be the general motivating factors, in life. However, in the standard ESL classroom, the teacher's status tends to be that of "knower." When she asks a question, she can tell you whether your answer was correct or not. Now this is the model of interaction involving questions which most ESL students are given. What if they adopt the model? Imagine, in an admittedly exaggerated scenario, a student speaking to a man at the information counter at the Greyhound depot in Minneapolis.

> Student: When the next bus is to Duluth?
> Clerk: Twelve fifteen
> Student: That's correct - very good - now how long this bus it take?
> Clerk: It's about three hours - it's an express
> Student: Yes - that's right - good - so now - how much is it cost?
> Clerk: Listen honey - if you're so smart you tell me

How can there be anything wrong with this student's interactive style? She is taking her teacher's interactive style in the classroom as a model. So, why would the counter clerk get annoyed? Well, he probably feels that he is being "tested" on his knowledge, rather than being genuinely asked to convey information. His reaction is to relinquish his normal role in such interactions and effectively stop taking part. What should be a "communicative" activity for the student becomes "excommunicative." Yet, one can imagine that, in such a situation, the student would not understand why the clerk stopped participating. It would be just another puzzling experience, confirming the student's impression that she will never be successful at using English, even though she carefully follows her teacher's example.

The Corrections We Provide

Another example of how an ostensibly "communicative" activity quickly becomes "excommunicative" involves the way in which student production is treated. In the following fragment of classroom interaction, the teacher and students have been reading some instructions on how to pay bills for utilities. (The students were adult Asian immigrants to Britain receiving a version of ESL "survival skills.") The question and answer format used here is really intended to check that the students have understood the "content" of what they have read. It should, then, be focused on the content, rather than the form of the message.

Teacher: and where do you have to take this bill?
Student: is - em - is in the bost office
Teacher: you mean 'post' - say it "p - p - p - post - post"
Student: 'post - 'post'
Teacher: right - say it everyone - 'post'
All students: 'post' - 'post'
Teacher: right okay - the post office - good

Useful though it certainly is for the students to have their aberrant pronunciations corrected, we might argue that there are better occasions than in the middle of a discussion about "content." On this particular occasion, the distraction caused by the little pronunciation exercise leads the teacher to accept the wrong 'content' answer. The instructions which the students had been reading involved the post office, but not as the place to take the bills received.

Let us be clear about what seems amiss in the quoted interaction. There is no suggestion that the teaching of accurate pronunication should be neglected. Quite the contrary - everyone would agree that a certain level of ability in the pronunciation of English is a prerequisite for any communicative ability. However, the teaching of pronunciation, even remedially, should not take place in the middle of a communicative activity. If we wish to teach the correct form of English utterances, whether in pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary, we really should not be trying to do it in the middle of message-oriented, communicative interaction. Why not have the communicative interaction take place and, if the teacher expects that aspects of "form" in the students' production will need some attention, then tape-record the interaction for later use in a form-oriented lesson. This has the benefit of letting a communicative interaction concentrate on message-content and operate on the level of "getting meaning across," while creating a good set of data for the next lesson which is form-oriented and operates on the level of "becoming formally accurate."

Moreover, if pronunciation and grammar points derive from the students' own tape-recorded production, this is surely an advantage. Our students, like most people, are probably more interested in themselves than in others. They may be more motivated to try to learn the formally accurate version of the English present perfect, for example, if it is apparent from their own tape-recorded speech that they need to learn it.

ON SPOKEN COMMUNICATION

While some attention should be paid to the formal accuracy of our students' speech, we should be careful not to set unrealistic goals for the spoken communicative use of English. The way the English language is used in the spoken mode is not really directly comparable to its use in typical written formats. Many researchers have pointed out that there are fairly substantial differences between spoken and written discourse (cf. Ochs, 1979; Tannen, 1982; Brown & Yule, 1983). Yet, as ESL teachers, we often bring a written language version of precision and accuracy to bear on the spoken language production of our ESL students. It may be because we spend so much time immersed in the written language and our education to become ESL teachers places such a premium on our being highly literate. Whatever the reason, we seem to lose touch with some of the looser and vaguer features which characterize everyone's spoken discourse. Here is an example:[4]

> eh I think it's important that we do this eh I think that for one thing it's always helped me in the past because when I've done that and I've been - been have some - a number of times before ...

So, is this student in need of a grammar lesson, since he says I've been - been have some - ? Whatever you think of Casper Weinberger, the current Secretary of Defense, who produced the speech transcribed above, you would probably not insist that his use of the English language was faulty. I think we should take care not to require that the spoken production of our ESL students be "better" or more "correct" than is normally found among native speakers.

BACK TO THE EXCOMMUNICATIVE APPROACH: IS IT REALLY SO BAD?

I think it should be fairly clear that what I have described as the "excommunicative" approach is really characterized by an overemphasis on accuracy of form, brief contributions by students, usually responding rather than initiating, in passive roles, within a teacher-centered classroom. The effect of such an approach, one might predict, would be that students would not be adequately prepared to participate in the activities of the general English speaking community. One can ask if this is such a terrible outcome.

Let us not misinterpret the effects of a school experience which largely consists of excommunicative activities. Activities of this type may actually have benefits. Removal from one community, particularly one which is stressful for the individual, may have compensations in terms of membership in an alternative community. One community which seems to have a thriving population might be termed "the ESL-classroomees". Members of this community can develop quite remarkable proficiency in producing English language material such as I was tall last night, I'm taller tonight, and I will be the tallest next week, without actually 'using' any English outside the classroom. I'm sure many Americans become "French-classroomees" or "German-classroomees" by a similar process of excommunication, not by choice necessarily, but rather by misdirection. A certain amount of ritual understanding takes place in such communities, since turn-taking formats such as the following can be performed with ease:

---

[4] This example is taken from a speech to the National Press Club during May, 1984, and is part of data collected by John Raiter.

Comment allez-vous?	Je vais bien, merci
Wie geht es Ihnen?	Ganz gut, danke

Yet, membership of the "French-classroomees," for example, seems not to be convertible very readily into membership of the community of French speakers. It is sort of like taking up rollerskating in order to be able to join the rollerskating group of desirable members of the opposite sex in summer parks, and take part in associated pleasures, only to end up becoming proficient at rollerskating. Only. Actually, you can go on to pass rollerskating tests, even get your degree ("B.R."), and lead a contented life. You may be indistinguishable from those who chose rollerskating for its own sake and never thought of alternative pleasures.

The point is, getting back to the ESL students, that the results of excommunication, personally chosen or imposed, are not necessarily bad. They are only bad, as the Catholic will tell the Protestant, if you really didn't set out to be excommunicated. We should also remember that membership in other communities may already be such a powerful influence that there is no real interest in joining the community of English speakers. Some visitors to the community overtly mark their excommunicated status by having interpreters act as go-betweens.

AVOIDING EXCOMMUNICATION

So, what about those ESL students who want to become members of the community of English speakers? Given the constraints of inappropriate environments, such as classrooms, there are nevertheless a number of strategies we can provide them with. Note that it cannot be the aim of these strategies to turn the ESL student into an American nor to enable her to pass as an undercover agent. It cannot be our brief to modify personalities or to change identities. Rather, the aim has to be to provide those skills which enable each student to participate in the community as a Hmong medical technician who speaks English, or a Swedish doctor who speaks English, and so on.

The Communicative Approach

In meeting this goal, I suspect that we should try to be more honest about what the so-called "communicative approach" offers. It does not typically offer, and this is all too often hidden in the small print, any means of providing the student with, for example, basic grammatical knowledge of the English language. If the student needs to be able to produce forms like *I went* and *I have gone*, with consistent accuracy and in the correct linguistic contexts, there is unlikely to be any guidance within a communicative syllabus which would prevent her from saying *I gone* and *I have went*. Generally, those who promote the "communicative approach" behave as if someone else is responsible for the students having acquired proficiency in the grammar and pronunciation of English.

Others, such as Stephen Krashen in his promotion of acquisition via the "natural approach" (cf. Krashen & Terrell, 1983), seem to believe that English grammar will just "happen" to the student. It's sort of like painting a wall by the "let's-throw-buckets-of-paint-at-it" method. If we throw enough English language at the student, some of it will stick, and acquisition will take place. Unfortunately, some of the painters, metaphorically speaking, are getting a bit frustrated at what is now being discovered to be, in essence, an *absence* of methodology. The walls remain unpainted and, what's more, everything is in a mess.

Indeed, it may now be becoming clear that the "communicative approach" cannot, in fact, be treated as a teaching methodology in the literal sense. It is not an approach which provides a teacher with a method of "teaching." It has to be treated as a means of determining what kinds of activities take place in classrooms and what kinds of materials are used. In many ways, it requires that the teacher remove herself from the center of activity in the classroom and take a facilitator or stage-manager role, rather than the main character part of the past. It also has to allow, by its format, that *I gone* and *I have went* become acceptable within their communicative contexts of use. In simple terms, if those forms work for the students *in terms of communication*, then they are inherently successful uses of the English language.

This may sound like bad news to someone with an aversion to accepting grammatical error in any English speech, but it would make sense to those who believe that second language acquisition takes place via the development of a student's ability through a series of approximative systems towards eventual competence in the target language. This, of course, is what the term "interlanguage" is designed to describe. At any stage, "mistakes" are to be expected. If "getting the message across" really is the aim, then the only "mistakes" that should worry us are those which interfere with that aim.

Talking about "Mistakes"

To make provision for a more consistent use of accurate forms such as *I went* and *I have gone*, when they are required, in the students' speech may in fact demand more than is usually associated with the "communicative approach." It may require "breaks" from communicative activities, during which some attention is devoted to formal accuracy.

We can, of course, take these "breaks" as opportunities to be "heavy" about the inaccuracies we hear. It may be that some student groups will welcome the occasional session on: "Look, folks, you're all doing this wrong and you've got to quit it. Let me show you how English speakers like to do this ...." Unfortunately, this type of approach can, in effect, create a lot of distance between teacher and students. It can have a totally negative effect and may only work with students who are known to be able to cope with rather threatening experiences in the classroom. It's powerful stuff, use sparingly.

Alternatively, we can take some material, as suggested already, from the tape-recorded production of students involved in communicative activities and devote some attention to what's happening at the linguistic level in that production. With some teacher guidance, this type of language lesson can develop from the students' own reactions to what they had said in some previous activity.

Here is an example of some student commentary on the way one of them, who had been in the role of an eyewitness, had described a car-crash scene in a previous lesson. (The elicitation material can be found in Brown & Yule, 1983)

Student 1 (on tape): the car the car is going to go on the up road - and the bus wants to - em a - avance - the lorry - and so the bus when he when it sees the car coming it has to stop

Teacher: So, did you all understand what happened?

Student 1: oh - it wasn't good - I don't remember that word - em - is it "advance"?

Student 2: you mean "take over"

Student 3: it's "pass" - "pass the lorry"

Teacher: right - it wants to "overtake the lorry" or "pass the lorry" - so you did follow that - anything else?

Student 1: I said "he" for the bus - I think

Teacher: did you?

Student 3: yes she said "he sees" for the bus - it means the driver - the driver of the bus he sees the car

Teacher: right - but it didn't sound odd

Student 4: can you say "the car coming" - not "is coming"?

Student 1: I didn't say it "the car coming"

Teacher: oh I don't remember - let's play it again and listen for that ....

This type of activity has the advantage of allowing the teacher to become one of the group discussing the message-form and to be in a position to offer specific lexical and grammatical support precisely when it is needed, in a way that no dictionary or grammar book could ever supply. A clear disadvantage would be that, if students are actually avoiding certain words or structures in their spoken production, then such structures may not come up for discussion at all. If the teacher becomes aware of the fact that a particular structure which could be usefully employed by the students is not being used, then there are options for giving it some exposure.

An interesting exercise developed by Nelson (this volume) creates scenarios in which speakers have to state their choices. One of the natural structures provided by the English language for expressing those choices is the relative clause construction. Without necessarily being aware that they are taking part in a lesson on "forming relative clauses," students can become actively involved in saying things like *I'd rather meet the man who won all the money* or *I'll take the one which you've opened already*.

The trick, if that is the appropriate term, in this type of approach is to devise material which will foster *skills* in using the English language for self-expression, by using the language, rather than developing *knowledge* of the English language, by treating it as a subject like history or geography.

The Teacher's Skills

It should now be apparent that the "communicative approach" places a premium on different skills, as far as the teacher is concerned, than most traditional approaches. That charismatic twenty-minute presentation on the way relative clauses are formed in English (you know, with the really clear examples, using the whole blackboard efficiently, different colored chalk to highlight the relative pronouns, all that stuff) is, unfortunately, not really appreciated in the communicative approach. Instead, the required skills seem to involve producing material which will stimulate the student to use the English language to actually talk to someone. This can take the form of exercises which lead the student to use relative clause structures, as noted already, rather than to hear about them from the teacher.

The "skill" required of the teacher, then, is a certain amount of ingenuity in coming up with a set of exercise types which give students "roles" and "topics." This doesn't have to be "role-play" and "what I did on the weekend," but such formats are clearly heading in the appropriate direction. The natural classroom setting for such activities is no longer teacher-at-front, class-in-rows, but involves a roving teacher and students in pairs or groups. The "center of attention" in the classroom, then, has to shift and, if considered beneficially, creates the opportunity for the teacher to get among the students while they are trying to produce their messages. The teacher is then available as a resource (for example, for vocabulary) at the precise moment when the student needs such a resource. It's a great idea, but it takes some practice. The problem with the "communicative approach" is not that the skills required of the teacher are particularly novel, since most teachers have, in one form or another, been developing their own exercises and getting among their own students, but that other skills, previously valued, have been pushed aside. A different type of ingenuity in running an ESL class is now required, and for the same low pay, the ESL teacher is expected to have developed it overnight.

From Function to Form

A good example of the ingenuity now required of the ESL teacher within the "communicative approach" involves a substantial mental shift to treat what she knows about the English language in terms of function rather than form. She can appreciate that this makes sense, but most of her training has been concerned with linguistic form rather than communicative function. Indeed, an exercise designed to get students "communicating" via the use of relative clauses, as mentioned earlier, is still motivated by the idea that the English language can be characterized as a set of forms or structures such as the relative clause.

An alternative view might note that we do not "relative-clause" to each other via language, but we certainly try to "identify objects and distinguish them from others" for the benefit of our hearers. This functional view then treats linguistic forms, including the relative clause, as a means of accomplishing that identification. It can be accomplished by other, non-linguistic means, and those, as Tarone (1981) pointed out, must be included in the set of "strategies" of communication.

In performing an "identifying" function via language, we clearly can help ourselves to relative clause structures, as well as other descriptive noun phrase (NP) types. For example, I'm talking about the new professor (NP containing adjective) - the one who wears the weird shirts (NP containing relative clause) - you know - the guy from California (NP containing prepositional phrase), or that function is equally served by proper names, Mike Hammond or job titles, Director of Metrical Phonology Incorporated, and so on. Given such a range of forms which can fulfill a particular function, we have to predict that the more functionally oriented the activity devised, the less predictable will be the actual language elicited from the speaker. Consequently, the ESL teacher following such an approach will have to operate with a much more open view of what can count as "acceptable" responses by her students in the performance of a communicative task.

Probably the greatest ingenuity required, then, is in the actual creation of the types of tasks which will encourage the students' use of a range of communicative functions. Some tasks are easier to envisage than others. Descriptive tasks can be based on photos or pictures, and narrative tasks on strip cartoons or short videotapes. If the teacher keeps in mind the requisite properties of a communicative activity, outlined earlier, then the student speaking should be in a position of intentionally conveying some information to a recipient who needs that information. It follows that the recipient should be another student or students (not the "all-knowing" teacher), who also will have a task to perform, and that there should be an information gap between the two participants involved. For more on such tasks, try Brown & Yule (1983).

Following such an approach, the teacher is in a position to say that what is happening in her ESL classroom is definitely not "excommunicative." Students are being given the opportunity to use the language, they are developing strategies of communication, and can be encouraged to manipulate whatever linguistic resources they have, rather than to search (in grammar book or dictionary) for the precisely correct structure or word. We might note here that, under different circumstances, we might want to teach vocabulary, by whatever method we prefer (see Richards, this volume, for suggestions), but, when involved in a communicative activity, students should be encouraged to manipulate their basic working vocabulary (for example, it's a kind of thing you use to look at very small things you can't see) rather than to stop because they can't remember the precise term (e.g. microscope). Manipulative skills with language, even with a limited repertoire, must lead to greater participation in the activities of the English speaking community than being in possession of a non-manipulative extensive knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. If we can accept this notion, we may then start to make sense of the idea, put forward by writers such as Breen & Candlin (1980) and Tarone (1984), that language learning and development can take place in the very process of trying to communicate and particularly by having to solve communicative problems.

We really do not want to train "ESL-classroomees" and we cannot believe that we should be preparing our students to be dependent on our being there to do all the English language talking. We should be giving them practice in solving communicative problems, with our support certainly, but with an aim to developing those skills which will allow them to participate in the general English speaking community. Our role, after all, is to prepare them to get by without us.

REFERENCES

Allwright, Richard L. 1984. The importance of interaction in classroom language learning. Applied Linguistics 5(2):156-171.

Breen, Michael, and Christopher Candlin. 1980. The essentials of a communicative curriculum in language teaching. Applied Linguistics 1(2):89-112.

Brown, Gillian, and George Yule. 1983. Teaching the spoken language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, Dell. 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Directions in sociolinguistics, John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (Eds.). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Krashen, Stephen, and Tracy D. Terrell. 1983. The natural approach. New York: Pergamon Press.

Lyons, John. 1977. Semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morrow, Keith, and Keith Johnson. 1979. Communicate. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, Elinor. 1979. Planned and unplanned discourse. In Syntax and semantics 12: discourse and syntax, Talmy Givon (Ed.). New York: Academic Press.

Tannen, Deborah (Ed.). 1982. Spoken and written language. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing.

Tarone, Elaine. 1981. Some thoughts on the notion of communication strategy. TESOL Quarterly 15(3):285-295.

Tarone, Elaine. 1984. Teaching strategic competence in the foreign-language classroom. In Initiatives in communicative language teaching, Sandra J. Savignon and Margie S. Berns (Eds.). Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing.

SOME NEGLECTED VOCABULARY NEEDS OF ESL STUDENTS

Tom Richards

Most ESL teachers and students seem to believe that the larger one's vocabulary is the more communicatively competent one is likely to be. An extensive vocabulary is undoubtedly invaluable for effective communication, but it may not be adequate. This paper discusses some important areas of vocabulary which are often neglected in ESL instruction and offers some suggestions for helping students make their vocabularies -- and hence communicative abilities -- more adequate. A bibliography of some useful references is provided for teachers interested in meeting the wide range of students' vocabulary needs.

ON VOCABULARY NEEDS OF ESL STUDENTS

The recent emphasis on the communicative language needs of ESL students (see Yule, this volume) has given rise to much discussion and controversy. While there has been general agreement that a "communicative approach" to language teaching can give us insights into students' language needs, there remains disagreement as to what exactly these needs are and how they may be most effectively met. This is especially the case with vocabulary.

The importance of an extensive and well-developed vocabulary is emphasized by Judd (1978), who stresses that extensive vocabulary development should begin at the beginning levels of instruction. This argument is based on what Baxter (1980) calls the "quantitative" view of vocabulary. According to this view, the more words students know the more likely it is

---

Tom Richards teaches ESL at the University of Minnesota.

that they will be able to successfully comprehend and convey intended messages. This quantitative view seems quite accurate until we make a distinction between the spoken and written modes of language.

As Brown (1978) points out, one important distinction between spoken and written language can be made in terms of time and hearer feedback. Obviously, speakers usually have very little time to search for a particular lexical item when interacting with one another, but can rely on the situational context, including paralinguistic clues, non-verbal communication, cooperation of the listener, and feedback. In contrast, written language lacks the situational context of speaker-hearer interaction, so that lexical explicitness and precision become more important. Because of this distinction, a large vocabulary seems to be more important for communicative competence in the written mode than in the spoken. Moreover, in spoken language the quality of one's vocabulary may be just as important as --if not more important than -- the quantity. This is not to say that in spoken language an extensive vocabulary is not useful, but rather that it might not contain particular words and phrases and related skills necessary for effective and natural communication. So let us focus on these often neglected vocabulary items and skills which can greatly help ESL students to be more communicatively competent.

SOME NEGLECTED VOCABULARY NEEDS OF ESL STUDENTS

Ways of Expressing Meaning Other than through Precise Lexical Items

First of all, ESL students should know that in spoken English meaning is conveyed not only through the use of precise lexical items but in other ways as well. Native speakers use a range of devices to convey meaning when the precise word does not come to mind: near synonynms, more general words, pauses, expressions such as more or less, and phrases such as you know and I dunno, which indicate to hearers that they should increase their involvement in interpreting the message (Baxter 1980). As for "general words," Baxter writes that students should know "defining" vocabulary such as part, way, thing, stuff, kind, and idea, since all speakers -- including native speakers of a language -- cannot always immediately recall precise lexical items for production, even when they know them well. The student who does not know the word for vending machine, for example, can use a defining phrase such as machine that you put money in to get a coke or something. The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English provides a list of 2,000 defining vocabulary items to which teachers and students can turn for help in identifying common words used in defining. As Baxter argues, ESL teachers should teach students how such devices are employed and devise activities in which they are needed. Such activities can promote the development of "manipulative skills" referred to by Yule (this volume).

There are many different activities which can be devised which teach ESL students to manipulate English to convey meaning in the various ways that native speakers do. One possibility is to present authentic conversations either live or taped (such as those in James 1980) -- and ask students to identify the types of devices mentioned above. Discussion can focus on the purpose various devices can serve (see Nelson, this volume), sociolinguistic appropriateness, etc. Or, students can be asked to desribe an unfamiliar object or narrate an event, recording the speech on tape. It is likely that some meaning will be expressed unnaturally or unsuccessfully; this can lead to discussion of how the students might have performed differently, with special attention to the use of defining vocabulary, the use of near synonyms (perhaps qualified by words like more or less), and so on. Equipped with some new devices for conveying meaning, students can repeat the same tasks or try different ones.

Lexical Patterning

Another aspect of vocabulary which has gone almost completely unnoticed in ESL instruction is the skill of recognizing and being able to exploit lexical patterning (McCarthy 1984). By this McCarthy means that students need to learn how lexical items are related "above sentence level, across conversational turn boundaries and within the broad framework of discourse organization"(1984:14). According to this view, lexical relations such as synonymy, antonymy, and hyponymy above the clause or sentence level play an important part in communication. Thus, ESL students need to learn to anticipate and recognize the many ways in which vocabulary items relate to one another and to make use of lexical relations in producing more natural and effective language. McCarthy offers many useful suggestions for teaching lexical patterning. In a guessing game, students work in pairs with one student trying to guess in as much detail as possible what is in a picture seen only by the other student. The student with the picture can give only two clues. The example is from McCarthy (1984:17):

Clues: piece of furniture, office furniture

A: I've got a picture of a piece of furniture
B: Is it a bed?
A: No, it's office furniture
B: Is it a desk/cupboard? etc.

Another activity is one in which students are asked to respond to utterances in the ways specified in the following example (from McCarthy 1984:19).

a. Agree, with synonym:

A: He was very strange.
B: Yes, very odd

b. Agree, with antonym:

A: Joe didn't stick to the subject.
B: He wandered off too much.

c. Disagree, with antonym:

A: A really gripping film.
B: I thought it was dull.

d. Intensify:

A: It's a hot day.
B: Sweltering.

e. Reduce intensity:

A: Was he furious?
B: He was cross.

f. Agree, with more general word:

A: The cat is great company.
B: All pets are.

g. Agree, with more specific word:

A: Books are badly printed nowadays.
B: Especially paperbacks.

Informing the Speaker about Why You Don't Understand

Finally, another neglected vocabulary need of ESL students is for language they can use to inform their interlocutors when they don't understand a message or a part thereof. Non-native speakers may fail to understand because of particular vocabulary items, confusing grammar, softness or length of utterance, or even their own inattentiveness. Therefore, when students request a second opportunity to comprehend a message, they should inform speakers, insofar as they are able, why they don't understand. That is to say, ESL students should learn words and phrases such as the following (used with appropriate politeness):

repeat the first part
say it again
say it more slowly
rephrase that last part
speak up
say it another way

In addition, students need to practice the skill of forming WH questions in which they repeat what they have understood and replace with a WH word the part of a message they have missed:

Native speaker: Looks like it's going to hail.
Non-native speaker: It's going to what? I don't think I know that word.

The point is that ESL students need to know that it is their responsiblity to inform native speakers as to the nature of their difficulties in comprehending a message. If they understand this, and if they learn to do it, they will succeed in making repairs of misunderstandings easier.

Related to this is a homework assignment in which students are asked to make phone calls requesting some useful information. For examples, teachers can take advantage of their students' desire to acquire information about subscribing to the newspaper, attending a certain performance, or setting up an appointment. The next day the students can report to the class about the information they received, explain whether they had difficulty understanding the speakers, and discuss the language they used to remedy any communication problems.

CONCLUSION

As should be clear from the above discussion, the quality of one's vocabulary knowledge -- as opposed to simply quantity of vocabulary -- can make a tremendous difference in the extent to which one can successfully participate in a community of native English speakers. Knowing the types of words, phrases, and skills presented above will enable ESL students to interact with native speakers with more confidence and greater ease, more naturally, and ultimately with more success than they could without them. We owe it to our ESL students to help them make their vocabularies -- and hence communicative abilities -- more adequate. Below is a bibliography of some useful references for teachers interested in meeting the wide range of ESL students' vocabulary needs.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF VOCABULARY RESOURCES

Baxter, James. 1980. The dictionary and vocabulary behavior: a single word or a handful? TESOL Quarterly 14(3):325-336.

Brown, Gillian. 1978. Understanding spoken language. TESOL Quarterly 12(3):271-283.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne, and Fred Rosensweig. 1979. Teaching vocabulary in the ESL classroom. In Teaching English as a second language. Mariane Celce-Murcia and Lois McIntosh (Eds.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Fredrickson, Terry L. 1983. Current events for ESL students: a course description for the teacher. MinneTESOL Journal 3:6-17.

Fredrickson, Terry L., and Paul Wedel. 1984. English by newspaper. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1978. Discourse analysis and second language acquisition. In Second language acquisition, Evelyn Hatch (Ed.). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Higa, Masanori. 1965. The psycholinguistic concept of 'difficulty' and the teaching of foreign language vocabulary. Language Learning 15(3):167-179.

James, Gary, Charles G. Whitley, and Sharon Bode. 1980. Listening in and speaking out. New York: Longman.

Judd, Elliot. 1978. Vocabulary teaching and TESOL: a need for reevaluation of existing assumptions. *TESOL Quarterly* 12(1):71-76.

Krashen, Stephen D., and Tracy D. Terrell. 1983. *The natural approach*. Hayward, Calif.: The Alemany Press.

Lenier, Minnette, and Janet Maker. 1983. *Keys to a powerful vocabulary*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Long, Michael, et.al. 1980. *Reading English for academic study*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Martin, Anne V. 1976. Teaching academic vocabulary to graduate students. *TESOL Quarterly* 10(1):91-97.

McCarthy, M.J. 1984. A new look at vocabulary in EFL. *Applied Linguistics* 5(1):10-22.

McKay, Sandra. 1982. *Verbs for a specific purpose*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Paulston, Christina Bratt, and Mary Newton Bruder. 1976. *Teaching English as a second language: techniques and procedures*. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers.

Plaister, Ted. 1981. Teaching vocabulary, listening comprehension, and reasoning by means of analogies. *Foreign Language Annals* 14(1):25-29.

Proctor, Paul (Ed.). 1978. *The Longman dictionary of contemporary English*. London: Longman.

Richards, Jack C. 1974. Word lists: problems and prospects. *RELC Journal* 5(2):69-84).

Richards, Jack C. 1976. The role of vocabulary teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 10(1):77-89.

Rivers, Wilga. 1968. *Teaching foreign language skills*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rivers, Wilga. 1983. *Communicating naturally in a second language*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Twadell, W. Freeman. 1973. Vocabulary expansion in the ESOL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly* 7(1):61-78.

Wilkins, D.A. 1976. *Notional syllabuses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yorkey, Richard. 1979. *Longman dictonary of contemporary English*. Review article. *TESOL Quarterly* 13(3):393-403.

REFERENCES

Baxter, James. 1980. The dictionary and vocabulary behavior: a single word or a handful? TESOL Quarterly 14(3):325-336.

Brown, Gillian. 1978. Understanding spoken language. TESOL Quarterly 12(3):271-283.

Judd, Elliot. 1978. Vocabulary teahcing and TESOL: a need for reevaluation of existing assumptions. TESOL Quarterly 12(1):71-76.

James, Gary, Charles G. Whitley, and Sharon Bode. 1980. Listening in and speaking out. New York: Longman.

McCarthy, M.J. 1984. A new look at vocabulary in EFL. Applied Linguistics 5(1):10-22.

Proctor, Paul (Ed.). 1978. The Longman dictionary of contemporary English. London: Longman.

THE DOUGHNUT THAT FELL INTO THE DISHWATER: THOUGHTS ABOUT TEACHING RELATIVE CLAUSES AND OTHER STRUCTURES

Eric Nelson

One useful thing that relative clauses enable us to do is differentiate clearly between things that are similar: between, for example, a doughnut that fell into the dishwater and some other doughnut with a happier history. Exercises that aim at demonstrating this purpose of relative clauses can provide useful practice in grammar classes. More generally, an approach to teaching grammar that asks what purpose a structure in the language serves can lead us to design exercises that demonstrate function as well as form.

I want to present some ideas for exercises involving relative clauses. In that sense, this is a 'something you can try Monday morning' kind of paper. But at the same time, I want to take you through the line of thinking that led to the exercises, and to make a pitch for using that kind of thinking in the design of grammar exercises generally. With that in mind, I'll ask for a little patience while I lead up to the presentation of the exercises.

WHAT ARE RELATIVE CLAUSES GOOD FOR?

If I were to ask you what the purpose of relative clauses is, you might answer that relative clauses modify nouns. Well, then, what is the purpose of modifying nouns? To give more information about whatever the noun names, you might say. And what is the purpose of giving more information? To make

---

Eric Nelson teaches ESL at the University of Minnesota.

something clear, so that people will know what we're talking about, perhaps. Now we're getting somewhere. Let's think about some situations in which more information is needed to make something clear. And, what's more, let's consider situations that show how a relative clause -- which is, after all, only one way of giving more information --serves a purpose that other ways cannot serve.

Let's imagine three different situations in which you want to refer to something in such a way that I will know exactly what you mean. In the first situation, I've offered you a doughnut and an English muffin. You have to choose. You say, "I'll take the doughnut." In the second situation, you have a three-way choice. You can have an English muffin, or you can have either of two doughnuts, one with frosting and one without. You say, "I'll take the frosted doughnut." In the third situation, you have a three-way choice again. Again, you can have an English muffin, and again you can have either of the two doughnuts. Neither doughnut is frosted this time, but each one has a history. One of them fell into the dishwater last night, but it's dry now and looks tempting. The other one fell into the Kitty Litter, but it too seems no worse for the experience. Maybe by now you're ready to go for that English muffin, but for the sake of discussion, let's say you're not. You say, "I'll take the doughnut that fell into the dishwater."

What can we learn from the language you used to express your choice in each of these situations? In the first situation, you said "I'll take the doughnut." The vocabulary of English offers you a convenient one-word expression, a noun, that allows you to identify what you want. In the second situation, because you were offered 2 things with the same name, you had to use a little more linguistic resourcefulness. You said, "I'll take the frosted doughnut." In this case the vocabulary of English offers no single word to express your choice, but it does provide an adjective, frosted, and the grammar provides rules for using adjectives. Frosted doughnut enables you to make your choice clear. In the third situation, you said, "I'll take the doughnut that fell into the dishwater." In this situation, as in the second one, you were choosing between two things that have the same name, doughnut. But this time the vocabulary of English does not offer any adjective to differentiate between them. You did, of course, have some information you could use to differentiate between the doughnuts -- the information about falling into the dishwater -- but this information is rather specific, and it has so far not been necessary for speakers of English to create a word to express it. The information can, however, be expressed in a sentence: The doughnut fell into the dishwater. And the grammar allows you to encode sentence-like information as a noun modifier -- that fell into the dishwater -- a relative clause.

What I'm trying to establish here is an understanding of what purpose a relative clause can serve.[1] I'm trying to provide an illustration of the usefulness of relative clauses. This notion is an important one, and it's worth saying in another way. Again I ask for a little patience.

One thing we have to be able to do with language is refer to things. Nouns help us do this. When two things have different names (nouns), it is easy for us to refer to one of them without fear that our listener or reader will think we are referring to the other. Of course, there aren't enough nouns to enable us to refer to everything in every circumstance, so we need some lingustic tricks. We need to be able to modify nouns with differentiating information. In some cases, the differentiating information is such that the lexicon includes an adjective for it: frosted, big, gooey, for example. But just as there aren't enough nouns, there aren't enough adjectives. That is, sometimes the differentiating information is such that the English lexicon does not provide an adjective for it (much less a noun). But we can always express information in sentence form, and the grammar includes rules that enable us to put this kind of information into noun phrases in the form of noun modifiers, noun modifiers that we call relative clauses. So the relative clause is a trick of language that allows us to use sentence-like information to modify a noun -- and thereby to refer accurately in cases where adjectives and nouns fail us.

---

[1] I have not examined the use of relative clauses in authentic texts in any systematic way. Therefore I will limit myself to speaking about one purpose that relative clauses can serve. They appear to serve a particular purpose in my constructed examples; I am not claiming that they always serve the same purpose. In addition, what I am saying does not apply to nonrestrictive relatives clauses. See Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1983 for a discussion of restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses.

A RELATIVE CLAUSE EXERCISE: TEASERS

I think it is worth trying to incorporate this notion of the usefulness of relative clauses into exercises for practicing the structure. That is, I would like to let my intuitions about what relative clauses are used for guide me in the design of exercises. It is possible, in fact, to design an exercise based quite closely on the third situation involving the doughnuts. The student might be presented with situations -- let's call them 'teasers' -- like these:

1. One doughnut fell on the floor. One doughnut fell into the dishwater. Which doughnut do you want?

   (Possible answer: The one that fell on the floor.)

2. One person wants to have two children. One person wants to have ten children. Which person do you think will have a happier life?

   (Possible answer: The person who wants to have ten children.)

3. Two people were interviewed for a teaching job. One talked most of the time during the interview and one of them listened most of the time. Which person should get the job?

   (Possible answer: The one who listened.)

These three teasers are designed to encourage a response that includes a subject relative clause (one in which the relative pronoun is the subject of the following verb). Here are three more that are designed to encourage the use of an object relative clause (one in which the relative pronoun is the object of the verb in the relative clause):

4. I studied two subjects. I studied one in class and I studied one at home in the evening. Which subject do you think I learned more about?

   (Possible answer: The one that you studied in class.)

5. Imagine that you have two drawings. You bought one of them for $200. Your best friend drew the other one. Which drawing is worth more to you?

   (Possible answer: The one that my friend drew.)

6. I kissed one of my professors. I kicked another one. Which professor do you think was more surprised?

   (Possible answer: The one you kicked.)

Here are three more which are designed to encourage the use of an object relative clause in which the object is the object of a preposition:

7. I saw two strangers in the bus station. I talked to one of them for one minute. I didn't talk to the other one, but I looked at him for five minutes. Which one will I remember longer?

   (Possible answer: The one you talked to.)

8. There are two radio stations in town. Most educated older people listen to one of them. Most young and lively people listen to the other one. Which one do you think your

grammar teacher would listen to?

(Possible answer: The one that educated people listen to.)

9. Two beds are for sale. George Washington once slept in one of them. Queen Elizabeth once slept in the other one. Which bed would you buy?

(Possible answer: The one that George Washington slept in.)

Here are three which are designed to encourage the use of a relative clause with whose:

10. One girl's parents are teachers. One girl's parents are police officers. Which girl do you think is more likely to grow up to be liberal?

(Possible answer: The girl whose parents are teachers.)

11. One woman's name begins with K. One woman's name begins with P. Which woman do you think is from Japan?

(Possible answer: The woman whose name begins with K.)

12. One friend's mother died. One friend's father died. Which friend would you visit first?

(Possible answer: The friend whose mother died.)

Here are three which are designed to encourage the use of relative clauses beginning with where:

13. In one country, a small group of businessmen has most of the power. In one country, a small group of generals has most of the power. Which country would you rather live in?

(Possible answer: The country where the businessmen are in power.)

14. I went to two places in the woods. In one spot I took a nap. In one spot I just admired the view. When I got back, I discovered that I had lost my wallet. Which spot should I return to?

(Possible answer: The spot where you took a nap.)

15. In one room a murder was committed. In one room there is a strong smell of rotten eggs. Which room would you rather spend the night in?

(Possible answer: The room where a murder was committed.)

You can see, from the way I have grouped the items, that I am very much concerned with form here as well as with function: the exercise provides opportunities for practicing different forms of relative clauses. But the most important feature of the exercise, the feature that sets it apart from, let's say, sentence-combining exercises on relative clauses of the type found in Azar (1981:210), is the attention to the usefulness of the relative clause. The exercise grew out of a desire to reflect the usefulness of relative clauses, and each item is designed to demonstrate that usefulness. The relative clause in the student's response serves the useful purpose of making the student's choice clear.

As you read through the teasers, you probably noted some features in the design of the exercise, and some limitations and objections probably occurred to you. In an effort to deal with some of what you may be thinking, let me make a few more observations about this type of exercise.

- Teasers encourage, but do not require, the use of relative clauses. Although I have conveniently chosen to provide answers that do include relative clauses -- such as the answer for #3, the one who listened -- you might have answered the second one or the listener. But the point is that an answer including a relative clause is at least as good as any other answer and that if a relative clause is used, it is used in a purposeful way.

- There is quite a bit of language in each teaser. It might be expecting too much to ask students to understand all the language and to respond orally. If students are allowed to take the teasers home and make their choices -- simply by underlining one of the sentences -- they will be more capable of responding in class on the next day.

- Since in each case I have called for a choice between two things of the same kind -- two beds, two rooms, two strangers -- it is natural to respond with the substitute word one: the one George Washington slept in, for example, rather than the bed George Washington slept in.

- The most natural response to each problem, to my ear, is a noun phrase, not a sentence. That is, while it is possible to say in response to #3 "the one who listened should get the job," I believe it is much more natural to say "The one who listened."

- Constructing teasers is not as easy as it may look. Assuming that the teacher wants to encourage the use of relative clauses as much as possible, there are certain pitfalls to avoid. Here is a teaser, for example, that would not particularly favor a relative clause response: You can invite either of two men to dinner. One of them is single and one of them is married. Which man will you invite? You might answer "The one who is single," but you might equally well answer "The single one" or even "The bachelor." The fault in the design of the teaser, if it can be called a fault, is that the differentiating information can be 'packaged' as an adjective before a noun or even as a single noun. Avoiding the verb be in the differentiating information is a good first stop toward discouraging the adjective + noun response.

Another example of a teaser that would be likely to fail to elicit a relative clause response is this one: You can have either of two cars. One has no safety belts. One has no odometer. Which one would you choose? You might answer "The one that has no odometer," but you might equally well answer "The one with no odometer." What makes it so easy to respond without a relative clause is the use of have in the differentiating information (the car which has no odometer = the car with no odometer). As a rule of thumb, it's best to avoid have in the differentiating information.

- In the examples I have given, I have tried to encourage the same type of relative clause response no matter which choice is made. One student's response to #12, for example, might be the one whose father died. Another student might say the one whose mother died. Both responses, however, include the same type of relative clause -- a relative clause with whose. Therefore both responses are, in a sense, equally difficult to attempt. This feature of the design of the exercise is not necessary, of course; I could equally well ask the student to choose between a friend whose mother died (relative clause with whose) and a friend who flunked the TOEFL (subject relative clause).

Is this type of exercise communicative? It depends. If the students are encouraged to respond in whatever way they can to express their choices, then the exercise comes close to being communicative. It is, in that case, an exercise in 'referring' or 'identifying' rather than an exercise on relative clauses, and all responses that successfully communicate -- including The first one, *The friend that his father died, *His father dead -- would have to be regarded as appropriate in some sense. If the teacher demands relative clauses in all responses (as one might do if the teasers are treated as a written exercise), then the exercise is focused more on form and less on function; it is therefore less communicative.

Obviously, the issue of what the focus of the exercise is relates very closely to the design of the items in the exercise. The teacher who wants to make the exercise as communicative as possible, focusing on the function of identifying rather than on the form of relative clauses, need not hesitate to include items that elicit responses with no relative clauses: the one with no odometer and the bachelor, for example. A more communicative approach, furthermore, would likely not limit the student's production to the statement of a choice. It would encourage a justification of that choice and reactions to the choice by others. Maria would not simply state her choice of, say, the bed that Washington slept in; she would justify that choice: it's probably older than the bed Queen Elizabeth slept in, and therefore more valuable. A classmate might point out that it depends on whether we are talking about Queen Elizabeth II or Queen Elizabeth I, and so on. Abdullah would not simply answer that the woman whose name begins with K is likely to be from Japan; he would explain that he knew of Japanese women named Keiko and Kumi and Kazuko but had never heard of a Japanese name beginning with P. A classmate might ask whether the Japanese language even has a p, and so on. Students would be encouraged to choose teasers that interest them and pose them to other students; students would write their own teasers. The activity would be conducted by students in groups, without the leadership of the teacher.

Even in its most communicative form, of course, the exercise remains just that: an exercise. Little depth or realism of communication can be expected in an activity in which students react briefly to a series of short, unrelated bits of language. The activity therefore remains contrived and game-like at best. Still, in the brief exchanges that are stimulated by the teasers, we can hope for purposeful communication of a limited kind.

If we choose the more communicative approach with teasers, we need not, of course, abandon our concern with form. We can, if we wish, follow the suggestion of George Yule (this volume) and record the interaction for later use in a lesson devoted to grammatical correctness.

A SIMPLER EXERCISE

The idea behind teasers can be adapted in many ways. Here is a much simpler exercise, presented as I have presented it on handouts to intermediate level students.

> For each pair of sentences, write one sentence that includes a relative clause, as in the examples.
>
> a) One student always comes late to class. One student always comes early.
>
> Answers: The student who comes late should get an alarm clock.
> or: The student who comes early probably learns more.
> or: The teacher should have a talk with the student who comes late.
> or: The teacher probably appreciates the student who comes early.
>
> etc.
>
> b) One horse runs fast. One horse runs slowly.
>
> Answers: The horse that runs fast will win races.
> or: I feel sorry for the horse that runs slowly.
> or: I would rather ride the horse that runs slowly.
>
> etc.

1. One doctor makes $500,000 a year. One doctor works for free.

2. One story makes people laugh. One story makes people cry.

3. One child always obeys his parents. One child always disobeys.

4. One dog chases cats. One dog chases cars.

5. One teacher gives lots of tests. One teacher gives no tests.

6. One radio station plays fast music. One plays slow music.

etc.

You will have noticed some obvious differences between this and the preceding exercise. For one thing, the 'input' is relatively simple. At the same time, the exercise requires more creativity from the student and results in less predictable language. Another difference is that this exercise seems to focus more on form: the instructions in fact say to include a relative clause. This is not a necessary feature of the exercise; the instructions could be phrased without reference to form. And in fact, we can choose to accept responses which do not include a relative clause (just as we can with the teasers). In response to an item like the one about the horses above, for example, the student might, say, speak of the fast horse rather than the horse that runs fast. If we are concerned mainly with form, this has to be regarded as a weak item. If we are concerned more with function, however, we need not consider it a weak item; we can consider it a successful item and we can consider a response like The fast horse is probably a race horse to be a successful response, even though it does not include a relative clause. With this exercise, as with the teasers, the teacher is free to choose how to focus the exercise.

Some of the comments I made about the teasers (for example, the comment about using the one in responses) apply to this type of exercise too, but a few additional comments might be useful.

- My colleague Judy Fuller has pointed out that students who are used to sentence-combining exercises may be confused by this exercise at first. They may fail to understand that they will use information from only one sentence, doing nothing with the other. The teacher, in going through the instructions, must make it very clear that the student is to choose only one of the people or things to say something about, and that the rest of the answer depends on the student's imagination.

- In this version of the exercise, only subject relative clauses are practiced. This is not a necessary limitation, of course. We can create items for practicing other types of relative clauses by restructuring the differentiating information. (Your parents listen to one radio station. Your friends listen to another radio station.)

- This exercise, unlike the teasers, will encourage sentences as answers, rather than phrases. In order to say something about the doctor who works for free, for example, the student has to attempt to use that phrase in a sentence. Some typical responses might be I prefer the doctor who works for free (the phrase becomes an object in a sentence) and The doctor who works for free will never be rich (the phrase becomes the subject of a sentence).

ONE MORE EXERCISE

The third type of exercise is the most highly structured. Here is how it appears on handouts I have given to intermediate level students:

Follow the example.

One man needs food.
One man needs stamps.
One man needs money.

Where should each man go?

to the Post Office
to a grocery store
to a bank

Answers: The man who needs stamps should go to the post office.

The man who needs food should go to a grocery store.

The man who needs money should go to the bank.

1. One girl likes numbers.
One girl likes grammar.
One girl likes plants.

What should each girl study?

English
mathematics
botany

2. One teacher speaks French.
One teacher speaks Japanese.
One teacher speaks Italian.

Where would each teacher find a job?

in Tokyo
in Paris
in Rome

3. One boy likes boxing.
One boy likes popular music.
One boy likes politics.

Who should each boy meet?

Muhammad Ali
Ronald Reagan
Michael Jackson

etc.

The type of language that will result from this exercise is obviously very limited. The exercise is structured to elicit responses of the same form again and again:

The girl who likes numbers should study math.
The girl who likes grammar should study English.
The girl who likes plants should study botany.
The teacher who speaks French should go to Paris.
The teacher who speaks Japanese should go to Tokyo.
etc.

This begins to look very much like pattern practice, but it differs from pattern practice in important ways. For one thing, the student's attention is focused away from form (the instructions say nothing about relative clauses); it is focused on meaning: matching up pieces of information. Because meaning is important in this exercise, the student's success depends in part on knowledge of the world. The student must know, for example, that Michael Jackson is a music star, that Muhammad Ali was a boxer, and that Ronald Reagan is a politician. (If the student knows only two of these three facts, and arrives at the third by the process of elimination, the exercise actually teaches something about the world, in a small way.)

Once the students understand how this type of exercise works, there is no reason why they cannot handle items in which more creativity is demanded. They might be asked to respond freely to questions, for example, rather than choosing from a set of answers. In this way, the student's output comes to look less like the output in a grammar drill and more like communication.

GETTING BACK TO THE POINT

As a way of getting back to the main point of this paper, let's look at one item of each type of exercise in juxtaposition:

A teaser:

> One couple wants to have two children. One couple wants to have ten chldren. Which couple will have a happier life?
>
> (Possible response: The couple who wants ten children.)

An item from the second type of exercise:

> One couple wants to have two children. One couple wants to have ten children.
>
> (Possible response: I agree with the couple who wants to have ten children.

An item from the third type of exercise:

> One couple wants to have ten children.
> One couple wants to have two chldren.

Where should each couple live?

in an apartment
in a big house

(Possible responses: The couple who wants ten children should live in a big house.

The couple who wants two children should live in an apartment.

It should be clear from this group of examples that the same principle underlies all of the exercises.[2] In every case the student is asked to make a choice. In every case information in sentential form differentiates between things of the same type, and that information is conveniently (*most* conveniently in the best items) expressed in the form of a relative clause in the student's response. Each item in each type of exercise is intended to demonstrate how the relative clause answers a need we have when we communicate: how it enables us to refer to something in such a way that people know just what we mean.

The approach that led to the creation of these exercises is an approach that I encourage for other activities in the grammar class. It is an approach that asks about a given structure, "What is this structure good for? Under what circumstances do we need this structure?" The exercise then follows from the answers to those questions. If the exercise evolves away from form (and becomes, for example, an exercise in identifying rather than an exercise in structure), that may be all to the good. If different forms (such as nouns, adjectives plus nouns, and nouns plus relative clauses) seem to serve the same purpose under some circumstances, then it is natural to promote practice of these different forms together. In this way, an exercise develops into something closer to real communication.

---

[2] See Wickboldt (1979) for an exercise involving pictures which makes use of the same principle.

REFERENCES

Azar, Betty S. 1981. *Understanding and using English grammar*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Celce-Murcia, Marianne, and Diane Larsen-Freeman. 1983. *The grammar book: an ESL/EFL teacher's guide*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Wickboldt, June, 1979. A game for practice in using relative clauses. *MinneTESOL Newsletter* 3(2):8-9.

REVIEW

Understanding Academic Lectures. Abelle Mason. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1983. Pp. xiii + 195. Textbook ($11.95) and 7 cassettes ($129.00).

Susan Gillette

Listening teachers, easily recognized by the ever-present appendage of a tape recorder, are always on the prowl for authentic conversations and lectures to present to their students. In recent years, useful texts for developing conversational listening (see, for example, James et al. 1980) and lecture listening (Young and Fitzgerald 1982) have appeared. No recent text has been as ambitious and thorough as Understanding Academic Lectures (UAL) by Abelle Mason. Mason not only provides students with opportunities to develop their note-taking skills from authentic lectures, but also takes on the complex and fascinating task of lecture analysis, both at the discourse level and at the level of the role lectures play in an educational system.

WHAT DOES UAL INCLUDE?

The book is divided into three parts. Part I presents "A Crosscultural View," Part II is "A Preface to Lectures," and Part III provides "Five Lectures for Study." The book also includes an appendix (completed listening guides and outlines for most of the interviews and lectures) and answer keys to quizzes and exercises. Teachers can write to the publisher for a book of transcripts.

Part I presents features of the education systems --and lectures in particular -- of Latin America, East Asia, East/West Africa, the Middle East, Great Britain, and Europe. Mason recorded interviews with scholars who had been international

---

Susan Gillette teaches ESL at the University of Minnesota.

students in the U.S. and now teach here and American scholars with experience as students in other cultures. Similar topics arise in all of the interviews, including the relationship of students to teachers and advice to students who are of the same cultural background as the scholar being interviewed. The Latin American professor discusses the difficulty of taking a multiple choice exam instead of a lengthy essay exam which allows thorough development of an idea. The West African scholar sheds light on racial prejudice he felt as a student in the U.S. and his way of overcoming it by "walk[ing] with quiet dignity." He also relates specific cultural concepts that interfere with his understanding and use of English. In the interview about East Asia, Edwin Reischauer, the noted American scholar, describes the system of "schools of thought" in Japanese universities. This system contrasts with the diversity of ideas found within a single department at many U.S. universities. The Middle Eastern professor contrasts his country's practice of having students choose and stay with one major to the U.S. system, which encourages dabbling in various fields. The British professor gives an historical perspective on lectures in Great Britain and speaks jokingly of the competition for students: lecturers develop masterful oratorical skills in an effort to draw a good audience. (The excerpt about the British system is from a panel discussion but is in fact a lecture, as revealed by the lack of interruptions or discussion.) The final selection in Part 1 contrasts the European and American lecture norms. The interviewee reviews the background of lecturers and students in terms of socioeconomic status, as well as size of the audience and lecture styles.

All of these selections are on audiotapes which last fifteen to twenty-five minutes. The speakers are all articulate, though a few are a bit monotonous and two speak rather rapidly; but such is the liability involved in using tapes of authentic speech. The procedure for using the tapes remains the same throughout. The students listen to parts of the interviews, then, sometimes, to combinations of parts, and then to the whole. Before they listen to a segment (boundaries are marked in the book and, with tones, on the tapes), they review vocablary and "listening cues." Then they read a series of questions about the content. Finally, as they listen, they answer the questions by filling in a "topic guide." The vocabulary and listening cues include words, idioms, and phrases and their meanings (in the context of the lecture) and some complete sentences from the interview which might cause comprehension difficulties. In some interviews, the topic guide is in outline form. In others, the topics are simply listed and numbered in the order in which they occur.

Lectures differ not only cross-culturally but among disciplines. Part II of the book takes on this area of contrast, looking at the differing roles played by lectures in science and in humanities courses. Two speakers discuss the techniques they use in lecturing and the function of lectures in their courses. One, a biochemistry professor, lists the elements of a good lecture in his field; the other, an English professor, emphasizes the student's role. The biochemistry professor is part of a panel, but here again the information comes across as a lecture. The English professor is interviewed by the author. The third and final tape in this section is a self-proclaimed "canned lecture" by the author herself. Not having found any authentic lecture which could serve as a model with a clear introduction, body, and conclusion, organized in "ideal" form, the author created one. The purpose of the canned lecture is to act as a preface to the long lectures that follow, and, as Mason says to the students, "[to] help you evaluate your progress in listening comprehension." Because of the latter purpose, there is no listening guide or vocabulary help. In this lecture, Mason discusses differences between an interview, an authentic lecture, and a canned lecture. She also gives students advice for listening to academic discourse.

The third part of the book includes five long lectures. Some of the topics are quite unusual for an ESL text and, more important, all of them are truly academic. The speakers cite research, present arguments, and refer to leaders in their fields. The lectures, therefore, have a depth which makes them inherently more interesting than a short tidbit of information on a topic. Three of the lectures were given to ESL students, while the other two were heard by general audiences. All of them are self-contained; that is, they do not originate from a course, they are not dependent on any background reading, and they do not relate to each other or to any other lectures. They are all long -- at least forty minutes -- and are accompanied by detailed listening guides. The guides are thorough enough to compensate for the absence of videotape. Whenever a lecturer illustrated a point visually, a photograph, drawing, chart, or graph appears in the guide.

In the first lecture, "What is Body Language?," the speaker makes several generalizations about communication and describes the elements of sound, space, body boundary, touching, synchrony, rhythm, and movement in communication. The second lecture, "The Roots of Jazz," includes several recorded examples of jazz. The speaker introduces the concepts of swing, tension, surprise, and personality in jazz. He goes on to discuss how jazz probably began as communication between slaves and later evolved when slaves moved to New Orleans and eventually adapted this music form in religious calls and responses in church. In the third lecture, "Roles of Men and Women in Paid and Unpaid Work," the lecturer discusses the present situation of working men and women and also looks at the future of marriage and roles within the American family. The fourth lecture, "The Study of Peasants," includes a definition of peasants and discusses peasants' relationship to the land and to national governments. The speaker describes peasants as a group culturally distinct from the larger society and yet also distinct from a tribe. He looks at the political significance of peasants in the past, the future of peasants, and the pressures on peasants to dissolve their communities. In the final lecture, "Society at the Turning Point," the lecturer examines three time frames which are all coming to an end: the 200 years of the Industrial Revolution, the 500 years since the Renaissance, and 2,000 years of Christianity. He relates five views of the future held by various futurists, describes the concept of a "dual economy," and gives his own model of social transformation.

As is evident from the synopses of the listening selections, a great deal of information is presented in all three parts of the textbook. Beyond the actual content of the interviews and lectures, what can we expect students to learn? The book contains an enormous amount of vocabulary and cue phrases (with their functions in discourse) to be assimilated. There are also thorough presentations and examples of various features of discourse. In Part I, for instance, Mason explores the concepts of dry humor, paradox, and irony. The concept of restatement is also illustrated in detail (in Part II) and then expanded on when it recurs in the five lectures. The uses of questions and comparison in lectures are also described and illustrated. Mason analyzes the structure of lectures throughout Parts II and III. She explains and exemplifies features of introductions such as "breaking the ice," offering credentials, establishing context, and narrowing the focus. Conclusions -- what they can include and why they are often truncated -- are also explained. Mason labels transitions between parts of a lecture as SUMO (summing up and moving on) and brings these to the students' attention when they occur in the lectures. Students will also become familiar with the outline form of notetaking, as well as some attention to note-taking abbreviations.

SOME CRITICISMS

Certainly students who use this book will be sensitized to many facets of lectures, but the book is not without flaws. To begin with a minor criticism, the layout and printing of the text is problematic. There is a great deal of prose to read through. Much of this is explanations of elements of discourse. For example, there are several paragraphs about questions lecturers might use -- their purposes and classifications. There is also a discussion of the differences between written and spoken language. While these descriptions are useful, they are not displayed in a visually appealing or salient manner. The student would benefit more from them if they were singled out with a box around them or placed on a page of their own. The prose is particularly weighty in the presentation of content questions that precedes the lecture listening. These are printed in paragraph form and also lack visual salience. Thus, the text looks more formidable (and dull) than it actually is.

A second weakness is that the knowledge of lectures and of discourse that students are likely to have even before they enter an American university -- the knowledge that they bring to the task of understanding academic discourse -- is not fully utilized. In fact, it is sometimes ignored. For instance, the author goes on at length about why speakers make comparisons, a concept that is surely familiar to most students from their previous experience.

A more serious criticism, perhaps, is that the students are simply not required to do enough on their own as they listen. They do not have to determine the functions of cue phrases, for example, since that information is always provided. If the functions were not provided with the cue phrases (and if the cue phrases themselves were not always provided), the students would be more actively engaged in using their own analytical skills. The primary task throughout, as mentioned, is to fill in outlines. These are presented with major parts and even illustrations clearly labeled. The students do not have to listen to discern the divisions or to separate examples from main points. This much support seems inconsistent with Mason's stated goal, "to enable students to reconstruct the plan, the purpose, the supporting data and illustrations in a given lecture." The students don't have to do this work for themselves; they are apparently expected to learn how to do it from Mason's guides. Beyond that, the task of filling in outlines is too mechanical and too repetitive in itself.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of the outline task is that it seems to emphasize the "total comprehension" model of listening, an unrealistic view of listening (held by many students) that every word must be understood. In reality, of course, listeners do not hear every word even when listening to their native language; yet they construct an understanding based on what they do hear and what they already know about the subject. Mason's outlines structure the listening experience so that the student is preoccupied with trying to figure out what piece of information goes under what heading. The focus is taken away from constructing an interpretation of the message as they listen. In addition, the outline form doesn't allow for experience and information students may already have about a topic. Some information will be familiar to some students, and, realistically, would not be written in their notes.

There are other tasks, but these appear only here and there. They include true/false and multiple choice quizzes on content, vocabulary matching exercises, and questions for discussion and writing. Most of them seem to be more of an afterthought than an integral part of the text.

A final criticism relates to the absence of background reading. Mason takes the trouble to establish how lectures are related to assigned readings (and tests) in academic classes, yet she fails to provide readings to go with the five lectures.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING UAL

Criticisms aside, Mason's material contains a wealth of interesting natural discourse which teachers and teacher trainers can use in their own way. How can the text best be used so that students learn various skills? Some suggestions follow.

Because Part I includes six speakers from different areas of the world, different groups of students could be assigned different areas. Each group would listen to one interview and then share the information on various topics with others. If students worked on tapes dealing with parts of the world they were unfamiliar with, they could then check their comprehension with classmates who were from those areas. Using the tapes for Part I in this way would eliminate the tedium of listening to six fairly long interviews. The teacher could present information on discourse that seems important for all groups, using excerpts from the tapes as examples.

Part II is probably most relevant to students who are teaching assistants in the U.S. The perspective of respected members of their field could be useful in helping TAs set goals for their own teaching. The information in both Parts I and II could be used in training teachers --both native speakers and non-native speakers -- to be more sensitive to cultural differences in education.

As mentioned earlier, the lectures in Part III are independent both of each other and of written material (other than the guides that the author provides). Auxiliary readings to go with the five topics in Part III could give students useful background information, help them develop core vocabulary for the topics, better prepare them for discussions or writing, and give them a more realistic lecture-listening experience. Tests that are similar to those used in academic courses could also be developed. Because these lectures are all so long, listening in segments over a period of a few days might be advisable. Changing the student's task from outline completion for various segments would also be useful. Styles of note-taking other than the outline form could be presented and tried.

A REMARKABLE RESOURCE

Mason's achievement in producing this text is, despite criticisms, considerable. Mason has successfully gathered extensive authentic speech and analyzed it for important discourse structures, an enormous task that has discouraged other authors. The student who uses this book to best advantage will become aware of major features of lectures --such as the organization of arguments, the nature of introductions and conclusions, and the uses of examples -- as well as subtler features of style and tone. The abundance of taped material in itself is of great value and will help lighten a listening teacher's load.

It is interesting to note that one of the lectures, the lecture on jazz, was recorded in 1967. This was long before most ESL professionals recognized the value of authentic discourse. Mason's insights and knowledge of lecture discourse stem from many years of study and of listening. Though UAL is not a book to be used "as is" (does such a book exist?), it is a remarkable resource.

REFERENCES

James, Gary, Charles G. Whitley, and Sharon Bode. 1980. Listening in and speaking out. New York: Longman.

Young, Lynette, and Brigid Fitzgerald. 1982. Listening and learning: lectures. Rowely, Mass.: Newbury House.

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 5

Fall, 1985

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Volume 5 Fall, 1985

Table of Contents

Preparing LEP Students for On-the-job Training 7
Catherine Robinson

Clinically Speaking: ESP for Refugee Nursing Students 29
John Marston and Adele G. Hansen

Modifying an ESP Course Syllabus and Materials Through a Teacher-planned Needs Assessment 53
Karen Sorensen

Using a Sensitive Topic in Teaching Lecture Comprehension 75
Colleen Meyers and Diane Erdmann

MinneTESOL Officers 1984-1985

President
Kimberly Brown
Macalester College
First Vice-president
Kathryn Hanges
Concordia College
Second Vice-President
John Armbrust
ELS Language Center
Secretary
Mary Gebhart
Catholic Charities
Treasurer
Adele Hansen
University of Minnesota

Executive Board

The officers and

Joan Bachman
Rochester Public Schools
Audrae Coury
Roseville Public Schools
Anne DeMuth
Minneapolis Public Schools
Ellen Mamer
Lakewood Community College
Tom Rowland
Macalester College
Jean Teigland
CPT Corporation
Ellen Vaut
International Institute
of Minnesota

Journal Staff

Eric Nelson, editor
University of Minnesota
Richard Carr
ELS Language Center
Elizabeth Henly
University of Minnesota

Journal Staff, cont.

Betsy Parrish
University of Minnesota
Diane Pecoraro
Minnesota Department of
Education
Tom Richards
ELS Language Center and
University of Minnesota

Publications Committee

The journal staff and

Ellen Mamer, newsletter
editor emeritus
Lakewood Community College
Lora Polack, executive
editor of newsletter
Triangle Publications and
University of Minnesota
Bernie Diehl
Minneapolis ABCE Program
Martha Faltesek
Honeywell, Inc.
Adele Hansen
University of Minnesota
Gail Ibele
University of Minnesota
Barbara Johnson
Pratt Community
Education Center
Mark Landa
University of Minnesota
Vivian Mann
St. Paul Public Schools
John Marston
Philippine Refugee Processing Center, Bataan,
Philippines
Mary Musielewicz
Pratt Community
Education Center
Judith Strohl
Minneapolis Public Schools

Editorial Policy

The MinneTESOL Journal seeks to pubish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome. Submit manuscripts to the Editor, MinneTESOL Journal, Program in ESL, 116 Klaeber Court, University of Minnesota, 320 16th Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts should conform to the guidelines of the TESOL Quarterly. Submit two copies of each manuscript, along with two copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14162, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55114.

Membership in MinneTESOL ($10.00) includes a subscription to the MinneTESOL Journal, published in the fall.

FOREWORD

The English needs of refugees, English for vocational purposes, and English for academic purposes dominate this issue of the MinneTESOL Journal.

Catherine Robinson addresses the special problems that many refugees have in using English on the job in our first article, "Preparing LEP Students for On-the-job Training." Focusing on the needs of students with very limited English and little understanding of expected behavior in the workplace, Robinson describes some of the language skills workers need and presents classroom exercises designed to help learners acquire those skills.

The same general concerns — English for the workplace and the needs of refugee students — are addressed by John Marston and Adele Hansen in our second article, "Clinically Speaking: ESP for Nursing Students." Marston and Hansen describe the English component of a program which had as its ultimate goal the improvement of health care for Southeast Asian refugees. They focus on the curriculum they developed, materials and methods they found useful, and problems they encountered as they tried to provide their students with the very special communication skills nurses must have both for training and for performing on the job.

Needs assessment in an English-for-academic-purposes program is the subject of Karen Sorensen's article, "Modifying an ESP Course Syllabus and Materials Through a Teacher-planned Needs Assessment." Through a process that included faculty interviews and an analysis of papers written by students in agriculture courses, Sorensen was able to modify her class syllabus to meet the needs of a group of students preparing for advanced study in agricultural fields. Sorensen's description of her research includes examples of specific problems that non-native speakrs may have in writing for a specific purpose at an advanced level.

Colleen Meyers and Diane Erdmann are also concerned with English for academic purposes, particularly with lecture comprehension, in their article, "Using a Sensitive Topic in Teaching Lecture Comprehension." Meyers and Erdmann report on the experience of an advanced listening class the with topic of child abuse, arguing that the benefits of using such a sensitive topic outweigh the risks. They include a description of the three-day plan they built around a guest lecture on child abuse, a plan which emphasizes the importance of pre-listening activities.

EN

PREPARING LEP STUDENTS FOR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Catherine Robinson

For LEP workers and especially for many Indochinese who have fairly low English skills and little understanding of American culture, initial on-the-job training presents special challenges. This paper briefly discusses the kinds of problems LEP workers experience during training and outlines a set of language functions which can help workers communicate more clearly and easily on the job. Finally, a series of hands-on training exercises is described which can help LEP workers become familiar with the training process and give them the opportunity to use the communication strategies they are learning.

INTRODUCTION

In the past three years the ESL staff at the International Institute of Minnesota has been working to broaden its curriculum to include competencies which prepare students to function successfully on the job. Of special concern have been the needs of Indochinese students, many of whom face the prospect of beginning entry-level jobs with a minimum of English and almost no understanding of the American workplace. In order to assess student needs, a number of sources were used. Of particular help was a survey of employers done by Literacy 85, which identified the types of problems LEP workers have on the job (Literacy 85 1983). Other sources used were articles on the

---

Catherine Robinson teaches ESL at the International Institute of Minnesota.

language demands which LEP workers face as they first learn their job and as they move through different stages of employment (Gage and Prince 1982, Jupp and Hodlin 1978). Also useful were needs assessments conducted by the International Institute for their own on-site VESL classes.

Analysis of the above material revealed that one of the most pressing problems LEP workers face is their inability to communicate clearly during training. Two behaviors commonly cause communication problems: 1) workers' failure to indicate to supervisory personnel that they do not understand instructions and 2) workers' reluctance to ask for help when they are having problems with their work. Although LEP workers are generally efficient once a particular task has been learned, they find it difficult to deal with even small changes in standard procedures or with other types of redirection. These lapses in communication not only cause frustration for trainers and workers alike, but also waste valuable production time.

COMPETENCIES FOR BETTER COMMUNICATION

In order to overcome the problems described above, students need to recognize situations where communication can break down and then learn language which can either help avoid the situation or overcome a communication problem when it arises. However, in working with LEP students, especially Hmong and Cambodians, we have realized that it is necessary not only to teach appropriate language, but also to give students an understanding of the American work culture and its expectations. In this paper, language competencies for improving communication during training are presented. The first set of competencies deals with what workers should do when they don't understand, the second with asking for help, and the third with coping with redirection. Following each description of competencies, training exercises for practice are presented. In these exercises, which were primarily designed for beginning to intermediate level Indochinese[1], students are instructed in how to complete simple tasks and must use the competencies learned to communicate with their teacher in order to successfully complete the practice training session. As students participate in these exercises, they gain confidence and experience using new language, become familiar with many on-the-job procedures, and also have an opportunity to put newly learned behaviors to work.

Competencies for What to Do When You Don't Understand

When workers cannot understand or follow the training process, there are a number of strategies they can use. Asking the trainer to repeat something is especially useful, provided the trainer slows down his speech or paraphrases instructions using simpler words. However, once something has been repeated and workers still don't understand, they must become more specific in their inquiries, by indicating, as clearly as possible, the source of their misunderstanding.

Example:

Trainer: Write the name of your native country in the top right-hand corner.

Worker: [Can you please repeat that?
Please repeat that more slowly.

Trainer: (Trainer repeats.)

Worker: [I don't understand that.
I don't understand "native."

Responding clearly to a supervisor's inquiry about whether something has been understood is also extremely important for good communication. Our sources indicated that supervisors and lead workers find it especially frustrating when workers pretend that they understand. "He's always saying 'yes,' but I never know if he really understands" — this is a common lament of training personnel. Yet a simple response can let a trainer know that the worker does not yet understand what to do.

---

[1] This level is equivalent to the new Minnesota State Department Levels 3 and 4.

Example:

Trainer: Fold it like this. Do you understand?

Worker: No, I'm not sure. Can you show me again?

Although indicating lack of understanding is of primary importance while following instructions, letting one's trainer know that he is being understood also goes a long way toward improving communication. Saying "Okay" after each step is explained lets the trainer know that the process is being followed and that the trainer can continue with the explanation. (At the same time, of course, it is important to stress to students that workers should never indicate comprehension if they don't really understand.)

Example:

Trainer: Put it through here and then around here. (Trainer demonstrates.)

Worker: Okay.

Trainer: Then thread from left to right. Any questions?

Worker: No, I get it.

Seeking clarification helps workers make sure that they have understood. Workers should be encouraged to repeat important information and to ask short information questions.

Checking that a task has been done correctly also improves communication.

Example:

Trainer: You need one-half cup cleaner and one gallon of water.

Worker: One-half cup cleaner and how much water?

Trainer: One gallon.

Worker: Is this right? (Worker fills bucket.)

Trainer: Yes.

Training Exercises for Practicing What to Do When You Don't Understand

Before describing this exercise, it is important to remind teachers that training exercises are meant to be used as final communicative activities. New competencies are usually introduced in conversations and, once understood, are practiced individually before doing training exercises in which students are required to use a variety of competencies.

In this training exercise students will need to use the following competencies:

-Indicating understanding or lack of understanding

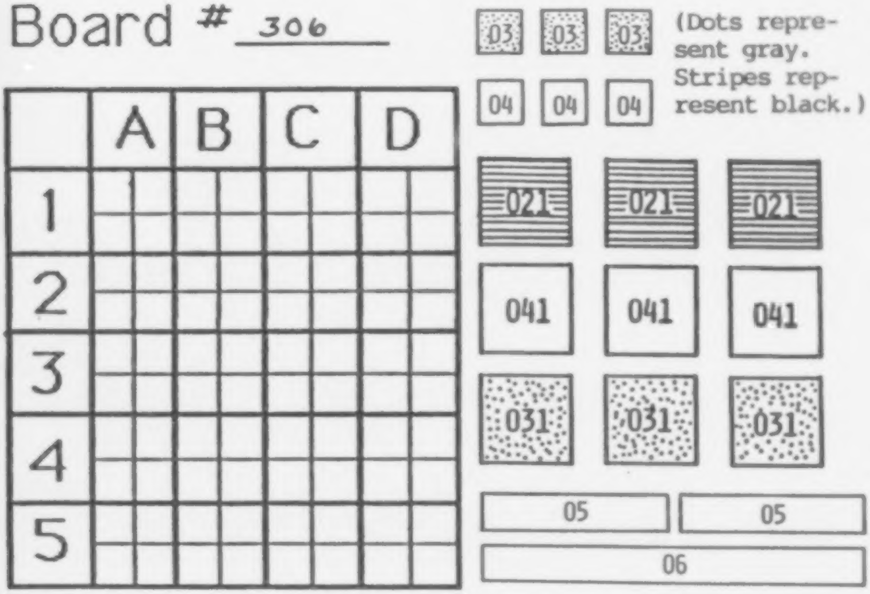
-Asking for information or for a repetition of the demonstration of a task

-Seeking clarification by repeating important information or by asking information questions

-Asking for work to be checked

Materials for this exercise are pictured in Figure 1.[2] They include a grid and colored squares which are referred to as an assembly board and parts, respectively.

Figure 1: Assembly Board and Parts


Board # 306
A
B
C
D
1
2
3
4
5
03
03
03
04
04
04
021
021
021
041
041
041
031
031
031
05
05
06

(Dots represent gray. Stripes represent black.)

In this exercise, the teacher gives an instruction such as "Put a large black square at B4." The student's task is to assemble the board according to the teacher's instructions by placing the parts in the correct positions. If, at any time, the student cannot follow the teacher's instructions, he is to use the competencies he has learned to communicate with the teacher in order to successfully complete the task.

---

[2] These exercises and the materials for performing them appear in Speaking Up At Work (Robinson and Rowekamp 1985), a VESL text developed at the International Institute of Minnesota.

Since the goal of this exercise is to teach students to cope in situations where not everything is understood, vocabulary used in the instructions — such as *place*, *connect*, *remove*, *center*, *upper right-hand corner* — should not be explained before beginning the exercise. Although most students are accustomed to having vocabulary pretaught, they are quite accepting of this procedure if the teacher emphasizes that in their daily lives, and especially at work, they will often not understand all that they hear and that this practice will prepare for just that kind of situation. It is important that students learn that they can function in situations where there are unknowns, and that they realize that they can complete a task even though they don't initially understand everything.

This exercise can be done with the whole class, but students will get more opportunity to interect with their teachers if small groups are used. The following training segment gives examples of instructions and of the kinds of student responses teachers can expect. Figure 2 shows what the student has produced at the end of the training segment.

Training Segment:

Teacher	Place a large black square at D5.
Student #1:	At D5?
Teacher:	Right. Now put a small gray square in the center of A1.
Student #2:	Ann, I don't understand that.
Teacher:	Put a small gray square in the middle of A1.
Student #2:	Like this? (Places square in the center of

A1.)

Teacher: That's right. Now use your long connector and connect the gray and the black squares.

Student #3: Can you please repeat that?

Teacher: Use your long connector to connect the gray and black squares.

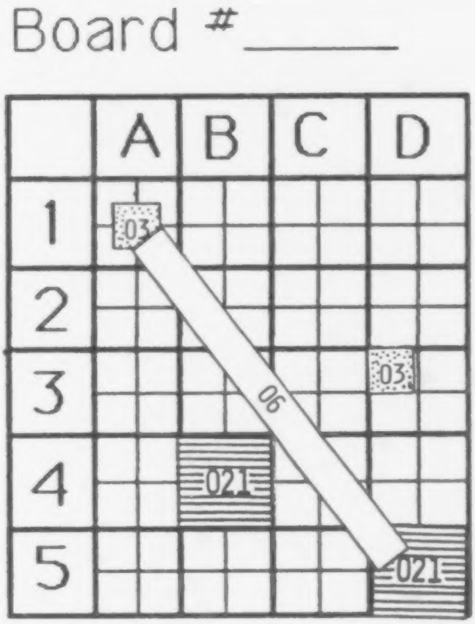
Student #3: I don't understand "connec ...."

Teacher: I want you to use this connector (shows worker connector) and connect the two squares like this. (Shows connecting.)

Student #3: I see.

We find that many of our students, especially the Hmong, either because of their limited English skills or perhaps because of their cultural background, are somewhat reticent about indicating lack of understanding. For these students, perhaps the most important lesson learned through these exercises is that it is their responsibility to indicate when something is not understood, and that teachers and future trainers will expect this behavior. Continuing to encourage students to use these competencies on an on-going basis in the classroom can also help them internalize newly learned behavior.

Figure 2: Partially Completed Assembly Board



Competencies for Asking for Help

Once the trainer has explained and/or shown the worker what to do, the worker can begin to work independently. At this stage, asking for help and being able to explain problems are necessary skills. To get help, workers need to get their trainer's attention and then ask for assistance by stating what their problem is or by asking a question.

Example:

Worker: Stan, can you help me a minute?

Trainer: Sure. What's up?

Worker: I don't know how to change this needle.
I can't fill out this form. What do I write here?
I'm not sure what to do now.
Do I cut here?

During the trainer's explanation, workers indicate their lack of understanding, ask for repetitions and seek clarification as described previously. They may also want to ask their trainer to watch them do a task to make sure they understand it.

Example:

Worker: I can't thread this machine.

Trainer: Let me show you. (Trainer demonstrates.) Do you understand?

Worker: I'm not sure. Can you show me again?

Trainer: Sure. (Trainer demonstrates again.)

Worker: Okay. Can you watch me do it?
(Trainer observes as worker completes the task.)

Training Exercise #1 for Practicing Asking for Help

To practice asking for help it is useful to use simple tasks of two or three steps. Activities such as running a tape recorder, loading a stapler, changing batteries, threading a sewing machine, or running a ditto machine work well. In this exercise, students will be practicing the following competencies:

-Getting the trainer's attention and asking for help
-Stating the problem
-Requesting redemonstration
-Asking the trainer to watch them complete a task

As mentioned previously, it is important to practice individual competencies before attempting the training exercise. In this exercise, stating the problem is the most difficult part and can be practiced by passing out the items which the students will eventually be using for the training exercise and then practicing sentences like these:

I can't thread this machine.
I don't know how to change these batteries.
I can't fill out this form.
I don't know how to use this tape recorder.

The training exercise consists of having students ask the teacher for help with one of the above activities. Students should then use as many of the new competencies as are needed to learn the activity the teacher is demonstrating.

Training segment:

Student: Excuse me, Ann. Can you help me a minute?

Teacher: Sure. What's the problem?

Student: I don't know how to thread this machine.

Teacher: Okay. First you put the thread here. Then it goes through here and then here. Next it goes under here and you have to pull up like this.

Student: Can you show me that last part again?

Teacher: It goes under here and then you pull up.

Student: Okay.

Teacher: Then through here and here. And now you thread the needle. You have to thread from left to right. Any questions.?

Student: I think I get it. Can you watch me do it once?

Teacher: Sure. (Trainer observes completion of task.)

Training Exercise #2 for Practicing Asking for Help

Another activity that workers often need help with is filling out forms and dealing with paperwork. Competencies for this training exercise include:

-Indicating that they don't understand or can't read something

-Asking what to write or put in a particular place

-Asking how to spell a word

-Asking if they should sign a form

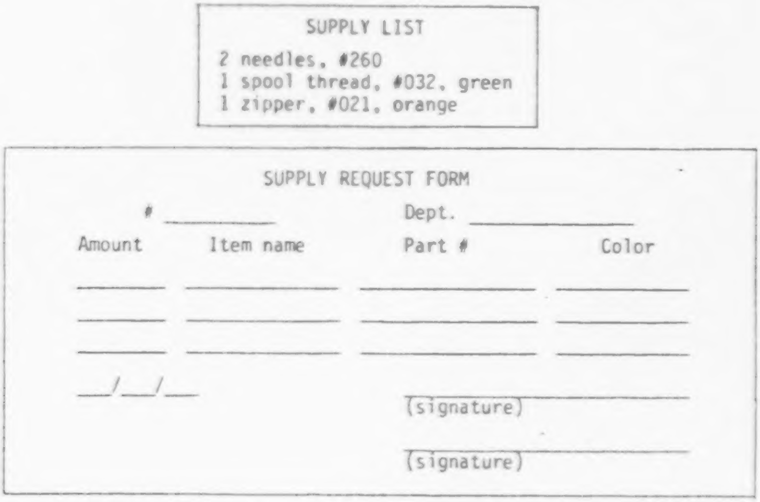
To help students practice these competencies before doing the exercise, we use the cue cards which appear in Figure 3. A student points to the item on the card and uses one of the competencies to elicit necessary information. For example, the student points to marital and says: "I don't understand this word."

Figure 3
Cue cards and responses

Cue card		Student response
Marital status	 or or	I don't understand this What does this (word) mean? I can't read this.
______?______	or	What do I write here? What do I put here?
S-O-L-D-I-E-R		How do you spell soldier?
____________ (signature)		Do I sign here?

Once students have mastered this language, they are ready to do the training exercise. In the exercise, students use the list of supplies shown in Figure 4 to fill out the accompanying supply request. As in the previous exercises, the teacher should give the students a minimum of explanation. For example, it is not necessary to preteach new vocabulary on the supply list or to explain abbreviations or particular numbers on the supply request form. Students are responsible for getting this information from their teacher and should be encouraged not to speak to other students during the exercise. The biggest challenge for teachers during this exercise is to wait patiently for students to realize that they cannot complete the work without getting assistance. Students will be working at their own pace and will only ask about the items which they do not understand.

Figure 4: Supply list and supply request



SUPPLY LIST

2 needles, #260
1 spool thread, #032, green
1 zipper, #021, orange

SUPPLY REQUEST FORM

________ Dept. ____________

Amount	Item name	Part #	Color
______	__________	___________	________
______	__________	___________	________
______	__________	___________	________

__/__/__

____
(signature)

____
(signature)

Training Segment:

Teacher: Please use this supply list to complete the supply request. Please ask me if you have any questions. (Students begin working.)

Student #1 Ann, can you help me a minute?

Teacher: Sure.

Student #1: What do I write here? (Student points to the blank after #.)

Teacher: You write your employee number.

Student #2: Ann, what do I put here? (Student points to the blank after "Dept.")

Teacher: Write your department.

Student #2: How do you spell "production"?

Teacher: P-R-O-D-U-C-T-I-O-N .

Student #2: Okay, thanks.

(Students continue working.)

Student #3: Ann, what's this number? (Student points to "#260.")

Teacher: That's the part number. You write it here.

Student #3: Like this? (Student writes in the number.)

Teacher: That's right.

Student #2: Do I sign here? (Student points to first signature line.)

Teacher: Yes. You sign there and the supply room clerk signs on the bottom line.

Student: Okay. Thanks.

As in the previous exercises, new language as well as new behaviors are being practiced here. Students must be encouraged to take the initiative when they need help. They need to realize that supervisory people are usually willing to help and that ignoring problems and not asking for help can cause personal as well as production problems.

Competencies for Coping with Redirection

Redirection involves giving new instructions related to the current task a worker is doing, or giving instructions about other tasks which must be completed at a particular time. To cope with these kinds of situations, workers may need to use some of the strategies already discussed. Although it is virtually impossible to know what specific interruptions workers will encounter, it is useful for workers to be familiar with general vocabulary used for describing changes in procedures and with vocabulary for indicating the sequencing of tasks.

Common vocabulary for describing changes might include words such as substitute, change, and instead of. In the example below, notice how the worker indicates lack of understanding and seeks clarification.

Example:

Trainer: You'll have to change these. Use black squares instead of white.

Worker: Sorry, I don't understand.

Trainer: Take off the white squares and put black ones.

Worker: Black and no white, right?

Trainer: That's it.

In order to communicate clearly about the sequencing of tasks, workers must have a clear understanding of adverbs of time. During redirection, it is also important that the worker be able to state clearly when he will finish a current task and when a new task will be started.

Examples:

Trainer: Are you finished?

Worker: I'll be done in about 5 minutes.

Trainer: When you finish, I want you to bus tables 3 and 7.

Worker: Okay. (Worker finishes current task and then buses the tables.)

Trainer: Jim, before you do the tables, get me some glasses from the kitchen.

Worker: How many?

Trainer: Eight.

Worker: Okay. (Worker gets glasses and then buses the tables.)

Training Exercise for Practicing Redirection

Before beginning this training exercise, it is necessary to give students some practice understanding the sequencing of tasks. In this exercise, the teacher should have four to six simple tasks available for students to do. Props such as filecards, brooms, rags and cleaners should be available for students to use as they perform tasks such as putting cards in alphabetical order, putting cards in numerical order, sweeping the floor, erasing the blackboards, cleaning the windows.

The teacher should direct the students in the following manner:

Example:

Teacher: Phon, please put these cards in alphabetical order by last name.

Student: Okay.

Teacher: Sam, clean that window.

Student: Okay.

Teacher: Phon, when you finish that, clean this blackboard.

Student: Okay. (Phon completes cards and then does the blackboard.)

Teacher: Sam, before you finish that, get me the broom. (Sam stops working on the window and gets the broom for the teacher. He then goes back and completes the window.)

Once students have done the above practice, they can attempt the training exercise which includes the following competencies.

-Use strategies such as indicating lack of understanding, requesting repetition, and using clarification to make sure that redirection instructions have been understood

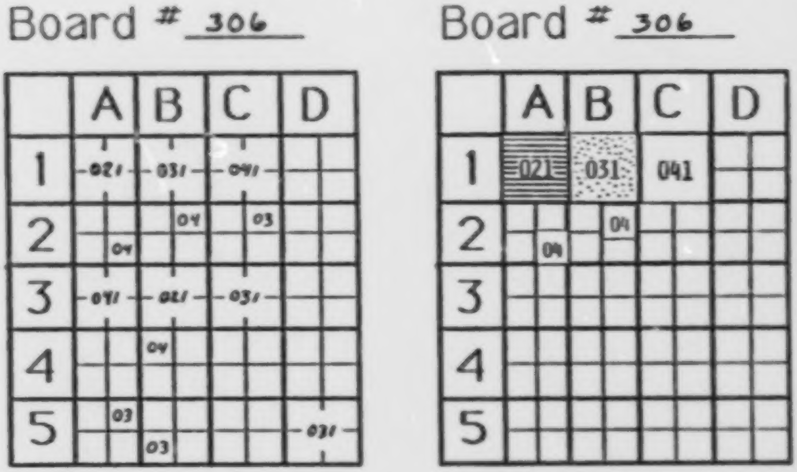
-Ask for help if written instructions are not understood

-Indicate when a current task will be completed and when a new task will be started

-Understand when current and new tasks should be completed

For this training exercise, students use the assembly board and parts seen in the first exercise (Figure 1). They will be working from the coded assembly plan in Figure 5, which designates the number of each part that must be placed on the board. As students work to complete their boards, the teacher will move among them and indicate changes that they should make on their boards and also direct them to do different tasks. The activities previously used to practice the sequencing of tasks can be used for redirection. Whenever necessary, students should use previously learned competencies to get help with their work.

Figure 5
Coded assembly plan and partially
completed assembly board


Board # 306
A
B
C
D
1
2
3
4
5
021
031
041
04
03
04
041
021
031
04
03
03
031
Board # 306
A
B
C
D
1
2
3
4
5
021
031
041
04
04

Training Segment:

Student #1: Is this right? (Student places part 021 at A1.)

Teacher: Yes, that's right.
Keng, have you finished row 2?

Student #2: Not quite.

Teacher: When you finish it, I want you to put these cards in alphabetical order by last name.

Student #2: By last name?

Teacher: Right.

Student #2: Okay. (Student completes row 2 and then does the cards.)
I finished the cards.

Teacher: Thanks.
Shoua, you'll have to change C3. Substitute a black square instead.

Student #3: A black square?

Teacher: Right.
Ana, please change the order in row one. Put white-gray-black instead of black-gray-white.

Student #4: I don't understand that.

Teacher: You have to change these two. (Teacher demonstrates.)

Student #4: I see.

Besides offering students useful practice dealing with redirection, this exercise teaches the important lesson that being flexible on the job is essential. Students need to understand that it is unusual for workers to be able to sit and do one job all day. They need to realize that the workers who are successful are those that can cope with changes and be redirected easily.

CONCLUSION

For our students, the most important function of these exercises is as a model of appropriate on-the-job behavior and as a vehicle for practicing this newly learned behavior. In our classes, we attempt to help students acquire the confidence that, although they may not know as much English as they would like, they can still cope in situations where communication is difficult. We also try to help students understand that to avoid speaking English by pretending that something has been understood, or by not asking for needed help is self-defeating because it can alienate supervisors and coworkers and because the opportunity to use and to improve one's English is lost. It is often not easy for many of our Indochinese students to take the initiative and use these new competencies when it is appropriate. For these students, training exercises, combined with constant reinforcement of competencies during other classroom activities, can be a first step in equipping students with the communication skills and the sense of responsibility they will need during on-the-job training.

REFERENCES

Center for Applied Linguistics. 1982. ESL in the workplace: English for specific purposes in the work setting. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Center for Applied Linguistics. 1982. Teaching ESL to competencies: a departure from a traditional curriculum for adult learners with specific needs. Refugee Education Guide, Adult Education Series, no. 14. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Gage, Julia, and David Prince. 1982. Some considerations in adult vocational ESL. ERIC/CLL News Bulletin 5:3-7.

Jupp, T.C., and Sue Hodlin. 1978. Industrial English: an example of theory and practice in functional language teaching. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Literacy 85. 1983. ESL/employment survey: job-related problems identified by employers of Indochinese. St. Paul, Minnesota: Literacy 85.

Robinson, Catherine, and Jenise Rowekamp. 1985. Speaking up at work. New York: Oxford University Press.

CLINICALLY SPEAKING: ESP FOR REFUGEE NURSING STUDENTS

John Marston and Adele G. Hansen

This article describes the English component of a project aimed at training licensed practical nurses. Included are a brief description of the training program, a more detailed description of the ESL curriculum, and a discussion of materials and methods. Finally, problems confronted during the project are discussed, among them the scarcity of suitable materials, the need for communication between the technical staff and the ESP staff, and the lack of an appropriate means of measuring the students' progress.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM

Since 1975, Minnesota has been one of about a dozen states most actively involved in programs for the initial placement of refugees, and in the late seventies waves of secondary migration

---

Adele Hansen teaches in the English Program for International Students at the University of Minnesota.

John Marston, a graduate of the University of Minnesota M.A. program in ESL, is a teacher supervisor at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center at Bataan.

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Conference on Languages for Business and the Professions, University of Eastern Michigan, Ypsilanti, Michigan, May 10, 1985, and at the MinneTESOL Spring Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 11, 1985.

from around the United States brought even more refugees to the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. This strained social service capacities. Health care facilities found themselves beset with large numbers of non-English-speaking clients who knew little about American medical practices. In an effort to solve the communication problem, a network of refugee interpreters was organized. However, the use of interpreters was seen as a temporary measure and there remained the long-term problem of how to educate the refugee population about American health care attitudes and practices. Health care providers agreed that part of the answer would be the hiring of bilingual health care professionals; but few qualified individuals were available. Although a large number of area refugees had formerly been health professionals or paraprofessionals, a series of factors inhibited those individuals from entering health care training programs. Among those factors were limitations in English language proficiency and in financial resources.

Dr. Amos Deinard of the University of Minnesota Department of Pediatrics (UMDP) began exploring the idea of organizing some type of training program which would aid those refugees in redeveloping their health care skills, ultimately in order to help the refugee community at large. Together with the American Refugee Committee (ARC), a locally-based non-profit agency, UMDP submitted a proposal for funding such a program to the Department of Health and Human Services. A group of Southeast Asian refugees were to be retrained as Licensed Practical Nurses (LPNs). The two sponsoring agencies would recruit students, provide up to one year of education, and assist trainees first in obtaining licensure and then in finding employment. At the same time, ARC submitted a second proposal — a request for Targeted Assistance funds from the Hennepin County CETA office. ARC proposed a Health Occupations program which would assess, train, and place thirty area refugees within an 18-month period.

The proposals for training or retraining health professionals had as their overall goal the eventual placement of bilingual professionals in area health care facilities. The funds were forthcoming and the projects combined to form one program, the first of its kind in the United States.

The Minneapolis Area Vocational Technical Institute (MTI) was contracted to develop a special practical nursing program to meet the needs of a refugee population. The program would follow the same course of study as the school's regular LPN program, but classes would be offered late in the afternoon and in the evenings to accommodate those refugees already holding full-time jobs. Because UMDP and ARC recognized that the refugees' language proficiency might cause problems in their technical studies, an English as a Second Language course was added to the technical curriculum. The Minnesota English Center (MEC), which organizes ESL programs at the University of Minnesota, was contracted to provide a component of English for nursing science.

Notices about the program were distributed to social service agencies and refugee organizations. Sixty-one refugees indicated an interest in the program. MEC helped to develop an initial screening interview to assess potential candidates' language proficiency. The interview consisted of several questions, some of a general nature, others more specific, about educational background and technical experience.

The candidates were then given the Minnesota Battery, a series of language tests consisting of the Michigan Test of Aural Comprehension (forms 1-3), the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (forms G and H), and the Minnesota Composition Test. In order to assess the general educational background of the candidates, MTI administered three additional tests: the Structure Test of English Language (STEL), the Gates-McGinnity Test of Reading Comprehension, and the MTI Math Test, a general math test consisting of 24 problems in basic math.

On the basis of all the test results, but with particular weight given to the Michigan Test of Aural Comprehension, the students were divided into two proficiency groups. The upper group of students had STEL scores above 500 and Michigan Aural Comprehension scores above 70 (List and Deinard 1984:4).

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM

In March, 1984, forty-two students began a one-month intensive academic program to further determine their scholastic abilities. In addition to Lao, Hmong, Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, the group included three Eastern European and two Ethiopian refugees. Courses in medical terminology, reading, math, and ESL were offered four hours per evening, five nights per week. At the conclusion of this pre-vocational program, the students were individually evaluated by the staff. The staff determined that all of the students were capable of studying in the nursing program, although several students were identified as having limited English proficiency. At this time, students were redistributed in the two groups in an effort to maintain a more consistent level of language ability within each group.

The nursing program was structured so that the first quarter of instruction consisted of an introduction to nursing principles and practices, a clinical experience in a long-term health care facility, and a three-week nursing assistant course. Plans were for all the students to complete the nursing assistant course and obtain nursing assistant certification, even though some of the students might not be able to master the academic materials needed to complete the practical nursing program.

MTI requires that its regular LPN students either possess a high school diploma or pass a high school equivalency exam (GED) before admission. At the request of program sponsors, this requirement was suspended with the condition that the refugees would have to possess this credential before graduation. The ESL instructors were asked to incorporate GED practice material into the language curriculum.

In April, 1984, thirty-three students began the practical nursing program. (Nine of the original group had chosen to study elsewhere.) Their course of study began with one hour of English and three hours of technical coursework per evening, four nights per week. The English instructors decided to spend two hours per week on special purposes English with the remaining two hours spent on developing skills needed to pass the GED. The first clinical experience was scheduled to begin midway through the first academic quarter.

Although the technical materials used in this program were the same as in the school's regular LPN curriculum, technical instructors modified their lectures to meet the needs of students with limited English. Lectures were simply presented, and all medical terms were written on the blackboard to assist in note-taking, ensure correct spelling, and reinforce pronunciation.

Testing technical knowledge was a problem at first. MTI requires all its LPN students to pass departmental standardized tests with a score of at least 80%. When the technical coordinator observed that the first test was very difficult for the refugees because of language complexities and American cultural references, the students were allowed as much time as they needed and were permitted to use an English dictionary during the following two tests. As the students grew more proficient in test-taking, the dictionaries were eliminated and time limits reinstated.

At the conclusion of the first quarter, the staff met to evaluate the students again and to assess the effectiveness of the program. It was noted that the group with the higher language proficiency was progressing at a much faster pace. Several members of the lower proficiency group had language-related problems which caused concern among the technical faculty. At this point, several of the lower-level language students were told that they could not continue in the LPN training program. They were given the option, however, of entering a three-week home health care aide training program, which would give them further job opportunities.

The staff also noted at this time that the rigorous schedule — academic classes every evening, with clinical experience on weekends — was creating a sense of "burnout" on the part of the students, many of whom already held full-time jobs. For this reason, the schedule was revised for the second quarter so that the students would only work at the clinical site on Thursday evenings and alternating Friday evenings or Saturdays. This change in schedule resulted in an extension of the length of the program. Instead of a year, the course would now take at least one and a half years to complete, in comparison with 46 weeks for full-time MTI day students.

As the second quarter began, a total of eighteen students were still enrolled in the program. The higher proficiency group received only one hour of language instruction per week, although the lower group continued to study English one hour each night. The clinical experience shifted to a surgical ward of a large metropolitan hospital.

The third quarter brought a reduction of English hours for the lower group. They met two hours per week, with class time spent on sharpening communicative skills. The higher group was given the option of a one-hour language tutorial each week. This would be the last quarter of English.

THE ENGLISH CURRICULUM

Needs assessment is an integral part of ESP curriculum planning. Widdowson divides needs into two categories: process-oriented needs — what the learner needs to do to acquire the language — and goal-oriented needs — what the learner needs to do with the language once it is acquired (1981:2). As we planned our curriculum, we tried to obtain information about both types of needs. We interviewed nurses and nursing instructors in an effort to learn more about the language of nursing, both in training and on the job. We surveyed nursing texts and manuals our students would be using, looking for recurring structures and styles. We also looked for ESP resources which would help in our task. Because the English instructors would also be working with GED skills, we talked to local adult education teachers who had experience teaching GED material to students with limited English proficiency. We also secured a GED practice test and GED review materials.

Since our students were under the special constraint of having to study for the GED at the same time as they were studying technical material, we planned a two-part curriculum including a GED component and a medical English component. We also planned to separate the traditional four skills: the receptive skills of reading and listening would be taught primarily in the GED component, and the productive skills of speaking and writing would be taught primarily in the medical English component.

The emphasis in the GED component was more on language skills than on GED content materials. Those materials were used mainly as samples of English through which we could teach reading and listening. We hoped that exposure to the materials in this way would itself be preparation for the GED.

The medical English component was intended to give the students a facility with the kinds of grammatical structures and styles they would come into contact with in their nursing classes and to prepare them for the kinds of speaking they would have to do in their training and on the job. There was also a need to prepare the students for the special writing skills needed for "charting" — the writing of medical records referred to as charts. Schneller and Goodman (1983:2) estimate that as much as 20% of a staff nurse's work time is spent on writing, and much of this writing is chart writing. Moreover, charting is a difficult skill which must be taught even to native speakers. Charts are written not only with a specialized vocabulary, but in a specialized style. Techniques for charting have become more complex within the last several years as the traditional style of charting — "narrative" charting — has been partially replaced by "problem-oriented" charting. In this latter form of record-keeping, the nurse is asked to distinguish between the patient's subjective observation of his or her own condition and the nurse's own objective observations. The nurse must also give an assessment of what the observations mean and what kind of care is needed. Styles of charting vary from institution to institution, and the nurse must have a certain flexibilty within a system which is itself changing. The essentials of charting are, again, part of the nursing curriculum itself, and certain aspects of charting — the accuracy of what is written in terms of the condition of actual patients — can only be taught by nursing instructors. But we felt that we could be helpful in developing in the students a sense of vocabulary, style, and grammatical accuracy for charting. Later, we will give examples of materials we used to teach English for charting.

The curriculum for an ESP class might be expected to have as a specific component the teaching of technical vocabulary. Our curriculum, however, did not give a major emphasis to medical vocabulary. We did emphasize vocabulary in our work with charting (to be discussed further in the section on materials and methods), but we felt that our students' need to learn medical vocabulary was to a great extent met by the nursing curriculum itself. We found a greater need for us to spend time on the kinds of sub-technical vocabulary (for example, assemble, position, and record) that was equally an element in the writing of the students' nursing texts, but which a nursing instructor might not feel the need to explain.

CHANGES IN THE CURRICULUM

As we taught the class, our curriculum changed in a number of ways. First — as might be predicted — we found it impossible to maintain the separation of skills. In particular, the instructor of the medical English class, which was to have focused on speaking and writing, found that reading was too central to the medical English needs of the students to be ignored. The class came to rely heavily on an English for special purposes text, Nucleus: Nursing Science (Kerr and Smith 1978), which is organized around a series of reading passages. The instructor also found it helpful to work occasionally with passages he had selected from the nursing textbooks that the students were using; the prose in these texts was often very difficult for the students.

Second, there was more of a grammatical focus to the curriculum than we had planned. It is hard to make generalizations about the academic level of the students, but many of them had a background in English only in survival-skills English classes, not the type of classes aimed at academic preparation that students who are studying technical English generally have. This meant that, in addition to learning technical English, there was often a need just to learn English, and we worked on grammar in order to build a foundation on which we could later build more technical language skills. Sometimes we adapted materials designed to teach grammar and gave them a more medical focus; other times we simply used standard language materials to teach grammatical skills.

Lastly, our curriculum changed in that we came to feel the need for an expanded curriculum aimed at the speaking needs of the students. In general, the understanding among language teachers of the speaking skills needed in nursing is still very limited, and much more study will eventually have to be done. Maybe the most obvious need was that of exercises designed to help students learn to make small talk, a skill which, for the low-level students, proved particularly difficult. We tried to include communicative activities in the form of role plays, informal question-and-answer sessions, and practice built around open-ended questions ("What would you do if...?") which the students were asked to complete and answer. (This activity was based on material in Jones and von Baeyer 1983.) Students were also asked to give short, spontaneous talks about particular problems they had had the previous week.

In an effort to familiarize students with the types of topics that could be used for small talk, we asked them to read newspaper articles and listen for news reports about the various artifical heart recipients. This proved to be a very effective teaching tool. It was an on-going story that was of interest to our students, and we could use tapes of the news reports for listening exercises. The news articles themselves could be used for reading practice. The stories also provided examples of the type of nontechnical medical language which we wanted our students to recognize.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

We would now like to discuss some specific examples of materials we developed for the project and methods that we found useful. In most cases, the materials and methods reflect our search for communicative frameworks relevant to a medical context that the students recognized through which we would be able to practice specific forms and functions. We will organize the discussion according to selected teaching points: questions, spatial relationships, relative clauses, procedural description, requests, and the language of charting.

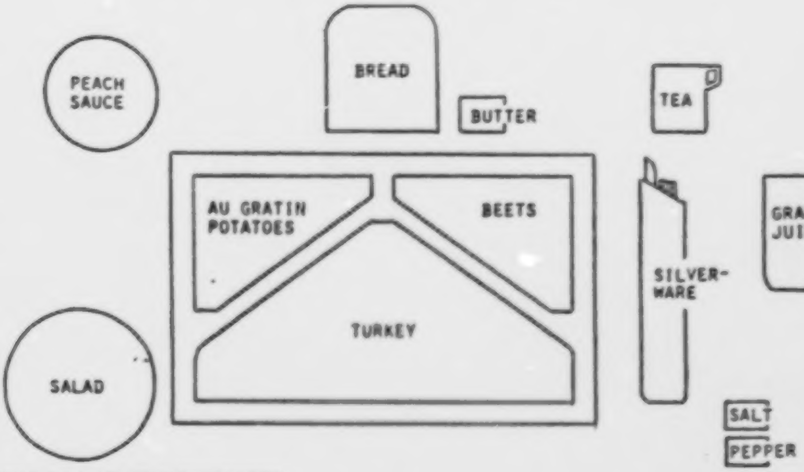
Questions

At the very beginning of the program, we worked on question formation. After reviewing the rules for question formation and practicing them in simple exercises, we tried to establish a link to situations in which nurses ask questions in their work. We had the students role-play a situation in which a nurse takes a patient's medical history. First we went over a simple dialogue representing the situation. Then the students worked in pairs. One student was given a standard medical history card — the kind found in a clinic — with information filled in to represent an imaginary patient. That student assumed the identity of the patient, and the other student, playing the role of the nurse, took the medical history of the "patient," filling the information in on a blank card. In the process, the "nurse" had to use most of the different question forms in order to complete the blank medical history card.

Spatial Relationships

Our work on descriptions of spatial relationships likewise aimed ultimately at finding contexts where the skills the students were developing could be made meaningful. We started by reviewing the meanings of various prepositions. In a nursing class the medical English instructor observed, the techniques for working with blind patients that were being discussed gave him an idea for an information gap exercise. The students were divided into groups of three, and one student in each group was given a picture of a tray of food as it might be given to a patient (see Figure 1). The student was then given the task of describing the position of different items on the tray as though describing it to a blind patient. The other students were asked to draw a picture of the tray as the student described it to them. In actual work with blind patients, a nurse will often describe the position of food on a round plate by telling the patient what hour the food would be at if the plate were a clock, saying, for example, "Your potatoes are at four o'clock and your beef is at seven o'clock." The students were encouraged to do this, but they were also encouraged to use different prepositions to describe the position of other items on the tray or items on a rectangular plate.[1]

Figure 1
Drawing for practicing spatial description



---

[1] In actual work with a blind patient, a nurse might be able to avoid some of this verbal interaction. One student, who was working as a nursing assistant, said that when she served food to blind patients, she simply took their hand and moved it to the positions of different items in order to let them know where they they were. We do not claim that an item practiced in an English class will always be the most practical solution to a nurse's communication needs. Nevertheless, the kind of verbal interaction that the students practiced is something that could easily be part of their communication.

We also did more traditional exercises relating to spatial relationships by working on the meaning of passive constructions such as *is located*, *is divided*, *is connected to*, *is found*, and *is enclosed by/in*. The students were encouraged to use these in descriptions of medical instruments and supplies. The more advanced students were given a passage from an anatomy textbook with constructions of this kind deleted, and were asked to fill in the appropriate term.

Relative clauses

The students worked with relative clauses in several situations. Relative clauses were used in the course of practicing definition formation. They were also used in more communicative exercises patterned after exercises described by Nelson (1984). In one such exercise, the student is asked to respond to a question that requires a choice of some kind:

> You gave breakfast to one patient at 7:00. You gave breakfast to another patient at 9:00. It's 12:00 now. Which patient should you give lunch to first?

Possible responses to the question would include "The patient I gave breakfast to at 7:00" and "The one who had breakfast first." Another example:

> One woman has high blood pressure. One woman has low blood pressure. Which woman has a greater risk of heart attack?

The student might respond with "The woman who has high blood pressure." By the nature of the questions, the students were encouraged to practice the formation of different kinds of relative clauses; but at the same time they were asked to make a meaningful choice, a choice that depended on information they had been studying in their nursing classes.

Another exercise relied on the same principle. In this exercise, the students were given a list of sentences about different patients:

One patient's blood pressure is usually high.
One patient refused her medication.
One patient left for surgery at 2:00.
etc.

The students were asked to consider how a nurse would interact with each of the patients and to write brief narratives such as the following:

> At 8:00 the nurse took the blood pressure of the patient who usually has high blood pressure. It was a little lower today.
>
> The patient who left for surgery wanted a bath. The nurse gave him a bath and helped put his things together.

Because of the way the information about the patients was presented in the list of sentences the students worked with, they were encouraged to use relative clauses in their narratives when they needed to distinguish among the patients.

In both of these exercises, we did not necessarily want the students to use relative clauses in all of their responses, but we wanted them to realize that in some cases it would be natural to use such constructions. We hoped to establish the link between grammatical form and communication relevant to the nursing context.

Procedural Description

We worked in a number of ways on teaching the students to describe procedures, both in writing and in speaking. We were able to rely heavily on visual aids we found at MTI. A simple transparency showing the four steps in cleaning a bed pan was used repeatedly to practice different ways of describing procedures — with third person subjects, with imperatives, and with passives — and to practice different ways of expressing the time relations within a procedure. MTI also has a series of in-house videotapes illustrating some basic nursing procedures.

Using the tapes without the accompanying soundtrack, the instructor asked the students first to explain the procedure and then to create their own dialogues for each situation.

An example of another sort of "raw material" for English lessons frequently found in the students' technical materials is a checklist, similar to the one seen in Figure 2. Such checklists are used at MTI by the technical instructors to test the students on their clinical skills. The lists give indications for various procedures without actually writing each step in standard prose. We felt that if our students could transform such a checklist into a written description of a procedure, then the students probably understood the kinds of things we were trying to teach. (We did find that this was a very difficult task for the students, and we had to explain very carefully the style of writing in the checklists.)

A different kind of activity has as an advantage the fact that the students were actually required to successfully convey the steps of a procedure to another student. The activity made use of two tape recorders. We divided the class into two groups. Each group listened to a different tape — one a simple description of a nursing procedure and one a simple description of a physiological process. Each group was told to listen to the tape until they felt that each person in the group was prepared to repeat the transcription in his or her own words. Then, each student was paired with a student from the other group, and each student was asked to teach the procedure or the process to the person he was paired with. Finally the students returned to their original groups and, as a group, tried to reconstruct the description the other group had listened to. An exercise like this is an exercise in listening as well as speaking, and an exercise in remembering technical material conveyed to the students in the target language.

Requests

There are many different ways in which a nurse must interact with people. One of the most common situations occurs when the nurse must make a request. We asked a nursing

Figure 2
Material from the Minneapolis Technical Institute nursing curriculum that was adapted for practicing procedural descriptions

MINNEAPOLIS TECHNICAL INSTITUTE
HEALTH OCCUPATIONS

CHECKLIST: Blood Pressure

____
Student

OBJECTIVE: Obtain correct reading of client's blood pressure

PROCEDURAL STEPS	SATIS-FACTORY	CRITERIA FOR MAKING JUDGEMENT
1. Preparation		Washed hands per accepted procedure Assembled equipment: sphygmomanometer, stethoscope, alco-wipes, paper, pencil/pen
2. Prepare client		Introduced self to client Identified and informed of procedure
3. Maintain safe environment		Positioned client in chair/bed Assessed proper arm to use Positioned arm, palm upward Cleansed stethoscope ear tips with alco-wipes before use
4. Read blood pressure		Located brachial artery Wrapped cuff snugly 1-2" above elbow Centered bladder of cuff over brachial artery Inflated cuff rapidly to 150-160 mm for lab experience Opened control valve and...

instructor to supply a list of situations where a nurse might make requests, and we later asked the students a similar question. We wanted our students to be aware of the different ways it might be appropriate to word a request. For example, the form of request might vary depending on the person the nurse is addressing. The nurse might request a physician to write an order for a physical restraint or to examine a patient. The nurse might ask another nurse to help lift a patient or to give advice about a patient. The nurse also makes requests of patients — asking them to lie down, or not smoke — and of patients' guests — asking them to step outside while medication is being administered. Sociolinguistic factors play an important role in determining the wording of the requests. We discussed the various forms of requests with our students and we tried to use role plays to simulate situations like those above, to practice those different forms.

The Language of Charting

As we noted previously, the language used to keep medical records is very precise. Word lists, similar to the one in Figure 3 were supplied by the Health Occupations Program at MTI. We spent class time reviewing these word lists in preparation for later work on charting. On the left side of the list in Figure 3 is a word for a physical phenomenon that the nurse might observe, usually the nontechnical word for it. On the right side is the term which would be used for charting this phenomenon. What we would like to point out is that many times the vocabulary on the left would be just as unfamiliar for our students as the vocabulary on the right. For most of our students, the word flabby is no easier than the word flaccid; undernourished is just as difficult as emaciated. So we were faced with the task not only of teaching them the charting vocabulary but of making clear to them that this vocablary is not always appropriate when they are talking to a patient, or, in fact, in most contexts other than charting.

Figure 3
MTI material related to charting

Concerning	Factor to be charted	Suggested term to use
Abdomen	Hard, board-like	Hard, rigid
	Soft, flabby	Flaccid, relaxed
	Blown up	Distended
	Hurts when touched	Sensitive to touch
Appearance, general	Thin and undernourished	Emaciated
	Fat	Obese
Amounts	Large amount	Profuse, copious, free, excessive, measured amount
	Moderate amount	Moderate, measured amount
	Small amount	Small amount, scanty, slight, very little, measured amount
Appetite	Very fussy about foods, refuses to eat many foods	Has definite likes and dislikes concerning food
	Eats all food served	Appetite good
	Eats very little	Appetite poor (State exactly what is eaten)
	Loss of appetite	Anorexia
	Refuses to eat	Refuses food (State reason)
	Eats only small amount	Appetite fair
Attitude (mental)	Not interested in surroundings	Indifferent
	Has "don't care" attitude	Apathetic
	Doesn't believe anything said	Suspicious, distrustful

(etc.)

In addition to a technical vocabulary, charting also requires a particular style of writing. Take, for example, this sample of narrative charting supplied by the technical coordinator:

> 6/14/81 10 a.m. very listless. Speech is quite slurred and is difficult to understand. Appetite poor. Needs assistance c A.D.L.'s. Just wants to be in bed. Has no interest in anything. Talked to daughter Gloria and gave her complete report of condition. It was also mentioned to daughter the possibility of skilled care.
>
> B. Smith, L.P.N.

The chart differs from standard prose in a number of ways. It incorporates abbreviations; it deletes the subjects of sentences; it sometimes deletes forms of the verb be; and it deletes possessive pronouns and articles. We are tempted to say that it incorporates many of the deviations from standard usage that were characteristic of our students' mistakes, except that, because of the deletions, verb endings become especially important to the meaning.

After reviewing the rules for this charting style, we gave the students sets of individual sentences and asked them to change them into charting style. For example, the student would transform a sentence like "At 10 a.m. the patient was very listless" into "10 a.m. very listless." Later, we gave the students an entire passage in standard prose and asked them to turn it into the kind of writing they would use for charting. (We found similar exercises in a text, Writing Skills for Nurses (Schneller and Goodman 1983) that we were able to adapt for use with our students.)

When the students began charting in their clinical experience we noticed the tendency to adopt charting abbreviations and language in other writing contexts. We never totally succeeded in weaning them of this habit. On one occasion, we turned the exercise around and asked the students to change an example of charting into standard prose. We still feel that it is important not only to teach medical English skills with the technical orientation but to teach students to recognize when these styles are appropriate and when they are not.

PROBLEMS

Some of the difficulties we faced are common to situations where English for special purposes is taught: scarcity of suitable materials, the absence of scheduled time for interaction between English teachers and technical staff, the absence of suitable assessment tools, and the limitations of a situation where students regard the language class as less important than other classes. But our problems were also colored by our specific situation and the fact that our project was the first of its kind. We felt that we were exploring new territory; we made original mistakes, and we learned from them.

Scarcity of suitable materials

American publishing companies have only recently recognized the need for ESP texts, so the choice of ready-made materials was not large. While there are several English-for-medicine texts available, most are designed for students preparing to become physicians. (For a review of available texts oriented toward nursing, see Krochmal 1984.) Because our students had limited English proficiency, such texts were generally not suitable for class. The text we settled on, Nucleus: Nursing Science, is a British text aimed at intermediate-level students. The text is well-organized notionally and has many charts, diagrams and illustrations. It helped provide a frame for our curriculum, and it provided useful reading passages which helped orient our students to the style of technical textbooks; but it only partially met our needs.

More and more as we worked on the project, we were impressed with the complexity of the communication skills a nurse must have. The role of the nurse is sometimes described as attending to the needs of the patient as a whole person, as compared to a doctor, whose role is merely to diagnose and treat illness (Brink 1976). This means that in some respects the communication skills a nurse must have are greater than those a doctor must have. Part of the function of nurse is to translate medical information into terms that the patient can understand. This means that the non-native speaker studying nursing is learning at least two registers: the register of medical discourse and the register that the nurse must use when explaining something to the patient. Some of the materials developed for our project represent an attempt to explore ways of teaching the oral skills which nurses need to develop. We feel the need for more understanding in our field of what, in language learning terms, these needs are and how they can be taught.

Difficulty of communication with the technical staff

It is partly because of the lack of ready-made materials that the lack of communication between technical and language instructors becomes an issue. We had desks in the nursing office, so there was a chance to ask nursing professionals about technical information, but due to differences in our schedules communication between language and technical instructors was not always possible. In addition, there were several technical instructors involved in the project at any given time, and this made it even more difficult to share information.

We tried to deal with the problem in several ways. A simple change of cubicle assignments in the office helped to make nursing instructors more accessible when they were present. The ESP instructor periodically attended technical classes in order to expand his knowledge of the vocational curriculum. Once the students started their clinical training, English classes were held at the clinical site, and we found that this gave us a better perspective on the details of the clinical practice our students were participating in. On one occasion, an ESL instructor visited a nursing station and observed as far as privacy laws permitted.

Beginning in the middle of the first quarter, we held regularly scheduled meetings with the nursing program coordinators and representatives from the sponsoring agencies. At these meetings, it was possible to discuss special problems which individual students had encountered. The meetings helped give us insight into the communication needs of specific students and a better sense of the kinds of interactions that took place in the clinical setting. We strongly recommend that any program where there are both technical instructors and language instructors have regularly scheduled time for interaction among the staff.

Limitations of students' basic English skills

Some of the difficulties we faced teaching English had to do with the fact that we were working with refugees whose background in English was limited to survival-skills English. We felt that our lower-proficiency language students, especially, lacked a solid foundation in English, and this affected the kind of material we were able to present to them. One thing that this meant was that the length of time originally scheduled for English classes had to be extended. A more serious problem, though, was that, in the estimation of some of the instructors, the lower-level students often tended to learn things — what they were being taught in nursing classes as well as what they were being taught in the English classes — by rote, without a real assimilation of what the materials meant. For example, several of our lower-level students seemed to have memorized the dialogues we had used in class to present communicative language skills. They then used these dialogues when they interacted with patients. Their clinical supervisors remarked that their English skills seemed very "wooden" and they they communicated little emotion.

Perhaps the fact that as refugees our students had had more practical experience of life than most university students had something to do with the fact that they were sometimes puzzled or impatient with the more academically oriented materials. They seemed to want materials that were concretely learnable (such as lists of verbs, and clear and distinct rules of grammar) and did not always seem to understand the purpose of activities oriented more toward skills than knowledge, or learner-centered activities which asked them to generate original responses for the class.

Student fatigue

Fatigue on the part of the students was often a factor. Besides pursuing a very stiff academic schedule, our students often held full-time jobs and also tried to maintain families. We believe this will often be the case when students are refugees. In any ESP program there will be a tendency for the students to give priority to their technical classes over their language classes, and the time constraints on our students aggravated this problem. From the beginning of the program, we recognized the need to limit the amount of homework we assigned; but we didn't feel that it was in the interest of the students to avoid homework completely. The students regarded their nursing coursework as extremely important, and while they realized language class was also important, they gave priority to their technical studies. Sometimes the students' English homework was incomplete and other times, even though the students completed their homework, they indicated their frustration about their lack of time to do it well.

Lack of a suitable assessment tool

The question of assessment will pose a difficult problem in most situations where ESP is taught. Standard tests, which measure proficiency in "general English" do not really test what has been taught in the Special Purpose classroom. On the other hand, teacher-made tests may not give program administrators scores which they regard as valid.

This question became one of our biggest problems. We gave the students the Minnesota Battery — the test they had taken before starting the program — at the beginning of the second quarter, and although the results were instructive and helped give the students a feeling of making progress, we were conscious that this in no way assessed their ability to use language as nurses. Another assessment tool, the GED, was built into our program as a requirement, but this was not an assessment tool we were happy with. As ESL instructors we argued that the cultural bias of certain sections of the GED — in particular the social science section — kept it from being a valid measure of the academic skills of the refugees. We found that to ask a student to study history while in the midst of an intensive vocational training program was a distraction and a source of anxiety. The vocational school argued that, since their other nursing students are required to pass the GED, it would be unfair to waive that requirement for a special group unless we could find an equally valid alternative. The issue was discussed at length and a compromise was eventually reached whereby our students were required to pass only the science and math sections of the GED, which they all did.

Part of our dissatisfaction with using any standardized test stemmed from the fact that such a requirement seemed to imply to students that preparing for and passing such a test is adequate preparation for the English skills they will need as nurses, which is in no way true. There still remains the more general need for a test that will adequately assess the language skills of nursing students.

CONCLUSION

We encourage others in our field to continue exploring how language is used in various professions in general and in the field of nursing in particular. Development of an ESP curriculum entails a considerable commitment of time: time is needed to meet with technical experts, time is needed to create materials which focus on the needs of a particular group of learners, and time is needed to develop valid assessment tools. Yet this investment of time is worthwhile, as it enables language learners to concentrate on their very specific needs.

Although the language component of our project is now completed, the students are continuing their intensive technical studies. The higher-proficiency group is preparing for the Minnesota Board of Nursing examinations in late 1985; the lower-level group will take the exams in 1986. Their strong commitment and capacity for hard work promise success on the exams and in their eventual careers as nurses serving the community. Their success will be evidence of an equally strong commitment on the part of the sponsoring agencies and educational institutions that have worked together to make the program achieve its goals.

References

Brink, Pamela J. (ed.). 1976. Transcultural nursing. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Jones, Leo, and C. von Baeyer. 1983. Functions of American English. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kerr, Rosalie, and Jennifer Smith. 1978. Nucleus: English for science and technology: nursing science. London: Longman Group Limited.

Krochmal, Toni M. 1984. Survey review: textbooks for ESP/nursing science. The ESP Journal 3(1):61-73.

List, Anne, and Amos S. Deinard. 1984. Selection issues in health retraining for refugees: program efforts in Minnesota. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, Anaheim, California, November 13, 1984.

Nelson, Eric. 1984. The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: thoughts about teaching relative clauses and other structures. MinneTESOL Journal 4:52-70.

Schneller, Trudy, and Christine Goodman. 1983. Writing skills for nurses: a practical text/workbook. Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing.

Widdowson, H.G. 1981. English for specific purposes: criteria for course design. In English for academic and technical purposes, Larry Selinker, Elaine Tarone, and Victor Hanzeli (Eds.), 1-11. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

MODIFYING AN ESP COURSE SYLLABUS AND MATERIALS THROUGH A TEACHER-PLANNED NEEDS ASSESSMENT*

Karen Sorensen

A teacher-planned needs assessment was used to modify the syllabus of a university-level ESP course aimed at preparing students for academic work in the field of agriculture. The needs assessment included faculty interviews and an analysis of student papers written for agriculture courses — an analysis which included an examination of the agriculture instructors' written comments on student papers. The ESP teacher determined not only what type of written work the students would be required to do in their academic work but what particular aspects of this work might be expecially difficult for non-native speakers of English.

A concern with the specific reasons which learners have for studying English, and the purposes for which they will use their language skills, has given rise in the past 20 years or so to an emphasis on specialized English courses in ESL/EFL programs. The development of courses in English for specific purposes (ESP)—English for academic purposes, English for business and economics, and English for science and technology, to name but a few—has been accompanied by an increasing sophistication in the means of assessing the needs of the learners, and a growing controversy over the manner in which such needs assessments

---

Karen Sorensen, a graduate of the M.A. program in ESL at the University of Minnesota, is the director of the English Studies Program of the Hellenic American Union in Athens, Greece.

*This paper previously appeared in the ESL Working Papers, Number 2, Summer 1982, of the University of Minnesota, edited by Kathryn A. Winkler.

should be applied to curriculum design. Hutchinson and Waters (1980:1) have noted, for example, that "there is a disquieting trend towards isolating needs analysis from other aspects of teaching and learning." The complexities of conducting and using needs assessments have, they claim, made the analysis of learner's needs a specialist's affair and have, in effect, lessened the role of the classroom teacher in planning ESP courses.

This paper will show how a teacher-planned needs assessment was used to modify an ESP course syllabus and how the specific information obtained in that needs assessment was used to develop materials which differ significantly in form and concept from the materials previously used in the course. It is not my intention to propose here yet another "model" for course design, but rather to show that interested classroom teachers can still find needs assessment a manageable and effective approach to solving curriculum problems.

THE BASIS FOR A NEEDS ASSESSMENT

The view of needs assessment as a tool which facilitates curriculum design has generally implied that the needs assessment precedes the development and teaching of the course. In Mackay's model for ESP syllabus design (1981:137), for example, needs assessment would be considered an "information gathering instrument." It is seen only as a part of the initial process of curriculum design.

This view tends to downplay the value of conducting a needs assessment after the design of a course has been decided, or after it is found that an established course does not meet the needs of the students. Yet if curriculum design is seen as an ongoing process, needs assessment has special merits. It can be specific, and therefore easy to administer; it can involve the teacher and the students, who have an immediate practical interest in improving an unsatisfactory situation; and it can, in providing a clearer definition of the problem, point to appropriate solutions.

The needs assessment to be described below was conducted in response to a syllabus problem in an advanced English for science and technology (EST) course. Though the course had been offered a number of times before, this was the first time the course was taught primarily to graduate students, and to students in one major field—agriculture. The textbook for the course, Writing Scientific English by John Swales, was chosen based on the ability level and range of interests of students in previous courses. After less than three weeks of use in this course, the text was found to be inadequate. The students demonstrated that they had already mastered its sentence-level exercises (which were predominant in the book), and had little difficulty in writing the simple experimental descriptions called for. Moreover, as they became aware that, as a group, they had very similar interests—interests which the content of the book did not emphasize—they became increasingly reluctant to work with the book.

The students, however, did express concern that their writing skills were too limited for the work they had to do in agriculture courses. Although, as Schmidt (1981:200) notes, students' intuitions about their learning needs are not always accurate, it seemed reasonable in this case to place some credence in them. These students were not engaged in pre-academic English study, but were studying EST concurrently with graduate courses in their specialties. They were already competing academically with native speakers of English. Clearly, they needed to be exposed to materials which would provide them with the skills they needed in order to succeed in their academic courses.

Of the published materials available, there are a number of advanced ESL texts which now feature technical passages as reading exercises, but very few which attempt to develop technical writing skills. Typical writing exercises in these books require students to write paragraphs based on tables and/or model paragraphs (Mountford 1977:81) or to "summarize (given) instructions in note form" (Mountford 1977:98). An exercise commonly used to elicit a longer response is one which requires an extended description, for example:

> Describe in an orderly and accurate way an instrument or piece of apparatus which is used in the science you are studying. Then prepare clear and detailed instructions for its use, employing diagrams where necessary. (Ewer and Latorre 1969:83)

The preparation for these exercises is essentially a set of grammar drills emphasizing one or more particular structures.

Exercises of this type are useful in refining grammatical skills and in providing practice in certain rhetorical patterns, but the extent to which they adequately prepare students for the kind of writing that is required in courses in their field of study has not been documented. In order to determine what type of materials might bridge the gap between the writing skills stressed in EST classes and the writing skills required in academic classes in the field of agriculture, I needed to know more about the requirements in my students' classes.

As mentioned above, EST materials, and course syllabi in general, have traditionally been based on an assessment of the learners' needs conducted before the class is offered. The syllabus and text for the specific course under consideration here had been determined prior to the decision to offer the course on the campus of the College of Agriculture, a decision which was favorable to the enrollment of agriculture students rather than engineering or liberal arts students. Here was a case, then, where an established course was not meeting the specific needs of its students—a case where a needs assessment was seen to be useful as a corrective tool.

Various methods of conducting a needs analysis for an ESP course have been delineated in the literature. Mackay (1981) stresses the value of a procedural model for the development of an ESP syllabus. He relies on "structured interviews" with both professors and students for his initial assessment tool. Schmidt (1981) has offered a cogent argument for the implementation of case studies as a means of needs assessment. The value of this approach, she asserts, lies in their being "in-depth" studies conducted "over a period of time" (Schmidt 1981:2). Munby (1980) presents an elaborate outline of the procedures to be followed in a formal needs assessment, and Frederickson (1978) cites Taylor's conceptualization of "Needs Theory" in a detailed flow-chart of curriculum development planning stages.

The latter two approaches may be of considerable value to curriculum designers working with a copious amount of lead time, and a variety of resources in setting up a course program, but for classroom teachers looking for solutions to particular problems and working under less than ideal circumstances their complexity eclipses their utility. The approaches described by Mackay and Schmidt, on the other hand, appear less formidable. It should be noted that both appoaches were based on responses to particular situations. Each approach represents an application of available resources in solving an existing problem. It would appear that it is not the unswerving application of one approach that matters as much as the familiarity with a variety of possible approaches and the application of the approach, or combination of approaches, which best suits the specific teaching situation. The approaches which I followed in my needs assessment incorporate some of the suggestions offered by Schmidt and Mackay, but were generally less rigid, due to the pressures of time and the in-process nature of the study.

PROCEDURES

Student Questionnaire

On the first day of class I had distributed a questionnaire to the students in order to gather information on their linguistic and academic backgrounds and their interest in studying EST. Although at the time I had not intended the questionnaire to be part of a formal needs assessment, the information requested and received through it provided a good base from which to begin my study.

The survey revealed the two previously-mentioned significant facts: that the class was composed chiefly of graduate students, and that all students had majors in agriculture or closely related fields. Moreover, it identified the academic courses they were enrolled in and the instructors of these courses. A significant number of my students were enrolled in one or more of five courses:

- Agronomy: Field Crops
- Plant Pathology for Advanced Students
- Plant Physiology: Survey
- Economics of Agricultural Production
- Statistics

Each course represented a core requirement in a particular specialty area in the College of Agriculture.

Faculty Interviews

When problems with the course text and syllabus began to surface and it seemed that a more formal needs assessment would be necessary, I decided to contact the instructors of the above-mentioned courses, and so entered into the "structured interview" step in my needs analysis. This was the most informative and rewarding portion of the study. The instructors were without exception extremely cooperative, honest, and objective about the reasoning behind their course requirements, analytical with regard to the cognitive skills necessary to fulfill these requirements, and sensitive to the needs and problems of their foreign students. It would certainly have been possible to gather the essential facts on course requirements from the printed syllabus distributed in each class, but it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to learn what specific problems the foreign students had in fulfilling the written requirements of these courses without interviewing the instructors.

During the interviews I asked the instructors for a copy of their course syllabus and discussed the course requirements with them, with specific attention to the problems of their foreign students. Since my students had cited writing as a major problem, I specifically examined the course writing requirements. The writing requirements for the five courses which I surveyed are outlined below:

Agronomy: Field Crops

A group discussion problem evaluated on the basis of both an oral and a written report. The written report: two to three pages including the approach used in analyzing the problem, an assessment of the situation presented in the problem, and proposals for obtaining more information.

Plant Pathology

Four reports (each two to five pages) evaluating four distinct "disease situations." Each report to include a selection of a likely pathogen or incitant, a description of the information needed to thoroughly analyze the problem and an explanation of why such information is important.

Plant Physiology

Selection of a journal article to analyze/critique in a 15-20 minute oral presentation.

Economics of Agricultural Production

(1) A written review and critique of three studies using theoretical concepts discussed in the course, *or*

(2) One paper on a relevant problem.

Statistics

Written reports on lab experiments applying statistical methods to data sets.

The amount of written work required in two of the courses, Statistics and Plant Physiology, was acknowledged by the instructors to be minimal. Since I had decided to limit my study to an assessment of the written work required of my students, I was able to focus my attention on the work assigned in Agronomy: Field Crops (henceforth, Field Crops), Plant Pathology, and Economics of Agricultural Production (EcAP). An examination of the writing requirements for these courses revealed one common and salient feature: the mention of a "problem."

Students in Field Crops are responsible for analyzing a given "problem," "collecting information and data" which they feel are needed "to tackle the problem," and writing a report in which their "proposed solution to the problem is stated." The written report on the problem has to include a statement of the approach used in analyzing the problem, and a proposal of where the information necessary to solve the problem might be obtained.

The written report required in Plant Pathology is broken down into four parts. In Part A the students are asked to select a "disease situation" (subsequently defined as a "description of an actual plant disease problem"), consider the symptoms described, decide on the most probable pathogen or incitant, and "indicate why that type of pathogen or incitant is a 'likely candidate'." They are instructed next to "discuss the environmental conditions, cropping practices, cultural practices, and other factors that...must be considered" and to explain why they judge these factors to be important. In Part B the students must describe the materials and methods they would use to "determine the true cause of the problem." Part C asks the students to "identify the pathogen that is responsible for the disease situation and explain" (instructor's emphasis) how they reached their decision. In Part D the students must summarize the problem and "recommend control measures."

Students in EcAP are given a choice between writing an "evaluation of three studies" or writing a paper on a "relevant problem" in which they will "hopefully obtain hard data relevant to the problem." The approved format for handling either choice includes (1) a statement of the problem, (2) a statement of objectives and "formulating hypotheses," (3) methodology procedures, (4) a description of the data used, (5) the presentation of the "analytical results of the study, including implications and conclusions," and (6) a "general evaluation of the study."

In the interviews with the instructors I asked whether they could make any generalizations concerning the quality of work submitted by their foreign students: did non-native speakers of English seem to have special difficulty with any parts of the problem-solving assignments? In reply, two instructors expressed concern over the difficulty some foreign students seem to have in "posing" a problem. The instructor of the EcAP course noted that his students are sometimes surprised when asked "not just to do a problem but to set it up," and the students in Plant Pathology, who are given a set of data, encounter difficulties because they "must come up with questions." The instructors in general indicated that the students have the greatest problem with the "how" and "why" parts of their reports, that is, in responding to requests to "indicate why a certain solution was chosen," "explain why these factors are judged important," or "explain how you reached your decision."

This concern with the process employed to arrive at a solution to a problem seems to place a special emphasis on the students' ability to formulate a logical argument in writing. Did this mean, then, that errors in grammar (and perhaps even in content) would be tolerated so long as the students' writing displayed a certain logic? The instructors agreed that logic was more important than grammatical correctness.

Their agreement on this supported my intuition that a course text laden with mechanical grammar drills was not the best preparation my students could have for these classes. But before I could make any changes in my course syllabus or materials I needed to know more about what was meant by "logical" thought, and to what extent the instructors' statements about its importance in relation to grammatical correctness were true.

When asked to explain what, in their estimation, constituted logical or rational thought, the instructors could only make broad references to the use of the scientific method or the presentation of information in an "organized fashion." These explanations were helpful, but too broad to be of use in evaluating or creating EST materials which might provide practice in this area.

Lackstrom's analysis (1981) of the logical argumentation in discussion problems in EST offered more specific insights. (One of the model discussion problems analyzed by Lackstrom is reproduced in the Appendix.) Lackstrom has proposed that the model answer to discussion problems in EST is in the form of a logical argument which he characterizes as a deductive syllogism. He describes the structure of such an argument as consisting essentially of a "governing principle," which acts as the major premise of the syllogism, "relevant facts," which are applied to the governing principle (as minor premises), and a "conclusion," which is "the logical consequence of the principle plus the facts brought to bear in the course of the argument." In order to understand and form a logical argument there must be added (between the governing principle and relevant facts) statements which assert the relationship of the principle and the facts—statements which apply the facts to the principle. Lackstrom claims that these "statements of applicability" cause particular problems for students. He does not, however, offer any data showing how students fail in composing these statements.

Since the discussion problems which Lackstrom presented differ somewhat (in both their scope and the task they present) from the type of problem which students in the agriculture courses had to solve, it was not possible to directly apply his analysis to the reports required in these courses. His analysis, however, did provide a framework in which to work. His suggestion that particular facets of logical argumentation are especially difficult both conceptually and linguistically (Lackstrom 1981:25) encouraged me to investigate what particular problems foreign students might have with logical argumentation in their reports in agriculture courses. I decided to examine a small sampling of student papers to see whether I could identify any problems similar to those Lackstrom had suggested. Since I would be working with papers which had already been corrected by the instructor, I would, at the same time, also have the opportunity to observe how grammatical errors were treated by the instructors.

Analysis of Student Papers

The papers which I examined (three written by non-native speakers and one by a native speaker) were provided by the instructor of the Plant Pathology course, and were judged by him to be representative of those submitted by the class as a whole. The report consisted of four parts. Although each part was submitted independently for evaluation, it was expected to form a complete unit. For the purpose of this paper I will focus on only one part (Part A) of the report, the part on which both native and non-native speakers received the lowest grades. Students A, B, and C are non-native speakers; Student D is the native speaker.

The task of the students in Part A of the report, as mentioned before, was to identify the likely pathogen in a given "disease situation." They were given the symptoms which marked the situation and were expected to use both that information and information obtained in the lectures, text, and literature to establish one agent as the cause of the situation, and to state why this agent was the likely cause.

Since I wanted to check the instructor's attention to both grammatical mistakes and logical flaws, my analysis of the reports was concerned with identifying two types of problems: those related to grammar and those which were related to logical argumentation. The former were easily identified; most were sentence-level errors: incorrect article usage, lack of subject-verb agreement, and faulty sentence structure. One sentence fragment and two run-on sentences also occurred. All of these errors were found in the non-native speakers' papers. None were corrected or commented on by the instructor. Errors in word choice, punctuation, and spelling occurred in both the native and non-native speakers' papers. Of these, the only spelling error which the instructor corrected was one made by the native speaker: "funjii" for "fungi."

While this indifference to grammatical mistakes may be said to represent only one instructor's grading customs, these findings do confirm that particular instructor's actual adherence to his stated policy. Also, they lend support to the possibility that the instructors who expressed a similar attitude, and perhaps even other instructors, would regard grammatical mistakes with the same leniency. It would be useful to have more data on this from other instructors in agriculture.[1]

What is significant, however, is that the comments which the instructor made on the students' work generally did not occur where grammatical errors occurred, but were related principally to information gaps in the students' presentation of their arguments. The questions and comments which the instructor wrote on the non-native speakers' papers were generally concerned with three main problems:

(1) the mentioning of a fact without showing how it applied to the given situation,

(2) the ignoring of facts which did not fit into a convenient generalization, and

(3) the elimination of a class of factors as possible disease agents because of the characteristics of a particular member of the class.

Examples of these problems are given below, first in simplified analogies, and then in the form in which they appeared in the students' papers.

---

[1] That the instructor did not correct the grammatical errors is not to say that he was not at all affected by them in assigning grades—a separate study could be devised to test this more accurately.

(1) The mentioning of a fact without showing how it applied to the given situation. An example would be the case where, in diagnosing the death of a patient, a doctor states that a certain poison is a likely cause of death because it causes death in ducks, without specifically mentioning whether the poison has been shown to have the same effects on humans, or if ducks and humans are vulnerable to the same poisons.

Student A states that bacteria could be considered as the cause of the disease situation, and mentions one bacterium as being responsible for the symptom "birds eye spots" in tomatoes. This example is unchallenged by the professor: it refers clearly to a symptom—spots—which appears in the disease situation and to the specific plant under discussion: tomatoes. In another paragraph, however, the student states:

> Psdeudomonai phaseolicola causal agent of halo blight of bean,

which draws the comment:

> How does this apply?

He has (a) not identified this agent as a bacterium; (b) not alluded to the presence of the halo symptom in the problem; and (c) not made any connection between disease agents or symptoms in bean and tomato plants. In other words, he has not made any statement which applies this fact to the general situation described.[2]

Student A's failure to make a "statement of applicability" in relating the fact he presents about halo blight in beans to the given disease situation seems to provide some support for

---

[2] In order to realize the effect of the omission of this "statement of applicability" it is helpful to refer to the example of the logical argument which appears in the appendix.

Lackstrom's assertion that such statements can cause difficulty for students.

(2) The ignoring of facts which do not fit into a convenient generalization. As an example, consider the case of a doctor who, in diagnosing the death of a patient, posits strangulation as the cause, based on his observation of bruises around the patient's neck. In doing this, he ignores the evidence of a bullet wound in the patient's chest.

In his report, Student B states:

> Fungi and viruses seem to be considered as causal agent of these symptoms,

which elicits the questions:

> Why viruses? Do they normally cause such symptoms?

The student's argument for viruses includes the citing of two viruses which cause fruit spotting but the instructor notes:

> But what about the leaf (and) stem symptoms?

The student has disregarded two facts given in the situation in making his generalization.

(3) The elimination of a class of factors as possible disease agents because of the characteristics of a particular member of the class. An example of this would be a doctor's ruling out poison as the cause of a patient's death because one particular poison causes internal bleeding and no internal bleeding was observed.

Student C takes one symptom (necrotic spots) and notes that it can be caused by three general categories of agents: bacteria, fungi, and abiotic incitants. He then mentions one more symptom (halo chlorosis) and notes that it can be caused by two of those agent categories (bacteria and fungi). He therefore (correctly) eliminates one category: abiotic incitants. (It is interesting to note that he does not, however, make this elimination explicit.) He then names a specific fungus which does not cause one of the symptoms (halo) and makes the conclusion:

> So, causal organism is possibly bacteria...

He has used a fact associated with a specific member of a class and has applied it to all other members of the class. This mistake implies a misunderstanding of the relationships of different class members to each other, that is, what makes them form a class, and what makes them form distinct members of that class.

The native speaker, Student D, progresses along the same line of reasoning as Student C, proposing fungi, abiotic incitants, and bacteria as causes, based on one symptom, and eliminating abiotic incitants when another symptom is considered. She does not, however, further narrow down the possibilities. Instead, she (a) cites (in the form of questions) the specific disease situation facts she would need to know to do this, and (b) makes it clear how she would apply these facts in making a generalization regarding the pathogen. The following example illustrates this device:

> I would like to know the pattern of infection.
> (a) Is it localized around infection centers indicating a spread of infection
>
> (b) which is common with bacteria.

The instructor's comments on the native speaker's paper do not reflect a concern with the three problems identified above, but are principally requests for more detail in the facts stated. For example, Student D's statement that

> Bacteria...usually need warmer temperatures and high humidity...

elicits the comment:

> (warmer temperatures) than what?

Both the native and non-native speakers' papers, then, drew criticism for omitting certain information. The majority of comments in the non-native speakers' papers were directly related to problems in the students' formulation of a logical argument. There were, in addition, comments which reflected the instructor's concern with a lack of thoroughness in the students' reports. For example, in Student B's paper the instructor notes:

> What else can cause necrotic spots?
> Bacteria
> Abiotic - chemicals like herbicides.

And on Student A's paper:

> Why did not (sic) exclude or not consider abiotic incitants like chemicals, etc.?

In a follow-up interview with the instructor, he emphasized that this problem of "overlooking evidence" prevented the students from making the "thorough evaluation of the various aspects of the problem" which was required.

The analysis of the argumentation in the papers allowed me to isolate, then, some specific problems which some non-native speakers had in completing a written assignment in an agriculture course, an assignment which is typical of courses in this field of study. The students, as might be expected, had problems with grammar; however, this was found to be of little consequence in the communication of their ideas. The analysis of the papers suggests that the inability to set forth a logical argument (a problem described by the instructors in the interview stage of this needs assessment) is related, in at least one kind of problem-solving activity, to the failure to express relationships between facts and to form accurate generalizations.

CONCLUSION

The use of an error analysis of student writing in a special field, and the consideration of the point of view of the specialist teacher are not traditional steps in an ESP needs analysis project. Generally, in the "Developmental Stage" (Mackay 1981:137) an "authentic" example of the genre, such as a model report written by a native speaker, is examined and analyzed for particular linguistic structures and functions. This particular variety of language then forms the "special English" on which materials and course syllabi are based.

Including an error analysis of student papers in this needs analysis was, however, useful in at least two respects. First, it prevented me from focusing exclusively on the linguistic structures in a model report. Had I done so it is likely that I would have, as in traditional needs assessments, identified certain grammatical, rhetorical, and organizational structures as important and devised materials which emphasized these structures. But I would have had no way of knowing that correctness in these structures is less important to specialist teachers than the logical structure of the text. Analyzing the student papers, and seeing the logical shortcomings identified by the instructor, focused my attention on the kind of argumentation expected in reports in agriculture.

The instructor's comments and corrections on the papers guided my analysis allowing me to focus on the particular problems perceived by a specialist in the subject. Even more useful than this, however, was the follow-up interview I had with the instructor. At that time I was able to check my analysis and clarify points which fell between our specialty areas.

On the basis of this needs assessment, then, I was able to determine the type of written work students in university-level agriculture courses are expected to produce; moreover, I learned what particular aspects of this work might cause difficulty for non-native speakers of English. Using these two pieces of information I was able to adjust the course syllabus and to begin designing materials which both focused on the kind of work my students would be required to do in their specialty and provided practice in the skills which they would need in order to complete this work. Realization of the need for practice in selecting and organizing data, posing problems, and drawing conclusions, for example, suggested the design of a data-gathering research project in which the students would work together collecting data, forming hypotheses, and writing a report on their findings. The emphasis in this activity was placed on logical argumentation rather than on grammatical accuracy, although the students did receive practice in the grammatical and rhetorical structures which contributed to the expression of their arguments (for example, practice in making comparisons and using words such as since and therefore to make conclusions explicit.)

Designing materials which would develop the students' ability to express relationships between facts and form accurate generalizations proved to be a challenging task which could not be completed within the academic quarter. However, having a better understanding of the thought process involved in performing the problem-solving activity—knowing, in a sense, some of the building blocks of the process—helped me tremendously in determining how other materials might be used to develop this skill. For example, it would seem practical, in doing checks on reading comprehension, to use multiple choice questions in such a way that the relative value of each alternative is debated and the "whys" and "why nots" of the students' choices are actively discussed. It seems likely, too, that cloze exercises could be used to develop problem-solving skills. In these exercises students are presented with "data" and must supplement the data with other facts they know (generalizations they have been able to make regarding English usage). The students must decide what data to eliminate, what clues are useful, etc., and form a conclusion. If the students are encouraged to argue, and state why they make certain choices, and if as much attention is placed on the process of obtaining the correct answer as on the answer itself, then it seems likely that they will develop an awareness of the kind of argumentation expected in problem-solving exercises.

This paper has shown how the information obtained in a teacher-planned needs assessment was instrumental in making necessary modifications in the design of a course, and in designing the type of materials which could be used in a course with the specific purpose of preparing students for academic work in the field of agricuture. While a number of refinements could have been made in the procedures followed, the assessment as it was conducted (under a variety of constraints similar if not identical to those incumbent on most classroom teachers) did prove to be a practical and effective curriculum design tool.

REFERENCES

Ewer, J.R., and G. Latorre. 1969. A course in basic scientific English. London: Longman Group Ltd.

Frederickson, Charles. 1978. How to develop an English for specific purposes (ESP) curriculum. In English for specific purposes: science and technology, Mary Todd Trimble, Louis Trimble, and Karl Drobnic (Eds.). Corvallis, Oregon: English Language Institute, Oregon State University.

Hutchinson, Tom, and Alan Waters. 1980. ESP at the crossroads. English for Specific Purposes 36:1-6.

Lackstrom, John E. 1981. Logical argumentation: the answer to the discussion-problem in EST. In Selinker et al., 12-22.

Mackay, Ronald. 1981. Developing a reading curriculum for ESP. In Selinker et al., 134-145.

Mountford, Alan. 1977. English in focus: agriculture. London: Oxford University Press.

Munby, J. 1978. Communicative syllabus design. London: Cambridge University Press.

Schmidt, Maxine F. 1981. Needs-assessment in English for specific purposes: the case study. In Selinker et al., 199-210.

Selinker, Larry, Elaine Tarone, and Victor Hanzeli (Eds.). 1981. English for academic and technical purposes: studies in honor of Louis Trimble. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Swales, John. 1971. Writing scientific English. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd.

APPENDIX

The Logical Argument in EST as Presented in a Model Discussion Problem (an example reproduced from Lackstrom, 1981)

Statement	1	The question of whether our universe is
of the	2	actually "pulsating" or "hyperbolic" should
Problem	3	be decidable from the present rate of its
	4	expansion.
Statement	5	The situation is analogous to
of Appli-	6	the case of a rocket shot from the surface
cability	7	of the earth.
	8	If the velocity of the rocket
	9	is less than seven miles per second—the
	10	"escape velocity"—the rocket will climb
General	11	only to a certain height and then fall back
Principle	12	to the earth...On the other hand, a rocket
	13	shot with a velocity of more than seven
	14	miles per second will escape from the earth's
	15	gravitational field and disappear in space.
	16	The case of the receding system of galaxies
Statement	17	is very similar to that of an escape rocket,
of Appli-	18	except that instead of just two interacting
cability	19	bodies (the rocket and the earth) we have an
	20	unlimited number of them escaping from one
	21	another.
Related	22	We find that the galaxies are
Facts	23	fleeing from one another at seven times the
	24	velocity necessary for mutual escape.
	25	Thus we may conclude that our universe
Conclusion	26	corresponds to the "hyperbolic" model, so
	27	that its present expansion will never stop.

Comments: In the argument presented above, note how the "related facts" in lines 22-24 are connected to the "general principle" (lines 8-15) by the "statement of applicability" (lines 16-21). "Galaxies" are mentioned in the statement of the facts, "a rocket" in the statement of the general principle. Both statements refer to "escape" (and) "velocity." The intervening statement of applicability relates the two statements by making a direct comparison between "a receding system of galaxies" and "an escape rocket." The importance of this statement in the logical argument can be seen by reading lines 8-24, omitting lines 16-21.

USING A SENSITIVE TOPIC IN TEACHING LECTURE COMPREHENSION

Colleen Meyers and Diane Erdmann

A sensitive topic can be used effectively in an ESL class. This paper reports on the experience of an advanced listening class with the topic of child abuse. Included are a discussion of the risks of using a sensitive topic, suggestions for minimizing the risks, a justification for using a sensitive topic, and a description of the way in which the authors approached the topic with their students.

The idea of using controversial topics in the ESL classroom is not new; many teachers use controversial topics, ranging from relatively "safe" topics, such as working mothers and the role of the elderly in society, to very sensitive topics, like homosexuality and abortion. It is probably correct to say that teachers have traditionally chosen topics that fall on the "safer" end of the continuum. We decided to try a somewhat risky approach with our students by choosing a topic which falls on the more controversial end of the spectrum. We contacted an expert on the topic of child abuse in the United States and invited him to speak to our advanced listening comprehension class at the University of Minnesota. This paper reports on our experience with that topic.

Before describing the lecture and the activities that we built around it, we will first address three questions: 1) What are some of the risks involved in using such a topic? 2) What can we do to minimize the risks? 3) If it is such a risky venture to use a very sensitive topic, why do so at all?

Colleen Meyers teaches ESL at the University of Minnesota.

Diane Erdmann is a student in the M.A. program in ESL at the University of Minnesota.

THE RISKS OF A SENSITIVE TOPIC

One possible danger of using a topic like child abuse in the classroom is that students will become embarrassed and 'clam up.' Because this topic might be taboo in many societies, open discussion of it — especially in a class with both males and females — may cause some students to withdraw. Another possible risk is that of increasing the sense of alienation students may already feel from American society. Ideally, exposing students to aspects of American society will help them understand the culture better and thus make them more willing and able to interact with members of the culture; however, the danger also exists that our attempts may backfire and actually end up distancing our students by fostering negative feelings about American society.

MINIMIZING THE RISKS

Even though there are risks involved, there are ways we can minimize those risks. With any potentially risky topic, it is important to consider the characteristics of the class. One step is simply to consider the backgrounds of the students in relation to the topic. What countries do the students come from and how do their societies view the topic under consideration? (Answers to the latter question may require some library work or interviewing.) The teacher might also want to survey the students, formally or informally, as to whether they would be willing to deal with the topic in class. Another consideration is the amount of trust and rapport among the students and between the students and the teacher. A sensitive topic would probably work better toward the end of the quarter, at a time when good rapport and a high level of trust are likely to have developed and when the class atmosphere is likely to be more relaxed and open. In our particular case, we took up the topic in the ninth week of a ten-week course with a group who had done a lot of small group work and who seemed open and willing to discuss this type of topic.

Finally, the way of presenting the topic can make a difference. "Easing into" the topic — letting the students know the choice of topic well in advance and not dealing with the most sensitive areas of the topic at the very beginning — can minimize risks. Attempting to maintain an objective tone can also help. For example, the instructor can minimize personal bias and subjectivity by relying on outside sources, such as a guest lecturer, for information.

WHY USE A RISKY TOPIC?

If a topic like child abuse is so risky, why use it at all? The benefit, we feel, far outweighs the risks. Students are often aware of such topics through the media or through conversations with Americans or with other students, but may feel uncomfortable discussing them, either because the topic is taboo in their own culture or because they don't know how to discuss such a topic appropriately in English. By choosing such a topic for the classroom, we can give students experience dealing with a difficult topic in a supportive atmosphere of trust and minimal risk-taking. This experience may make them more willing to enter into conversations outside the classroom; it will, in any case, enable them to discuss the topic more knowledgeably.

PREPARATION FOR THE LECTURE

The day before the lecture we did a preparatory lesson on the topic of child abuse. The all-encompassing goal of the lesson was to give the students an orientation, or frame of reference, from which to listen to the lecture. This goal encompassed three objectives: (1) to find out what students already knew about child abuse and to give them some background information, (2) to get the students to come up with their own questions regarding child abuse, and (3) to get students thinking about issues related to child abuse.

The idea behind the larger goal was that if students have prior knowledge of a topic, they will probably find it easier to understand new information on the topic. Furthermore, if they have questions about that topic, they will have a clear purpose for listening to discourse about the topic, which may also help understanding and retention. As an additional bonus, a preparation session may make it possible to clear up misconceptions students may have about the topic, misconceptions that could inhibit understanding.

At the beginning of the preparatory lesson, we told the students that one section of the blackboard would be reserved for writing questions about the topic that the students might come up with during the course of the lesson. We told them that this would be in preparation for listening to a live lecture on the next day. We encouraged them to think of questions, explaining that if they knew what questions they wanted answered while they listened to the lecture, they would know what to listen for and would perhaps understand more of what they heard.

After informing students of the question format, we asked the students if they knew what child abuse was. There was a lot of discussion at this point. Some students had accurate ideas of what child abuse was, and we used their input to create a general definition of child abuse: "touching a child as a man and wife might touch (sexual abuse) or harming a child physically (physical abuse)." One student brought up the area of child labor, but we decided not to include this in our definition because we wanted the students to focus on "closeted" forms of abuse which were of greater current interest.

We then asked if anyone had heard about child abuse in the news recently and if they had, what they had heard. Some had heard about a series of reports of child abuse in a small Minnesota town which had been in the news for several months; others had heard about some cases of child abuse in day-care centers which had sprung up in the news just prior to our preparatory session. One student, a journalism major, brought out a clipping on child abuse from his briefcase. Another student volunteered that there had been only one account of child abuse in his country and that it had been a case of incest; therefore, he felt that his country was immune from child abuse — or that it wasn't talked about. Some students agreed with him in the sense that they felt child abuse was generally a Western problem; however, others felt that it was more of a global problem and thus a problem in their countries too.

Throughout this discussion, students raised questions which we wrote on the board. We did not attempt to answer any questions. When a student stated an opinion or reflection on the topic, we asked if the student could make a question out of the statement; we did not comment on the statement ourselves. In this way, we tried to put ourselves in the position of guiding the students' thinking processes rather than serving as experts on the subject. Several times this technique resulted in very good questions, including "What is the difference between abuse and discipline?" and "What is done to help the victims of child abuse?"

Next we prepared the students quickly for a taped radio news account about child abuse legislation, and then played the tape. This gave the students some practice listening to discourse about child abuse in addition to giving them new information about the subject. The report was from that morning's broadcast, emphasizing that child abuse was a current topic of concern. After listening to the report, the students were eager to discuss the issue further and to raise more questions which we added to those already on the blackboard.

For a final discussion segment, we divided the students into small groups, using discussion questions from a prepared discussion sheet as a guide. There were five questions:

1. What responsibilities do you believe a parent must carry out when raising a child? What legal responsibilities does a parent have in your country?

2. In your culture, how is a child expected to behave with adults?

3. How do you think the use of drugs and alcohol might affect a parent's ability to relate to a child and carry

out parental responsibilities?

4. The lecturer on slavery talked about human rights and inequality among people. Do children have rights? How might human rights issues influence society's attitudes toward child abuse?

5. Remembering the videotape about the University of Minnesota research on identical twins, do you think there might be hereditary or environmental influences on child abuse? What would those influences be and why would they influence child abuse?

(The last two questions referred to topics from earlier class sessions.) As it turned out, students did not get very far with the prepared discussion questions, but they did actively talk about the topic. Finally, we reconvened as a large group and shared insights from the small group discussions. For homework, the students were instructed to read and think about the questions on the prepared discussion sheet, as well as the questions they had come up with as a class, and to prepare to use these as a guide for listening to the next day's lecture.

THE LECTURE

We planned a full 45-minute period for the lecture; this allowed for a 40-minute lecture and a brief question-and-answer session at the end. The lecturer, a social worker from Family Service of Greater St. Paul, began with some statistics and a historical perspective on child abuse. He proceeded to discuss distinctions among the concepts of child neglect, child abuse, and legitimate discipline of children. He spoke of recent changes in society — its structure and its values — and related these changes to child abuse. He ended by listing several factors (for example, alcohol abuse) which seem to be associated with a higher risk of child abuse.

It should be noted here that the lecturer was not aware of the questions the students had formulated on the previous day; he was simply asked to discuss whatever he thought was relevant to the topic of child abuse. As it happened, most of our students' questions were in fact answered. We want to emphasize, however, that the point is not for the students to formulate questions which the lecturer will inevitably answer. Whether the questions are actually answered is of secondary importance. More important are the process of formulating questions in advance and the purpose for listening that the questions provide. (Of course, it would be discouraging for students if none of their questions were answered, but there are ways of minimizing this risk. One way is to choose a narrow enough topic to that the lecturer is almost certain to answer at least some of the students' questions. Another is to give the lecturer the questions beforehand and ask the lecturer to try to address them during the lecture.)

After his lecture, the speaker asked for questions from the students. His talk had generated a lot of interest, so the students did have questions, ranging from questions about statistics to questions about attitudes toward child abuse.

FOLLOW-UP TO THE LECTURE

The day after the lecture, we asked the students to form groups for discussion. We distributed a handout based on the lecture. The first section of the handout posed questions such as these:

> How did child abuse laws develop?
>
> What is the difference between discipline and abuse?
>
> The lecturer described three types of behavior that fall under the cover term "sexual abuse." What are they? Give an example of each.
>
> What changes in attitudes over the past 20 years have

> led to an increase in reporting child abuse?

Using their notes from the lecture, the students discussed these questions in their groups. The purpose of this activity was to help the students to self-assess how well they had understood the lecture and to get them to focus on some of the cultural values surrounding child abuse in this society.

The second part of the handout, intended to initiate a second phase of discussion, was less limited to the factual content of the lecture. It raised two questions:

> What does the information in the lecture tell you about American cultural values?
>
> Should society step in and protect abused children, or is the family a "sacred" institution that should police itself?

Discussion of these questions also took place in groups, with ideas from each group to be shared later with the rest of the class. It was hoped that these questions would encourage students to synthesize information and to share opinions about issues such as the individual's rights versus government intervention and the role of punishment in child-rearing. The discussion went well; the students realized that a "should" question such as the one above has no simple answer. They became aware of the paradox between the emphasis that American society places on individual freedom and responsibility and the increasing role of society in stepping in and protecting the rights of minors while at the same time overruling those of parents.

CONCLUSION

It is our hope that this paper will serve as a model for designing ESL activities based on other current and controversial topics. Other lectures on aspects of American society could be handled in a similar manner by following the same general format that we followed: choose a controversial topic suitable for your particular group of students; prepare students by getting them to look at different ways of viewing the topic and by discussing the relevant values and attitudes in operation in their own cultures and in what they've observed here; guide them in approaching the topic by encouraging them to formulate questions that will provide a purpose for listening; and provide them with a follow-up discussion in which they have an opportunity to synthesize information from the lecture and to share opinions about the topic.

Minnesota Teachers of English
to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL
Journal

Volume 6 • 1986-1987

347

MinneTESOL Journal
Volume 6 • 1986-1987

Contents

A Word Is Worth a Thousand Pictures: A Writing Project for the Primary Grades 7
Vivian Mann

Teaching Paraphrasing to ESL Students 15
Patricia M. Odean

Self-Monitoring of Articles and Verbs in ESL Written Production 29
Barbara Schwarte
Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Choosing Helpful Examples of Structures 53
Eric S. Nelson

Publications Received 73

MinneTESOL Officers and Executive Board

1985-86	1986-87
President	*President*
Kathryn Heinze Hanges **Concordia College**	Mildred Sprunck **St. Paul Public Schools**
First vice-president	*First vice-president*
Mildred Sprunck **St. Paul Public Schools**	Audrae Coury **Roseville Public Schools**
Second vice-president	*Second vice-president*
John Armbrust / Elaine Matyi **ELS Language Center**	Elaine Matyi **ELS Language Center**
Secretary	*Secretary*
Gail Ibele **University of Minnesota**	Gail Ibele **University of Minnesota**
Treasurer	*Treasurer*
Adele Hansen **University of Minnesota**	Adele Hansen **University of Minnesota**

Members-at-large	*Members-at-large*
1985-86	1986-87
Dorothy Bilheimer	Dorothy Bilheimer
Audrae Coury	Kāren Dudley
Kāren Dudley	Darlene Kunze
Carolyn Nayematsu	Carolyn Nayematsu
Tom Rowland	Dixie Olmstead
Ellen Vaut	Karen Stier-Pulver

349

Journal Editorial Board

Eric Nelson, editor
University of Minnesota
Richard Carr
ELS Language Center
Elizabeth Henly
University of Minnesota
Mark Landa
University of Minnesota
Diane Pecoraro
Minnesota Department of Education
Nancy Ward
Minnetonka Public Schools

Newsletter Editorial Staff

1985-86

Lora Polack, editor
Audrae Coury
Anne DeMuth
Bernie Diehl
Martha Faltesek
Barbara Johnson
Ellen Mamer, editor emeritus
Lois Malcolm
Vivian Mann
Michele McRae
Judith Strohl
Jean Teigland

1986-87

Lora Polack, editor
Anne DeMuth
Ellen Mamer, editor emeritus
Mary Musielewicz
Karen Stier-Pulver

Membership in MinneTESOL

Membership in MinneTESOL ($15.00) includes a subscription to the *MinneTESOL Journal*. Contact the Secretary, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14162, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55414.

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- Editorial policy

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome.

- Manuscripts

Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*.

Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words.

Contributions to volume 7 should be submitted to the new editor:

Prof. Helen Jorstad
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Minnesota
Peik Hall 125
159 Pillsbury Avenue SE
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

- Advertising

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14162, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55114.

351

In this volume

A concern with teaching the written language dominates this volume of the *MinneTESOL Journal*.

Vivian Mann plays on a familiar aphorism in her article, *A Word is Worth a Thousand Pictures: A Writing Project for the Primary Grades*. Mann describes a technique she has developed for stimulating young writers, especially those who are reluctant to express themselves.

Patty Odean, in *Teaching Paraphrasing to ESL Students*, argues that paraphrasing is a complex of various skills. Breaking down the task of paraphrasing, according to Odean, will help students become proficient paraphrasers.

Barbara Schwarte and Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop, in *Self-Monitoring of Articles and Verbs in ESL Written Production*, report on a study that investigated the ability of advanced learners to correct errors in their writing. The authors include pedagogical suggestions for teachers who want to help students improve their monitoring skills.

My own article, *Choosing Helpful Examples of Sructures*, offers advice about a teaching skill that has not received much attention in print: evaluating out-of-context language intended to exemplify structures.

E.S.N.

Books for Language Teachers

The Context of Language Teaching
Jack Richards
Winner of the M.L.A.'s 1985 Mildenberger Award
26565-7 Cloth $24.95
31952-8 Paper $ 9.95

Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching
A Description and Analysis
Jack C. Richards and Theodore S. Rodgers
32093-3 Cloth $24.95
31255-8 Paper $ 9.95

Images and Options in the Language Classroom
Earl W. Stevick
32150-6 Cloth $24.95
31281-7 Paper $ 9.95

Beyond Methodology
Second Language Teaching and The Community
Mary Ashworth
26665-3 Cloth $22.95
31991-9 Paper $ 9.95

Culture Bound
Language Teaching from a Cultural Perspective
Joyce Merrill Valdes, Editor
32526-9 Cloth $24.95
31045-8 Paper $10.95

Course Design
Developing Programs and Materials for Language Learning
Fraida Dubin and Elite Olshtain
25676-3 Cloth $24.95
27642-X Paper $ 9.95

Working With Words
A Guide to Teaching and Learning Vocabulary
Ruth Gairns and Stuart Redman
26889-3 Cloth $24.95
31709-6 Paper $ 9.95

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022

A Word Is Worth a Thousand Pictures: A Writing Project for the Primary Grades

Vivian Mann
St. Paul Public Schools

A technique is described which enables the beginning ESL student to produce an appealing finished writing product in a short time in a stress-free learning environment. Individual ideas are nurtured in a collective setting. The technique has proven effective with children from second to sixth grade and lends itself well to writing instruction that emphasizes free expression and creativity.

Within every ESL class, some students are more proficient in English than others. Some students quickly open up and reveal their opinions with or without adequate language tools. By contrast, some students have mainly a passive knowledge of English and are reluctant to speak or write. And many have the double handicap of low English proficiency coupled with a general reluctance to verbalize even in their native tongues. (Those who read at grade level with good comprehension and who are articulate in English are likely to be removed from ESL classes.) The technique for teaching writing in the primary grades which I will describe in this article is a technique that is especially well suited to those students who are reluctant to express themselves.

I would like to present here a set of lessons which is geared to the needs of reluctant writers, especially those with low English proficiency.

THE PLAN: SEVEN STEPS

Step 1: An oral performance by the teacher

The first step in the lessons involves a key word chosen by the teacher and an unrelated series of sentences in which the key word appears. I choose a word which is not a proper noun or a verb. Common nouns and adjectives are best. The word must be familiar to the entire group and it must be one that can elicit many associations. Words such as the following are well suited to the activity:

Nouns		Adjectives	
bike	friend	afraid	favorite
birthday	garden	brave	huge
cats	neighbor	cold	sick
fishing	vacation	famous	yellow

I show the students the written word on a large card which is displayed in a central place. I do not use pictures; I feel that a picture is superfluous and may in fact stifle the children's imagination. The well-chosen word conjures up mental pictures on its own.

After displaying the word, I say to the students, "Today I will show you how I can take one word and turn it into many sentences. Soon, you will be able to do the same thing." Then I begin to speak extemporaneously. I utter sentence after sentence, each containing the chosen word. The students are bombarded with at least twenty disjointed sentences which I say as rapidly as I can, without notes. (Teachers who are hesitant about trying this may want to use notes; it may not be easy for a teacher not used to the technique to come up with a long series of sentences with the key word.) I deliberately avoid getting into a set pattern of beginnings or endings because I wish to highlight the word, not a particular sentence pattern. If the key word is *vacation*, my sentences might be:

Vacations are fun.
I have just finished my vacation.
My best vacation took place three years ago in Canada.

My husband and I took a vacation together this year.
Everybody should take a vacation at least once a year.
Most vacations are in summer.
Sometimes you ask for a vacation.
Vacations cost money.
I saw lakes and rivers on my vacation.
I rode in three boats on my last vacation.
You can take a trip or stay home on your vacation.
Children like to go to camp on vacation.
I love to swim during my vacation.
Friends can visit me when they have their vacations.

This teacher performance--with seeming indifference to onlookers--is a long solo for a teacher who professes a belief in interactive teaching. My rationale is simply that it works. For one thing, the very fact that it is an unusual way of using language makes it interesting to the children. It also gives the children an opportunity to see the teacher thinking, creating, and having fun with words. Like Tom Sawyer whitewashing the fence, I lure the children into curiosity and a willingness to join in the fun. I present them with words to stimulate a pageant of visuals that emerges out of their own minds. I make them realize that--to reverse the aphorism--a word is worth a thousand pictures. As I reel off sentence after sentence, I can see by the expressions on their faces that they are actively imagining the many scenes that my sentences suggest. I gesture and change my tone and expression often, but I use no pictures or props.

In this step, I don't expect every child to understand every word. My language is usually simple, but not always. The important thing is that my performance is understandable enough to pique interest and evoke mental images.

Step 2: Yes/no questions

In the second step, I ask yes/no questions, again using the key word. The questions are directed to the group as a whole. The children answer out loud, spontaneously but not chorally. There are no anticipated correct answers, and I don't respond to answers. In this step I use written questions (not seen by the children) to assist me. I go from one question to the next without hesitation and without discussion. Questions for the word *vacation* might be:

> **Do you like vacations?**
> **Did you ever go on a trip during your vacation?**
> **Does your mother like taking vacations?**
> **Do we go to school on vacations?**
> **Do you go fishing (swimming, to the library) during vacation?**
> **Is there a vacation during winter?**
> **Are vacations one week?**
> **Are vacations one year?**
> **Are vacations sad?**

Why don't I respond to the answers? I want the students to feel that they are not being evaluated at this point, that "anything goes," including shouting "No way!" when others are shouting "Yes!" They may use one-word answers, they may use slang, they may blurt out comments as they wish. I can see by their diverse answers and by the increased forcefulness of their voices that they are listening to me, responding honestly, and thinking about their personal experiences. Who says that every utterance must be significant and must be met instantly with a concerned remark? Certainly not the children. Anything that smacks of additional play time or experimentation time, with a little raucousness to boot, is a treat for them.

In this phase, I try to assure the students that they won't be instantaneously categorized and judged by their speech. When I begin to respond in the next step, they are usually eager for a reaction and curious to see how I receive their friends' remarks as well as their own.

Step 3: Sentences from students

In the third step, each student must say one sentence that is somehow different from those of the other students. Students are permitted to repeat a sentence from the original teacher performance in step one, but no two students may repeat the same sentence. The students are to listen to each other and to avoid mimicry. Soon they become very adept at attributing "ownership" to sentences and at finding ways to achieve the required variation. They comment, "I said that one" or "Chue said that already!" When they falter, unable to come up with a sentence using the key word, I give them clues: "Think of things you have heard...seen...gotten...liked...bought..." In this step, the children begin to discover that they, like the teacher, are capable of using words creatively. Even as they are constrained by the need to use the key word, they stretch their imaginations in the effort for novelty.

In this step, variation in thought or sentence structure is given special praise. This is the point at which I respond to each contribution with some comment or question:

> Child A: I like to go fishing on vacation.
> Teacher: That sounds like fun! Do you know how to fish?
> [I don't pursue the subject further. A comment or question or two will suffice.]
>
> Child B: I sleep at my cousin's house during vacation.
> Teacher: That's always nice. Where does your cousin live?
>
> Child C: On Christmas vacation we went to our sponsors'.
> Teacher: You're telling me something new and different. Most people take vacations in the summer. But some people take them in the winter. And you're remembering a winter vacation.

As the students produce sentences, I type them on a primary typewriter (a typewriter that produces extra-large type), spacing the lines so that the sentences may be cut apart with scissors later.

Step 4: Reading the sentences together

We read the sentences aloud. My favorite technique is to xerox the sentences, make a transparency, and flash it on the wall. Together, we read the sentences aloud very slowly, sounding out the more difficult words.

Step 5: Illustrating the sentences for an exhibit

I cut out each one of the sentences which have been typed on the xeroxed sheet and then every child picks one or more sentences to illustrate for our bulletin board exhibit. I tell them that their pictures should not be alike. If there are eight children, then the pictures should reflect eight different sentences. Usually both the pictures and the sentences are quite different. Once when *vacation* was the key word, we had a bulletin board with a pool, a fishing scene, a picnic, a park, California, the zoo, a garden, summer school, a visit to Grandma, baking cookies, and traveling in a car.

Step 6: Writing based on the pictures

When the pictures are completed, I ask the students to write about the pictures. I give them a choice: they may do their own writing or they may dictate to me. If they dictate to me, I type their "story," and they copy what I have typed. Primary students often cannot retain their thoughts long enough to record them, especially when the act of writing is laborious. They can copy, however, when relieved of the responsibility of holding on to their ideas. And the ideas remain theirs alone: I do not contribute ideas as I type. I do edit for minor corrections, doing so out loud, discussing each correction with the child.

When the students submit their stories or dictate to me, I avoid negative critiquing. I make no attempt to teach structure beyond the insistence on complete sentences, capitals, and end-of-sentence punctuation. I do not try to teach coherence and organization at this juncture. I do expect that the students' words will fit their pictures and not contradict what they have drawn. In this sense, the "stories" are meaningful and tied to a context. Imaginative students sometimes add a dialogue, labels, humorous asides, background thoughts, or intriguing insights. To a picture of someone who is having bad luck, for example, a student might add a "dialogue balloon" with the words "Oh, no, not again!"

Here is an example of a "story" produced by a student to go with a picture of a family riding in their car, with the caption "My father and mother and my family traveled in the car":

We went to the park. We played with a ball. We went fishing too.

Another example accompanied a picture of a visit to the zoo which was captioned "I was happy when my mom and dad took me to the zoo this vacation":

> My mom bought some pop for me and my dad. It was a hot day. My dad took me to see the seals. Then my father bought some fish food. We threw it to the seals.

Step 7: Reading the "stories" together

The students read their writing to each other, showing the pictures and making comments. We often play the "I like" game: "I like Teng's sentence about..." or "I like the funny ears on his elephant." The children then help me arrange the display of pictures and "stories." The key word that began the series of lessons captions the exhibit. The end product is a collective collage of ideas in which the children take pride.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

As our students advance, their needs change. They need to learn how to organize their thoughts, how to capture and hold the reader's attention, and how to write with appropriate style and grammar. I branch out to these skills with each student when he or she is ready. The seven-step project, as described here, helps lay the foundation for further work. With its emphasis on spontaneity, experiences related to the students' lives, a collaborative effort, a realistic short-term goal, and an appealing end product, it can help transform the reluctant writer into a beginning writer who is eager to write on.

□

The author

Vivian Mann teaches ESL at Sheridan Elementary School in St. Paul.

Teaching Paraphrasing to ESL Students

Patricia M. Odean
Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute
Albuquerque, New Mexico

ESL students in an academic program must be able to write paraphrases, yet they often lack strategies for accomplishing this task successfully. The task of paraphrasing requires reading, analyzing, and writing skills. In this paper those skills are identified, and exercises are suggested to promote their development. By dealing with each skill separately and then combining them gradually, students are better prepared to undertake the complex task of paraphrasing.

Paraphrasing is a daily activity. In speaking, we paraphrase our own words to provide clarification or emphasis. We paraphrase a conversation partner's words to show we comprehend or to check our comprehension. Often we contribute to a discussion by paraphrasing a third person's words. Paraphrasing, in these situations, is done without conscious effort.

But writing paraphrases for academic purposes requires conscious attention. This kind of paraphrasing requires fitting another writer's ideas into one's own text while avoiding plagiarizing the first writer's text. It is a complex activity, composed of reading, analyzing, and writing skills. The paraphraser must decode a text, fully comprehend it, analyze how it relates to the ideas of the text under construction, select new vocabulary and structures to restate the ideas, and, finally, judge whether all of these steps have been successfully completed. Considering the complexity of the task, it is not surprising that college instructors complain of plagiarism in student papers. What may be surprising, however, is that most college composition textbooks lack instructional materials for developing paraphrasing ability. A few examples might be provided, or the advice to avoid plagiarism by restating the text "in your own words" might appear in a brief paragraph. Until recently, textbooks did not provide strategies for writing paraphrases, perhaps because paraphrasing seems like an overwhelming task.

A sensible strategy for teaching a task which appears overwhelming is first to discover the component skills of the task and then to classify them in order to design a logical sequence for teaching. Obviously, many of the skills we teach in our reading, composition, grammar, and vocabulary classes contribute to a student's ability to paraphrase. But there is more we could be doing, and some we could be doing sooner.

Classification of skills needed for paraphrasing can begin with a distinction between how to produce a paraphrase and how to use one. Producing paraphrases consists of reading and rewriting an isolated passage. Using a paraphrase consists of selecting an appropriate passage to paraphrase and integrating it into a new text. Although this division does not reflect the actual sequence of steps we go through when we paraphrase, it is nonetheless a pedagogically useful division.[1]

PRODUCING PARAPHRASES

Understanding the source material

Paraphrases usually originate in sentences which have sophisticated syntax. Thus, to produce a successful paraphrase, students must be able to understand difficult passages in detail. The ESL college freshmen who were subjects for research reported in Odean (1986) demonstrated a weakness in reading skill. For example, one of the texts they paraphrased was:

---

[1] The sequence of steps we go through in paraphrasing is likely to be 1) reading, 2) selecting, 3) writing, and 4) integrating; my label "producing" combines the first and third steps; "using" combines the second and fourth.

> A child who witnesses parental attempts to solve family problems or release frustrations through aggressive behavior is likely to incorporate this into his or her own behavior patterns. If being abused as a child does in fact lead to aggressive behavior, the seeds of this cycle may be manifested early in life relationships with peers and/or siblings, and, when greater strength is gained, in confrontations with parents or caretakers. (Kratcoski, 1982, p. 437.)

One ESL student's paraphrase of this passage included:

> By looking at the child's behavior...you could notice whether a child is being abused or not.

Clearly, this student and others like him need more practice and better strategies for understanding complex passages. In the following sections, I will discuss exercises for developing such strategies.

Simplification exercises

Familiarizing students with the strategy of generating simpler restatements of a difficult passage is one way to help them learn to understand such passages. The following exercise is an example of how to begin this process:

> Directions: Identify the statement which has the same meaning as the following:
>
> A child who witnesses parental attempts to solve problems or release frustrations through aggressive behavior is likely to incorporate this into his or her own behavior.
>
> a) Parents usually respond to violent children by using violence.
> b) If a child sees his parents use violence, he will probably learn to be violent.
> c) If a child is violent, it is because his parents are violent.

Students must, of course, be required to produce simplifications as well as recognize them. To begin with, it may be best to practice producing simplifications in speech. Since speech usually has simpler syntax than writing, simplifying through speech may come more easily. And even when students are ready to simplify in writing, it may be useful for them to have the opportunity to discuss passages before writing simplifications. A student who understands a text but has difficulty simplifying it may be helped by being asked to explain it to someone who doesn't understand it (or at least pretends not to). The explanation is likely to result in simplification.

Extracting sentence kernels

Barnitz (1979) and Saville-Troike (1979) agree that having students extract sentence kernels can help them understand difficult sentences. This process is also referred to as "decombining" sentences. Exercises based on the following example (which includes the expected responses) can familiarize students with this strategy.

> Directions: Write three simple sentences using only the information provided in the following sentence:
>
> Democracy was invented as a device for reconciling government with liberty.
>
> 1. *Democracy was invented.*
> 2. *Democracy is a device.*
> 3. *Democracy reconciles government with liberty.*

Identifying word groups

Saville-Troike (1979) emphasizes the importance of reading in phrases. In order to do this, students need to recognize the boundaries between word groups, even in passages with complex syntax. For example, a proficient reader would divide the following between *civilization* and *men*:

> At the dawn of civilization men must have counted new moons and quarters to measure time intervals... (Kuhn, 1957)

One of the subjects in Odean (1986) divided the sentence incorrectly, resulting in an awkward noun phrase and a misunderstanding of the initial prepositional phrase. The student's paraphrase read:

> The civilization men organize fundamental units into long term calendar which is easily understood by counting new moons and quarters many times at dawn...

Exercises which require students to divide passages into word groups can be done at all reading levels to diagnose problems. Answers to these exercises should be discussed, since there may be several acceptable solutions. Both Grellet (1981) and Saville-Troike (1979) include exercises for developing the skill of reading in phrases.

Cloze exercises

Cloze exercises require students to fill in blanks which have been created by deleting words from a text. Although cloze exercises have traditionally been used for testing, they can help students learn how words function in texts by focusing attention on how logical possibilities are limited by the syntax and meaning of a text. The following exercise is based on one of the passages cited above:

> Directions: Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.
>
> A child who witnesses parental attempts to ________ family problems or release frustrations through aggressive behavior is likely to incorporate this into his or her own behavior patterns. If being abused as a child does in fact lead to aggressive ____________, the seeds of this cycle may be manifested early in life relationshiops with peers and/or __________, and, when greater strength is gained, in confrontations with __________ or caretakers.

An additional benefit of cloze exercises is that they foster an awareness of what constitutes a synonym. Also, they can be easily prepared by teachers.

Identifying referents

Pearson (1981) emphasizes the need to give students practice in understanding reference early in their language learning. Misunderstanding reference can cause difficulties in complicated passages, with resulting faulty paraphrasing. Students should be encouraged to sort out referents in difficult passages, as suggested by Grellet (1981). An exercise in identifying referents might look like this:

> Directions: Draw an arrow from the underlined words to the word or words they refer to.

Democracy was invented as a device for reconciling government with liberty. It is clear that government is necessary if anything worthy to be called civilization is to exist, but all history shows that any set of men entrusted with power over another set will abuse their power if they can do so with impunity. Democracy is intended to make men's tenure of power temporary and dependent upon popular approval. In so far as it achieves this, it prevents the worst abuses of power.

Answering questions

Finally, questioning can be used to focus attention on various aspects of a text to determine what type of constructions may be interfering with comprehension. Such aspects include meaning, reference, inference, and grammar. The following questions are based on the passage above about child abuse:

1. Who are the first group of people children are likely to behave aggressively with? [meaning]
2. What does "this cycle" in the second sentence refer to? [reference]
3. Does the author believe it has been proven that children who are abused develop aggressive behavior? [inference]
4. What are the subject and main verb of the first sentence? [grammar]

Developing flexibility for rewriting

Recognizing and exploiting synonymity

The second skill I identified in producing paraphrases was that of rewriting the passage. If students are to master this skill, they must begin by learning, early in their instruction, to recognize semantic and syntactic synonymity. This is a prerequisite to exploiting synonymity as a successful paraphraser does. Students can be encouraged to make productive use of synonymous expressions early in their ESL work as well. To this end, Pearson (1981) suggests that students, in answering comprehension questions about a reading, should not be allowed to copy from the text. This will encourage them to build syntactic and semantic flexibility.

Sentence-combining

Sentence-combining exercises can also be used to develop flexibility in structure. Klassen (1976) tested the effects of sentence-combining exercises on intermediate ESL students and found that they were very useful in expediting syntactic development. Zamel (1980) also acknowledges that sentence-combining "can help the students understand that the sentence is a base structure to which other information can be attached rather than a string of words that cannot be broken into or rearranged" (p. 89).

Sentence-combining can be difficult. It requires preparation and follow-up. An exercise can begin with a discussion of the relationships among the short sentences provided. Then individuals or small groups can work to combine the sentences. The products can be compared to those of other students. Sentence-combining can often reveal difficulties students are having with grammar. Tackling these problems can help them both in reading and in writing.

A number of books for native speakers of English provide sentence-combining activities. Two which can be used for non-native speakers as well are Daiker, Kerek, and Morenberg (1979) and Strong (1973). Provided that vocabulary and content are discussed before students combine sentences, these books are suitable for intermediate and advanced ESL students.

Rewriting the passage

Some sources for developing rewriting strategies

The flexibility that students gain from an understanding of synonymity and from sentence-combining exercises must eventually be put to use in the actual rewriting of passages from sources. A few recent non-ESL textbooks may be useful in helping students when they are ready to begin rewriting passages. Bazerman (1985) provides and exemplifies strategies for restating ideas. Bazerman suggests that students first substitute synonyms into the original passage, aided by a thesaurus, and then restructure the sentences. Restructuring, according to Bazerman, can consist of breaking longer sentences into shorter ones, combining short sentences into longer ones, changing the verb structure of the sentence (changing active to passive, for example), or moving phrases. These suggestions are similar to those of Spatt (1983), who proposes that students first write a "literal paraphrase" in which synonyms have been substituted for key words, and then use the literal paraphrase to write a "free paraphrase"--one in which the sentence pattern will be altered to avoid sounding stilted. Spatt also provides examples and exercises for learning these techniques.

Kennedy and Smith (1986) propose an approach similar to that of Bazerman and Spatt, but provide more examples and exercises for the discrete steps than the other authors. Hence, their materials are probably more useful for ESL students. They discuss, for example, how to move phrases, and they include an exercise which provides practice in that skill.

Setting aside the original text

Strategies such as moving phrases, changing voice, substituting synonyms and the like are important, but they may, if overemphasized, lead students to see paraphrasing as simply a matter of manipulating another writer's words. Students must eventually see paraphrasing more as an exercise in rethinking information and letting it come out in their own voices. To this end, the best strategy may be for the students to set aside the original text long enough to forget the wording but not the information. The paraphrases that result from this strategy are likely to be less artificial and more in tune with the students' own prose. Paraphrases written in this way can still be checked for accuracy by later scrutiny of the original alongside the paraphrase.

USING PARAPHRASES

Students who have been provided with passages to practice on and have written paraphrases in isolation are ready to learn the more difficult skill of using paraphrases. To begin with, students must learn how to select appropriate passages for paraphrasing and how to integrate the paraphrases into their own texts.

Selecting material to paraphrase

Analyzing material and relating it to ideas outside the text

Like producing paraphrases, using paraphrases begins with reading. Early in learning to read, students need to become aware of how different passages function in a text. Many reading textbooks have exercises which help students recognize arguments, details, explanations, and examples. In addition to understanding how passages function within the text in which they are found, students must also learn to relate the passages to ideas outside the text. The teacher can help students develop this skill starting with the earliest stages of reading--by encouraging discussions which diverge from the reading and then go back to the text to isolate passages which might relate to the discussion. Another way to help students develop the skill of relating a reading to ideas outside the reading is to have students read texts from different sources on the same topic and discuss how the texts compare and contrast not only as a whole, but also in specific passages.

Examining sample research papers

Having students look at finished research papers can give them an idea of how other writers have chosen and used material for paraphrasing. Many textbooks on writing research papers provide models, some including excerpts from the sources used. Both Bazerman (1985) and Lester (1984) provide models with marginal notes explaining how the writer used various sources.

Integrating the paraphrase

In addition to selecting passages from sources, students must learn to integrate them into their papers. Again, examining how other writers have handled this process, as in the exercises in Bazerman (1985) and Lester (1984), can be helpful. Such textual features as how much original material appears with the paraphrases and how paraphrases and quotations can be combined can help students learn to make decisions when writing their own papers. Noting the language used to signal the purposes of the paraphrases--purposes such as presenting an opposing opinion or providing an example--can guide students in making their own papers more coherent.

The problem of the "cut-and-paste" paper

A major pitfall students need to avoid is that of producing a "cut-and-paste" paper. The cut-and-paste paper results from viewing source material as bits of information to be pieced together. Students must be encouraged instead to view source material as something they can use to supplement their own ideas and interpretations. Students who are not confident of their English skills often have difficulty accepting this view, especially since most academic writing evolves out of reading. It becomes easy to let the sources take over; it becomes difficult for students to discover their proper roles as authors.

How can the teacher help students become masters rather than servants of their sources? Having students set aside their readings and do prewriting activities (including discussions) to explore their reactions to the topic and what they have read can help them put the sources into perspective and arrive at their own point of view about the topic. Having established their own positions, they will be better able to provide solid skeletons of papers, to which they can add source material. If they establish that skeleton first, they have a paper which can stand on its own, independent of its sources.

A GRADUAL APPROACH

In order to help students gain confidence in themselves as authors and competent users of source material, a gradual approach to using sources is helpful. Students can start by using interviews rather than articles as source material. Using "ordinary people" as sources should encourage students to include their own ideas (avoiding the "cut and paste" problem), particularly if they have been guided to choose an interviewee with an opinion on a topic which is in opposition to their own opinions.

Students can begin including paraphrases of the spoken word early in their writing instruction. Something as simple as discussing a topic with a classmate and reporting the results in a short paragraph can result in a paraphrase such as the following:

> José said that he thinks Americans are friendly, but I don't agree because no American has ever invited me to his house to eat.

Later, a similar exercise can be done with written material: students can write essays on a topic, read each other's essays, and then write a report of how their ideas compared. This use of the classmates' writing as source material can provide a painless entry into paraphrasing work using the written word as source material.

Beginning to write papers from a single source rather than multiple sources makes the task of learning to use paraphrases less complicated. The number of sources can be increased as students become more comfortable writing papers. As the number of sources increases, so does the need for skill in synthesizing information. Munsell and Clough (1984), in a text designed for advanced ESL writers, provide examples and exercises to help students learn to write syntheses.

Having groups of students working from the same sources can be advantageous for both the students and the teacher. It allows for discussions among the students on the topic and the readings. Furthermore, because the number of articles is minimized, the teacher can become familiar with all the reading material in order to guide the students in using it and evaluate their success.

If the teacher also provides the articles in the beginning stages of teaching how to write research papers, it eases the students' burden, allowing them to concentrate on the writing process. Also, this guarantees that appropriate source materials are used--sources which resemble those the students might use in later academic writing but which are suitable for their reading level. For a later paper, each student might be asked to provide one article, and the sources can be pooled. Eventually, the students should be ready to accept full responsibility for researching sources. Two ESL texts which can help students develop researching skills are Shoemaker (1985) and Byrd, Drum, and Wittkopf (1981).

By gradually preparing students to use paraphrases in writing research papers, teachers will not only have made the process of writing papers less formidable, but will also have helped students learn important reading, writing, and analyzing skills.

□

The author

Patricia M. Odean taught composition classes for non-native speakers at the University of Minnesota before moving to New Mexico in the summer of 1986. She now teaches at the Albuquerque Technical-Vocational Institute.

REFERENCES

Barnitz, J.G. (1979). Developing sentence comprehension in reading. *Language Arts, 56*, 902-908.

Bazerman, C. (1985). *The informed writer: Using sources in the disciplines.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Byrd, P., Drum, C.A., & Wittkopf, B.J. (1981). *Guide to academic libraries in the United States for students of English as a second language.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Daiker, D. A., Kerek, A., & Morenberg, M. (1979). *The writer's* *options.* New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Grellet, F. (1981). *Developing reading skills.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kennedy, M. L., & Smith, H. L. (1986). *Academic writing with sources across the curriculum.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Klassen, B. (1976). Sentence-combining exercises as an aid to expediting syntactic fluency in learning English as a second language. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1976). *Dissertation Abstracts International,* 37/10A, 6258.

Kratcoski, P. C. (1982). Child abuse and violence against the family. *Child Welfare, 61,* 435-444.

Kuhn, T. (1957). *The Copernican revolution: Planetary astronomy in the development of Western thought.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lester, J. D. (1984). *Writing research papers.* Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman and Company.

Munsell, P., & Clough, M. (1984). *A practical guide for advanced writers in English as a second language.* New York: MacMillan.

Odean, P. (1986). *A comparison of the written paraphrases of English as a second language and native-speaking college freshmen.* Unpublished paper, University of Minnesota.

Pearson, C. R. (1981). Advanced academic skills in the low-level ESL class. *TESOL Quarterly, 15,* 413-423.

Saville-Troike, M. (1979). Reading and the audio-lingual method. *TESOL Quarterly, 7,* 24-35.

Shoemaker, C. (1985). *Write in the corner where you are.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Spatt, B. (1983). *Writing from sources.* New York: Random House.

Strong, W. (1973). *Sentence-combining: A composing book.* New York: Random House.

Zamel, V. (1980). Re-evaluating sentence-combining practice. *TESOL Quarterly 14,* 81-90.

The Self-Monitoring of Articles and Verbs in ESL Written Production

Barbara Schwarte
Iowa State University

Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop
Mexico City, Mexico

This paper presents the results of a study analyzing the ability of 31 advanced ESL students to self-monitor article and verb errors in their compositions. These two categories of grammatical errors were monitored in three successive steps: immediately after production and without prompting (that is, no indication of the error was given); one class meeting after production, also without prompting; and two class meetings after production, with prompting. The specific research questions were: (a) How frequently can article and verb errors be monitored without prompting? (b) How does a time lag between production and monitoring affect error detection? (c) How accurate are the monitorings? (d) How much do ESL learners vary in their monitoring ability? (e) Can monitoring practice lead to a decrease in errors?

Although it is quite well-known that some adults learn a second language better than others, it is not so well-known why this is so. Several researchers, including Rubin (1975), Stern (1975), and Bialystock (1981) have suggested that one factor is the ability to self-monitor: good language learners analyze the content and form of their output before, during, and after production. The constant interaction between the good language learners' creative and critical faculties may be responsible for their better internalization of the language system. The conscious application of pedagogical rules allows the good language learners to check, either before or after production, the accuracy of their language. With frequent incorrect items, this repeated focus may help lead to the automatic use of correct forms and improved language proficiency.[1]

Because of its possible importance in improving language proficiency, self-monitoring is a skill that all ESL learners are encouraged to develop. To help them develop this skill when writing, instructors often use an error correction technique that involves both guided learning and problem solving. Students are guided in making their own corrections by their instructors' having located and coded the errors. The students, in turn, must solve the problem of deciding what the correction should be. Learning is enhanced because students are active participants in the correction process: either they are reminded to apply a forgotten rule or they become aware of a rule not known.

Although ESL learners are encouraged to monitor their written production, little has been ascertained about their ability to do so. Most monitoring studies have dealt with oral production (Krashen & Pon, 1975; Schlue, 1977; White, 1977; Houck, Robertson, & Krashen, 1978; Fathman, 1980). Given the differences between written and spoken language, we cannot assume that monitoring in one mode is comparable to that in the other. To date, only a few studies have focused on the monitoring of written production. Hatch (1979) cites one such study, Hassan (1978), which analyzed the changes ESL learners made on second and third drafts of compositions. Hassan found that learners made few grammatical changes and instead focused on such content aspects as vocabulary choice and the addition of details. Two other studies indicate that unskilled ESL writers focus prematurely on form while making revisions. Zamel (1983), in her study of the composing processes of six advanced

---

[1] Explicit knowledge of the pedagogical rules is not a requirement during monitoring. Learners often correct "by feel" (that is, by what "sounds right") and are not able to verbalize the rules they are using (Stafford and Covitt, 1978; Seliger, 1979). At the same time, monitoring does have limitations. It is limited to the simpler grammatical rules (for example, inflections, simple order changes, etc.). It should also be restricted to situations where it does not interfere with communication, as in writing or prepared speech (Krashen, 1984).

ESL learners, noted that one unskilled ESL writer was "distracted by local problems" and seldom made changes that affected meaning. Raimes (1985) also observed that her unskilled ESL writers did not view editing as just a "clean-up" operation but instead edited for grammatical errors during the composing process. There appears to be a need for further research in this area, particularly with regard to the ability of learners to monitor their own grammatical errors.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This paper presents the results of a small-scale, preliminary investigation into the ability of advanced ESL learners to correct grammatical errors in their written production. Focused on in this investigation was the monitoring of article and verb errors.[2] The specific research questions were :

1. How frequently can article and verb errors be monitored without prompting, that is, by the learner alone, without the teacher's intervention?
2. How does a time lag between production and monitoring affect error detection?
3. How accurate are the monitorings?
4. How much do ESL learners vary in their monitoring ability?
5. Can monitoring practice lead to a decrease in errors?

The first question concerns the ease of monitoring article and main verb errors in written production. To what extent are ESL learners able to correct such errors on their own, without prompting by the instructor?

Articles and verbs were investigated for two reasons. First, most ESL learners have difficulty with them, thus ensuring an ample number of errors for monitoring. Second, articles and verbs differ in "rule learnabilty," (Krashen, 1982), which is determined by relative simplicity of form and use. Article usage involves rules that are simple in form but very complex in use (Hawkins, 1978). Verb usage involves rules that vary in simplicity: some, such as subject-verb agreement, are relatively simple; others, such as tense selection, are more complex.

---

[2] The decision to focus on article and verb errors was made before the data were collected. During the monitoring sessions, however, the students were told to monitor for all grammatical errors in order to determine the emphasis they give to various types of grammatical errors while monitoring.

The verb errors analyzed were limited to those in verb phrases which include a finite verb.

The second question probes the role of a time lag in the ease of monitoring. It may be that, while some article and verb errors are detectable immediately, others can be recognized only when there is a break between production and monitoring. While writing, learners must focus on both content and form. To monitor for grammatical errors, they must then "switch gears" and focus only on form. A time lag might help learners separate these two aspects of their writing.

The third question deals with the accuracy of monitoring. We need to know not only the frequency of the unprompted corrections but also their accuracy. How accurate are ESL learners when correcting article and main verb usage on their own? We also need to examine the accuracy of the prompted corrections in order to determine the difficulty learners have in making corrections once they have been located and coded.

The fourth question examines variation in monitoring frequency among ESL learners. Of interest here is the degree of individual variation: are only a few ESL learners able to monitor article and main verb errors successfully without prompting?

The fifth question investigates the effect of monitoring practice over time. Can such practice lead to a reduction in errors? It is hypothesized that the repeated analysis of errors involving "learnable" rules will lead to internalization of correct rules, resulting in greater accuracy over time.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 31 foreign students enrolled in two sections of an advanced, sixteen-week composition course for foreign graduate students at Iowa State University. All subjects had a score of more than 500 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). The native languages of the subjects were Chinese (10), Korean (9), Spanish (4), Arabic (2), Indonesian (2), Japanese (2), Hebrew (1), and Malay (1). The language groups were about equally represented in both sections. The sections were taught by the same instructor, Barbara Schwarte, and used the same syllabus and materials.

Data elicitation

Data for the study were collected from the initial and final compositions written by each of the 31 subjects. The topic of the compositions was the same for all subjects at both times: "Changes I would like to see made in my country." In neither session did the subjects know beforehand what the topic would be. In both sessions, the subjects had 30 minutes in which to write their compositions.

Monitoring procedure

The monitoring took place in three sessions: the first a few minutes after the composition was written, the next two during the next two class meetings.

The first monitoring session was separated from the composing time only by a short break, during which the subjects put their compositions in folders and rested a few minutes. They were not allowed to look at their compositions during this short break. Then the subjects were given until the end of the class meeting (about ten minutes) to make corrections in their compositions, the only stipulation being that new content (that is, new sentences or paragraphs) not be added. They were instructed not to erase an error but simply to indicate the correct form in the line above it. No help in correcting the errors was given. The subjects worked individually and were not allowed to use dictionaries or other references.

In the second monitoring session, during the next class meeting (two days later), subjects were again given the opportunity to correct errors in the compositions they had written during the first session. Subjects were told to read through their compositions and make additional corrections. They took fifteen minutes to do this second monitoring.

After the second monitoring period, the instructor went through each composition and located and coded various grammatical errors, including those under investigation. Corrections were indicated using a set of correction symbols familiar to the students. The symbols both located errors and coded them according to type (for example, wrong tense, improper deletion, etc.) Errors miscorrected during the first two monitoring sessions were also marked.

During the third monitoring session (at the next class meeting, two days after the second session), the subjects were given 50 minutes to correct the errors that had been indicated by the instructor.

After the third monitoring session, the instructor collected the compositions and checked the accuracy of the subjects' corrections.

In addition to the sessions outlined above, the monitoring procedure also involved the tabulation of errors. When the compositions were returned after the third monitoring session, the subjects made a list of their errors, grouped according to type (for example, wrong tense, improper article deletion, etc.) They also indicated the corrections and, if possible, gave explanations for them. The completed tally sheets were collected and the explanations corrected by the instructor. The tally sheets were later returned to the subjects so that they received feedback on the adequacy of their explanations.

The effectiveness of the monitoring procedure as a teaching technique was determined by having the 15 subjects in one section, the monitor group, use it with six additional in-class compositions. The 16 subjects in the other section, the nonmonitor group, used the procedure only with the initial and final compositions. For all subjects, article and verb accuracy on the initial composition was compared with that on the final composition to see if those subjects using the monitoring procedure throughout the semester would have a greater reduction in errors over time.

Comparing initial and final compositions to determine the monitoring procedure's effectiveness is not without its limitations. Most importantly, the two writing tasks may not be comparable measures. Whereas objective pretests and posttests are comparable because they can be the same or very similar, free writing tasks, even when on the same topic, may not be. Differences in performance over time, with regard to error frequency and type, may be due to subjects' having attempted more challenging or just different structures and not to changes in their language proficiency. This methodological weakness should be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For the first four questions, data from the two writing sessions (initial and final) and from the two sections (the monitor group and the nonmonitor group) are combined. Differences between the two writing performances and the two groups are identified during discussion of the fifth question.

Totals of 1,751 articles and 1,205 verbs were analyzed. The error analysis included not only incorrect forms but also those that should have been produced but were not (that is, improper deletions[3]) and those that were produced and should not have been (that is, improper insertions). Of the articles, 1,513 were correct, leaving 238 in need of monitoring. Of the verbs, 186 required monitoring. Eighteen of the main verbs contained two errors, making the total number of main verb errors 204. The correctness percentages for both grammatical items were quite high--86% for articles and 84% for verbs--indicating that neither item proved especially difficult for subjects to control.

An error analysis was done to determine the frequency of different types of article and verb errors. Article errors included improper deletion, improper insertion, and wrong choice of article. Verb errors included subject-verb disagreement, wrong tense, wrong lexical choice, wrong form, improper deletion, and improper insertion. (An example of each type is presented in the appendix.) Errors not falling neatly into the categories were discussed and judgment calls made. Forms occurring in garbled sentences were not included in the analysis.

---

[3] Because deletions were included, it is in fact more accurate to say that the study examined article *sites* and verb *sites*. For simplicity, however, the shorter terms *article* and *verb* will be used.

Results for question 1: Frequency of unprompted monitoring

How frequently were article and verb errors monitored without prompting? Table 1 presents the number of articles and verbs monitored during each of the three monitoring sessions.

Table 1

Number of article and Main Verb Errors Monitored

	Articles		Main verbs	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
Monitoring Session 1 (immediate, unprompted)	19	8.0	25	12.3
Monitoring Session 2 (delayed, unprompted)	16	6.7	25	12.3
Monitoring Session 3 (further delayed, prompted)	168	70.6	118	57.8
Other	35	14.7	36	17.6
Total	238		204	

*The category "other" refers to errors that were unintentionally overlooked by the instructor when locating and coding the errors or whose indication eliminated the need for correction, as in the case of improper insertion.

Thirty-five of the 238 article errors and 50 of the 204 verb errors were monitored without prompting (that is, during the first and second monitoring sessions). The percentage of verb errors corrected without assistance was about 10% higher than that for article errors (15% for articles versus 25% for verbs). To put it another way, a higher percentage of article errors had to be pointed out by the instructor before the students could correct them. Although not especially high, the percentages indicate that unprompted monitoring can take place for both types of grammatical errors.

Table 2 indicates the ease of detecting errors for different article and verb error types. For articles, all three error types were quite similar in monitoring ease (that is, one error type was not easier to detect than another). Interestingly, monitoring

Table 2

Monitoring Ease of Article and Main Verb Error Types

	Number of errors	Number of errors monitored without prompting*	Percentage of errors monitored without prompting
Articles			
Improper deletion	120	18	15%
Improper insertion	93	13	14%
Wrong choice	25	4	16%
Total	238	35	
Main verbs			
Wrong tense	79	17	22%
S-V disagreement	50	19	38%
Wrong lexical choice	45	4	9%
Improper deletion	13	4	31%
Wrong form	12	5	42%
Improper insertion	5	1	20%
Total	204	50	

*The monitorings done during Monitoring Session 1 and Monitoring Session 2 have been combined.

frequency was not related to error frequency. Although deletion accounted for half of the article errors, it did not have a higher monitoring rate. For verbs, form errors, which were few in number, were the easiest to monitor. This is not surprising, since form errors can usually be corrected through reference to conceptually easy rules. Subject-verb agreement errors were also fairly easy to detect, indicating that although difficult to control (50 of the 204 verb errors were of this type), they were not difficult to monitor. Tense and lexical choice errors were difficult both to avoid and to detect: they were frequently made and infrequently monitored. The low monitoring rate for lexical choice errors is surprising since both Schlue (1977) and Hassan (1978) found that vocabulary selection was of primary concern when their students monitored. This may have been due to the fact that the subjects were told not to change content. They may have thought that changing lexical choice was a content change.

Results for question 2: The effect of a time lag

How did a time lag between production and monitoring affect error detection? For both articles and verbs, about the same percentage of errors was monitored during the first and second sessions (see Table 1). The time lag was helpful. Some errors could be monitored without it; others could not. Although it may be suggested that the errors monitored in the second session were those that subjects did not have time to monitor in the first, this did not appear to be the case. Most subjects turned in their compositions before the end of the first monitoring session. It would be interesting to see if even more monitoring could have been done if the second session had occurred after a time lag of a week or more.

Results for question 3: Monitoring accuracy

How accurate were the monitorings? Table 3 presents data on the accuracy of the unprompted and prompted monitorings. For articles, all of the 35 unprompted monitorings were correct. The prompted article monitorings were not so accurate, but the percentage was still quite high. One explanation for the high accuracy of the prompted article monitorings is the formal simplicity of article usage. Subjects had a good chance of making accurate corrections since there is a limited number of article choices.

The monitorings for verbs were less accurate than those for articles. Like those for articles, however, the unprompted monitorings were accurate more frequently than the prompted ones. This may indicate that the subjects found first those errors that were the easiest to correct. The only errors left for prompting were the harder ones to correct. Once a verb error was prompted, subjects had little difficulty figuring out its correction: over three-fourths of the prompted verb monitorings were accurate. This indicates that errors were probably due to the nonapplication of a known rule and not to unfamiliarity with the rule. It would be interesting to see if this accuracy decreases with proficiency level. An analysis of the incorrect prompted verb monitorings reveals that the aspects most difficult to monitor accurately were tense and lexical choice: for each about a third of the monitorings were correct. This is not surprising since both of these aspects involve less "learnable" rules.

Table 3

Accuracy of the Monitorings

	Unprompted monitoring sessions			Prompted monitoring sessions		
	# correct	#incorrect	%correct	#correct	#incorrect	% correct
Articles	35	0	100	149	19	89
Main verbs	42	8	84	116	34	77

Results for question 4: Variation in monitoring ability

How much did learners vary in their monitoring ability? Table 4 presents the unprompted monitoring rates of individual subjects. Only six subjects did no article or verb monitoring on

Table 4

Number of Unprompted Monitorings by Individual Subjects

*M - Number of unprompted monitorings. *E - Number of errors.
Monitor group: subjects 1-15, nonmonitor group: subjects 16-31

	Articles						Main Verbs					
	Time 1		Time 2		Total		Time 1		Time 2		Total	
	*M	*E	*M	*E	*M/*E	%	*M	*E	*M	*E	*M/*E	%
Subject												
1	0	2	0	2	0/4	0	0	5	0	2	0/7	0
2	1	6	1	3	2/9	22	1	1	3	5	4/6	67
3	0	6	0	3	0/9	0	0	9	0	0	0/9	0
4	0	7	1	4	1/11	9	1	3	0	0	1/3	33
5	0	6	0	1	0/7	0	1	1	1	4	2/5	40
6	0	3	1	2	1/5	20	1	1	2	4	3/5	60
7	1	2	4	8	5/10	50	1	3	2	4	3/7	43
8	0	3	0	8	0/11	0	0	3	0	3	0/6	0
9	1	4	0	6	1/10	10	0	1	0	1	0/2	0
10	0	3	2	4	2/7	29	1	4	1	4	2/8	25
11	0	1	1	7	1/8	13	0	8	0	3	0/11	0
12	0	2	1	4	1/6	17	2	8	0	5	2/13	15
13	0	1	0	2	0/3	0	0	1	1	4	1/5	20
14	0	2	1	3	1/5	20	0	3	0	0	0/3	0
15	0	3	0	3	0/6	0	0	2	0	1	0/3	0
16	3	7	0	5	3/12	25	4	4	1	5	5/9	56
17	0	1	1	5	1/6	17	2	3	2	4	4/7	57
18	0	6	1	5	1/11	9	0	3	0	1	0/4	0
19	3	8	2	2	5/10	50	1	1	0	2	1/3	33
20	0	0	0	4	0/4	0	0	2	1	7	1/9	11

[Table 4, continued]

	Articles						Main Verbs					
	Time 1		Time 2		Total		Time 1		Time 2		Total	
	#M	#E	#M	#E	#M/#E	%	#M	#E	#M	#E	#M/#E	%
Subject												
21	0	9	3	10	3/19	16	4	8	0	3	4/11	36
22	0	3	0	4	0/7	0	0	1	0	1	0/2	0
23	1	6	0	6	1/12	8	1	4	0	1	1/5	20
24	0	2	0	9	0/11	0	1	1	5	9	6/10	60
25	0	1	0	4	0/5	0	0	1	2	2	2/3	67
26	3	8	0	2	3/10	30	1	9	1	2	2/11	18
27	0	0	0	0	0/0	0	0	3	0	1	0/4	0
28	0	1	0	2	0/3	0	1	3	0	2	1/5	20
29	1	2	1	6	2/8	25	1	5	0	3	1/8	13
30	1	2	0	1	1/3	33	2	2	1	7	3/9	33
31	0	3	0	3	0/6	0	0	4	1	7	1/11	9

either the initial or final composition. Eighteen made at least one article correction, and 21 made at least one verb correction. The highest number of monitorings per subject on a composition was about the same for both grammatical items. One subject made four article corrections; another made five verb corrections. No one subject was responsible for a major portion of the unprompted monitorings of either articles or verbs; the majority of subjects were able to make a few unprompted monitorings.

Because of the high proportion of Chinese and Korean subjects in the study, the monitorings of these two groups were compared. A comparison of the monitoring frequencies presented in Table 5 indicates that there was indeed a difference for verbs. This difference was statistically significant ($p < 0.004$). One explanation for the difference is found in the types of errors made by each group: the Korean subjects made more subject-verb agreement errors whereas the Chinese subjects made more tense errors. The Koreans may have monitored more because their types of errors made it easier to do so.

Table 5

A Comparison of Unprompted Monitorings by Chinese and Korean Subjects

	Articles			Verbs		
	#monitored	#errors	%monitored	#monitored	#errors	%monitored
Chinese (N=10)	12	78	15.4	11	79	14.0
Korean (N=9)	13	80	16.3	25	58	43.0

Results for question 5: The effect of monitoring practice

Did monitoring practice lead to a decrease in errors? As stated earlier, subjects in one section, the monitor group, used the monitoring procedure with six other in-class compositions, while subjects in the other section, the nonmonitor group, used it only with the compositions written at the beginning and end of the semester. The initial and final compositions were compared to see if use of the monitoring procedure throughout the course led to a greater reduction in errors on the final composition. The accuracy percentages are presented in Table 6. For articles, the percentages for both groups remained the same over time. For verbs, the nonmonitor group showed essentially no change in the percentage of correct occurrences, while the monitor group had a 6% increase. The results of a paired t-test indicate, however, that the monitor group's improvement was not statistically significant ($p < 0.1402$). When fixed expressions such as *as you know* and *I think* were not included in the correctness percentages, the difference between the two performances was closer to a significant level ($p < 0.0781$).

The findings here are consistent with those observed in two other studies that have investigated the relationship between error feedback and improvement in grammatical accuracy.

Table 6

Accuracy of Article and Verb Usage
by Group and Time

	Articles	
	Monitor Group % correct	Nonmonitor Group % correct
Time 1	87	86
Time 2	87	86

	Verbs	
	Monitor Group % correct	Nonmonitor Group % correct
Time 1	83	84
Time 2	89	83

Lalande (1982) investigated the effect of an error correction technique involving guided learning and problem solving with 60 American college students enrolled in four intermediate German classes. Half of the subjects--the experimental group--were asked to correct errors that had been located and coded and to keep track of the different types of errors made. The remaining subjects--the control group--had their errors corrected by the instructors, and no record was kept. Twelve types of grammatical and orthographic errors were examined. Although the between-group difference was significant (that is, in 11 of the 12 categories, subjects in the experimental group made significantly fewer errors than subjects in the control group), the within-group difference was not: within the experimental group, only orthographic errors realized a significant reduction from pretest to posttest.

Another study investigating the effect of different types of feedback on error correction was conducted by Robb, Ross, and Shortreed (1986). They contrasted four methods of providing feedback on written errors: correction of errors by the instructor, student correction of errors that were located and coded, student correction of errors that were located but not coded, and student correction of errors that were indicated only by putting the number of errors per line in the margin. The subjects were 134 Japanese college freshman learning English in Japan. No significant differences were found among the methods. Regardless of the type of feedback, subjects wrote progressively more accurate, fluent, and complex structures.

Given that accuracy did not improve significantly over time in this study for subjects who used the monitoring procedure (that is, they did not make significantly fewer errors at the end of the semester), an analysis was done to see if their error-detecting ability, at least, did improve. Schlue (1977), in her study on oral monitoring, observed that with practice her subjects became more skilled at detecting errors.

Table 7 presents the percentage of unprompted article and verb monitorings by each group at both times. The greatest difference over time was in the monitoring of article errors by the monitor group. Further analysis revealed that this difference was due to an increase in the number of subjects monitoring and not just in the number of monitorings per subject; that is, whereas only three subjects made article monitorings in the initial composition, in the final composition eight did. The detection of article and verb errors by the nonmonitor group, on the other hand, was about the same for both the initial and the final compositions. For verbs, the monitor group again had an increase in monitoring frequency while the nonmonitor group had a decrease. Unfortunately, because of the small number of monitorings, conclusions about the effectiveness of the procedure are premature. The increases noted, however, suggest that this is an area for further research.

Table 8 presents data on the accuracy of the monitorings at the beginning and at the end of the semester. For articles, the accuracy of the monitor group's monitorings increased only very slightly while that for the nonmonitor group decreased. For verbs, the monitor group's accuracy remained about the same while that for the nonmonitor group showed a fairly substantial increase, 12%. The nonmonitor group's greater accuracy rate may be attributed to their having made more agreement and fewer tense errors in the final composition. The greater monitoring ease of subject-verb errors most likely contributed to the increase in accuracy.

Table 7

Frequency of Unprompted Monitorings by Group and Time

	Articles			Verbs		
	#monitored	#errors	%monitored	#monitored	#errrors	%monitored
Monitor Group						
Time 1	3	51	6%	8	53	15%
Time 2	12	60	20%	10	40	25%
Nonmonitor Group						
Time 1	12	59	20%	18	54	33%
Time 2	8	68	18%	14	57	25%

Table 8

Accuracy of Unprompted and Prompted Monitorings by Group and Time

	Articles			Verbs		
	#correct	#inc./NC*	%cor	#correct	#inc./NC*	%cor
Monitor Group						
Time 1	40	2	91%	34	12	74%
Time 2	53	3	95%	26	10	72%
Nonmonitor Group						
Time 1	38	3	93%	29	14	67%
Time 2	55	9	86%	42	11	79%

*NC = no change was made even though it was indicated

CONCLUSION

Although limited, this investigation has provided further insight into the monitoring of grammatical errors in written production. In sum, with regard to the 31 advanced ESL learners in this study, the specific findings were as follows:

1. Twenty-five percent of the verb errors and fifteen percent of the article errors were detected and corrected by the subjects without assistance from the instructor. The different types of article errors were monitored with about the same frequency, but different types of verb errors were monitored with different frequencies.
2. About half of the unprompted monitorings occurred during the first monitoring session (that is, immediately after production).
3. Article errors were monitored accurately more frequently than verb errors. For both types of errors, the unprompted monitorings were accurate more often than the prompted monitorings.
4. Four-fifths of the subjects were able to make at least one unprompted article or verb monitoring.
5. Subjects using the monitoring procedure throughout the semester exhibited a decrease in verb errors but not in article errors. This decrease in verb errors, however, was not statistically significant. Subjects using the procedure with only the initial and final compositions showed no decrease in either type of error.

These findings indicate that while the self-monitoring of articles and verbs in written production is not easy, even for advanced students, it is possible. These findings also indicate that monitoring practice may have only a marginal effect on improving grammatical accuracy.

One practical implication of the first finding is that ESL learners should be given the opportunity to monitor their in-class writing. This would result in the instructor having to make fewer corrections later. Because students often do not budget their time in order to monitor after production, instructors need to incorporate such time into the writing task. Following the monitoring procedure in this study, the instructor can allow time for monitoring in the class session after the composing session.

Even though monitoring practice may not lead to a statistically significant decrease in errors, the merits of the procedure are not diminished. One benefit of such an approach is that, along with the tabulation of errors, it involves learners more actively in the correction process. Learners discover by themselves the patterns in their errors. Moreover, they must determine as best they can the causes of these errors. (The learners' explanations can be most revealing, as the research on introspection has shown [Seliger, 1979; Cohen & Robbins, 1976]. Some learners have misformed rules or no rules at all for processes that are seemingly straightforward.) Second, the tallying of errors helps instructors be more consistent when marking compositions. Ineffective feedback is often due to instructors' not being systematic in the types of errors corrected (Rivers, 1968; Cohen & Robbins, 1976). The tally reminds instructors of students' recurring errors so that these can be focused on.

Although monitoring should be encouraged, it should also be relegated to the final stage of the composing process. Excessive attention to form during the writing session can eat up the time that is better spent on prewriting and the monitoring of content and organization while composing (Pianko, 1979). If students know that they will have an opportunity to correct grammatical errors later, they can attend to the task at hand while writing--getting their ideas down on paper in an organized and developed manner.

More research into the monitoring process is, of course, needed. First, the correction of a wider range of errors needs to be examined because it would be worthwhile to know which errors are most affected by the monitoring procedure. The relative seriousness of these errors also needs to be examined: are the errors most frequently monitored also the ones which are the most serious? In other words, does saliency derive more from the learnability of the rule or from the gravity of the error? This aspect of monitoring was not addressed in the present study.

Second, we need to know if the effectiveness of the monitoring procedure can be enhanced. It might be more effective if its use is limited to one "learnable" error at a time. In other words, when monitoring, subjects should focus on only one or two salient error types. Just as the detection of errors is enhanced through such focus (Knapp, 1972), so may its effectiveness be also. The monitoring procedure is also probably more effective with lower proficiency learners. Although White (1977) did not find a difference in the monitoring ability of intermediate and advanced ESL learners, the former may show a greater reduction in errors over time because of their tendency to make frequent form errors, which are more susceptible to eradication since they involve "learnable" rules.

Third, it would be interesting to compare the monitorings made in response to the three types of correction stimuli used by Robb, Ross, and Shortreed (1986): locating and coding errors, locating errors without coding, and indicating the number of errors in the margin line by line without coding. We need to know which errors can be detected under various conditions.

A fourth direction for further research involves investigating the monitoring of writing done outside of class. We need to know if out-of-class writing is monitored in the same ways as in-class writing or if the two types of analyses involve different strategies.

□

The authors

Barbara Schwarte is an assistant professor of English at Iowa State University. She teaches in the TESL master's program.

Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop is a graduate of Iowa State University's TESL master's program. She is currently tutoring ESL in Mexico City.

REFERENCES

Bialystock, E. (1981). The role of conscious strategies in second language proficiency. *Modern Language Journal 65*, 21-35.

Cohen, A., & Robbins, M. (1976). Toward assessing interlanguage performance: The relationship between selected errors, learners' characteristics, and learners' explanations. *Language Learning*, *26*, 45-66.

Fathman, A. (1980). Influences of age and setting on second language oral proficiency. Paper presented at the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum, UCLA, February.

Hassan, F. (1978). First and subsequent drafts of compositions. Unpublished master's thesis, American University of Cairo.

Hatch, E. (1979). Apply with caution. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *2*, 123-143.

Hawkins, J. (1978). *Definiteness and indefiniteness: A study in reference and grammaticality prediction.* London: Croon Helm.

Houck, N., Robertson, J., & Krashen, S. (1978). On the domain of the conscious grammar: Morpheme orders for corrected and uncorrected ESL student transcriptions. *TESOL Quarterly*, *12*, 335-339.

Knapp, D. (1972). A focused, efficient method to relate composition correction to teaching aims. In Harold Allen & Russell Campbell (Eds.), *Teaching English as a second language* (pp. 213-221). NewYork: McGraw-Hill.

Krashen, S. (1978). Individual variation in the use of the monitor. In William C. Ritchie (Ed.), *Second language acquisition research: Issues and implications* (pp. 175-183). New York: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. (1984). *Writing: Research, theory, and applications.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S., & Pon, P. (1975). An error analysis of an advanced ESL learner: The importance of the monitor. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, *7*, 125-139.

Krashen, S., & Terrell, T. (1983). *The natural approach: language acquisition in the classroom.* San Francisco: Alemany Press.

Lalande, J (1982) Reducing composition errors: An experiment. *Modern Language Journal 66*, 140-149.

Pianko, S (1979) Composing processes of college freshmen. *Research in the teaching of English*, *13*, 5-22.

Raimes, A (1985) What unskilled ESL students do as they write: a classroom study of composing. *TESOL Quarterly*, *19*, 229-258.

Rivers, W (1968) *Teaching foreign language skills*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Robb, T., Ross, S., & Shortreed, I (1986) Salience of feedback on error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly*, *20*, 83-93.

Rubin, J (1975) What the "good language learner" can teach us. *TESOL Quarterly 9*, 41-51.

Schlue, K (1977) An inside view of interlanguage. In C Henning (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Los Angeles second language research forum* (pp. 342-348).

Seliger, H (1979) On the nature and function of language rules in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, *13*, 359-369.

Stafford, C., & Covitt, G (1978) Monitor use in adult second language production. *ITL Review of Applied Linguistics*, *39-40*, 103-125.

Stern, HH (1975) What can we learn from the good language learner? *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *31*, 304-318.

White, L (1977) Error analysis and error correction in adult language learners of English as a second language. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, *13*, 42-58.

Zamel, V (1983) The composing processes of advanced ESL students: six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly*, *17*, 165-187.

APPENDIX

Article and verb error types

[Explanations are provided only where the error label is not self-explanatory.]

Error	Explanation	Example
Articles		
Improper deletion	Article needed but deleted.	I like United States.
Improper insertion	Article not needed but inserted.	I went to the Colorado.
Wrong choice	Wrong choice among the three forms *a*, *an*, and *the*.	I want to go around a world before I die.
Verbs		
Subject-verb disagreement	Subject and verb disagree in number.	Women is treated well.
Wrong tense		I take 3 courses last semester.
Wrong lexical choice		I feel difficulty talking.
Wrong form		It tooks three hours.
Improper deletion	Verb needed but deleted.	This kind of tough.
Improper insertion	Verb inserted but not needed.	Our system is looks like here.

Choosing Helpful Examples of Structures

Eric S. Nelson
University of Minnesota

Every language teacher is called on at times to provide examples of structures. Even teachers who strongly believe in teaching language in context must occasionally present examples of language on display out of context. Ideally, these examples will be effective; they will help students understand. This paper proposes nine questions that teachers can ask when searching for effective examples of structures. Examples from ESL textbooks are examined in light of the questions and found in some cases to be inadequate. The questions give rise to ten principles of exemplification against which examples can be tested.

Imagine that you are teaching an advanced ESL class and are called on to provide an example of the passive voice with *will*. You write on the board:

(1) The new highway will be completed in two years.

A student asks, "Can I omit *-ed* ?" You answer, "No; you have to have *-ed* when you form the passive voice with a regular verb: *The new highway will be* ...." Stopping, you see that you're headed for an apparent counterexample to the rule you've just stated: *will be complete* doesn't sound so bad after all. Your choice of example has gotten you into trouble.

Imagine another class in which you are asked to provide an example of some different ways of connecting clauses in a way that shows contrast. You begin to write a set of sentences on the

---

An earlier version of this paper appeared in *New directions for TESOL: Proceedings of the second Midwest TESOL conference*. Bloomington, IN: INTESOL.

board:

(2) **One of her eyes is blue, but her other eye is green.**
(3) **One of her eyes is blue, yet her other eye is green.**
(4) **One of her eyes is blue; however, her other eye is green.**
(5) **One of her eyes is blue; on the other hand, her other eye is green.**

Stepping back, you scrutinize the set. The first sentence seems okay, the second not bad. But the sentence with *however* somehow doesn't ring true, and the last one is downright freakish. Again, it's a problem in the choice of examples.

All teachers, even those who are committed to teaching language in context, are called on from time to time to produce examples of language on display out of context. When we are asked to come up with an example of a structure, we hope to produce language that sounds natural, exemplifies what it is intended to exemplify, and enlightens students without inviting distracting questions. And this we have to do, often, with little time for thought. Textbook writers face the same challenge, and although they have advantages of time and editorial help, they nevertheless produce bad example sentences from time to time. (Examples 2 - 5 above are, in fact, from a published text.)

My goal in this paper is to encourage teachers and materials writers to give some thought to what makes an example good or bad or in between. I will propose nine questions that we can ask ourselves when we examine sentences that are used as examples of structures. I will present examples, some from texts and some of my own, and will measure them against the questions.[1]

---

[1] The order of the questions is not significant. All examples not attributed are my own. The texts are these:

Text A – Azar (1981)
Text D – Danielson & Hayden (1973)
Text F – Frank (1972)
Text K – Krohn (1971)
Texts M1 and M 2 – Maclin (1981 and [second edition] 1987)
Text P – Pollock (1982)
Text S – Stevenson (1987)

Examples (2) - (5) are from Text M2.

The purpose of this paper is not to criticize texts. No exhaustive examination of texts was undertaken, so no conclusions about the effectiveness of the examples in any of the texts is justified.

Some of my questions are closely related with others, and some overlap is inevitable. Some of the examples I discuss with respect to one question could as well be discussed under another question. I will make some of my points more than once, in different places and in different ways. This is deliberate: my hope is that a reader who is not convinced at one point may be convinced by a later statement of the same argument in another way.

The final section of the paper lists some principles of exemplification, all but one of which are derived directly from the questions. That section will serve as a summary.

NINE QUESTIONS ABOUT EXAMPLES OF STRUCTURE

Question 1: Considering the context and content of the example, is the use of the target structure in the example appropriate? (*Context* here means *situational context*. It may be a situational context that is given, or it may be one that the student is expected to imagine.)

Consider the use of a fronted-preposition relative clause in an example such as (6):

(6) The music to which we listened last night was good.
(Text A, page 211)

No context is given for the example, so we have to imagine a context. The topic of the sentence suggests conversation, as does the use of the deictic elements *we* and *last night*. The problem, of course, is that the target structure--the relative clause with a fronted preposition--is generally used in more formal contexts; it does not sound natural for most speakers in a sentence of ordinary conversation. The use of the target structure in (6) is therefore not appropriate to the content of (6) or to the context that we most readily imagine for the sentence. Alternatively, we might say that we can imagine *no* context for (6)--because it includes elements that suggest an informal context as well as one element, the target structure, that points to a formal context.

A second example of the same target structure illustrates the same problem:

(7) She is the woman about whom I told you.
(Text A, page 211)

If we are to imagine a context for (7), it is again conversation; yet we can only conclude that the person who speaks such a sentence does not use English as most native speakers do. (It looks as though the author has tried to suggest a formal context with the uncontracted *she is*. Given the content of the sentence, however, the lack of contraction is not enough to convince the reader to accept the sentence as belonging to formal discourse.)

Now compare (6) and (7) with another example of the same structure:

(8) These are the earlier poets from whom Shakespeare drew many of his ideas.
(Text M2, page 289)

The academic content of (8) suggests a more formal context for the sentence. We imagine (8) to be a sentence in a lecture or a piece of academic writing. Since the use of the target structure is natural to such contexts, (8)--unlike (6) and (7)--sounds natural.

A similar mismatch between the target structure and context and content occurs in (9), which is intended to exemplify the use of *therefore*:

(9) It was raining; therefore, I carried an umbrella.
(Text M2, page 87)

Given the trivial content of (9), the use of *therefore* is unnatural. A more appropriate example would have less trivial content:

(10) In the 19th century West, mail delivery was unreliable, and in remote places, mail often came only a few times during the year; therefore the arrival of a letter was an important occasion.

400

It may be argued that the shorter and simpler example of (9) does a better job than (10) in making it easy for the student to see at a glance the relationship between two clauses that *therefore* expresses. I agree. I only want to point out that (9) is deficient in one respect, and that for that reason it may not be the best model for the target structure. I suggest that a teacher or text writer who uses an example like (9) should at least include alongside it an example like (10), which is more true to the way *therefore* is really used.

Question 2: Does the example illustrate the *need* for the target structure? (Does the target structure contribute information to the sentence? Is there another structure that would do the job as well?)

If the target structure contributes information to the sentence, and if no other structure would be a good substitute for the target structure, we can say that the example illustrates the *need* for the target structure. The example in (11) fails to illustrate the need for the target structure, the infinitive phrase with *too*:

(11) That box is too heavy for Bob to lift.
(Text A, page 199)

To see that this is so, we need only to compare (11) with (12):

(12) That box is too heavy for Bob.

In most contexts, (12) would be interpreted exactly as (11) is. There is no need for the infinitive in (11); the target structure contributes no information that is not equally well understood when it is absent. If we modify (11) slightly, we can make the target structure more informative:

(13) That box is too wide for Bob to lift.
(14) That box is too heavy for Bob to lift with one hand.

The examples in (15) also fail to illustrate the need for the target structure:

(15) A student came into the room. I looked at the student.
Some students came into the room. I looked at the students.
I drank some water. The water was very cold.
(Text A, page 386)

The examples are intended to illustrate two things: the use of *the* with any kind of noun--singular, plural, or uncountable--and the use of *the* and a repeated noun to show identity with a preceding noun phrase. The target structure does contribute information--it shows the identity of the two noun phrases in each sentence--but the target structure is not necessary, and in fact would probably be avoided in sentences like those in (15) in favor of another means the grammar provides to contribute the same information:

(16) A student came into the room. I looked at her.
Some students came into the room. I looked at them.
I drank some water. It was very cold.

An example from another text shows that it is not difficult to exemplify the same target structure in such a way that the example illustrates the need for the target structure:

(17) Here's a pen, some paper, and some envelopes.
Please return the pen, but you can keep the paper
and the envelopes.
(Text D, page 117)

Another way of getting at the point of question (7), for some examples at least, is to put it this way: does the example illustrate an obligatory application of a rule? Suppose that we want to illustrate the "double possessive" structure:

(18) A friend *of mine* is coming to visit next week.
(19) A friend *of the teacher's* is coming to visit next week.

In (18), the structure is obligatory in the sense that the pronoun must be possessive: **a friend of me* is not correct. In (19), however, the possessive is not obligatory: we can equally well say *a friend of the teacher.* For this reason, (18) is the better example; it better illustrates the need for the structure.

Question 3: Does the example encourage the student to form a false hypothesis about the target structure?

Suppose we choose to illustrate the passive voice in the simple past tense with this example:

(20) My dog was hit by a car.

The example is consistent with at least three possible hypotheses about how the simple past passive is formed: (a) using a past form of *be* and the base form of the main verb, (b) using a past form of *be* and the simple past form of the main verb, and (c) using a past form of *be* and the past participle of the main verb (the right hypothesis). The example itself does not disprove any of the hypotheses. The reason, of course, is an accidental property of the main verb *hit* : its principal parts are identical. We might instead try an example such as this:

(21) My dog was examined by a veterinarian.

But even (21) is consistent with one of the false hypotheses, (b). We can eliminate both of the false hypotheses by using a verb that has a past participle distinct from its base form and its past tense form:

(22) My dog was eaten by a tiger.

Example (22) is not consistent with either of the false hypotheses, (a) or (b). There may be other false hypotheses that it is consistent with, but we have elminated at least two.

An example of "causative *have*" illustrates the same problem:

(23) He had the barber cut his hair very short.

The student who is given (23) as an example of causative *have* with an active complement is free to assume that *cut* is a base form, a past form, or a past participle. An example with another verb shows that the verb in the complement is a base form:

(24) He had the barber trim his beard.

In both (20) and (23), the problem was the choice of verb. In (25), the problem is the choice of pronoun:

(25) I appreciated her taking the time to help.

As an example of a possessive + gerund form of complement, *her taking the time to help* may be misleading in that *her* is not uniquely possessive: *her* is also an object form. A better example would substitute *their*, *his*, or *your*. The improved example would not allow the student to analyze the pronoun in the complement as an object form rather than a possessive.

Of course, it is never possible to eliminate all possible false hypotheses that students may initially form about structures; but with some care, we can hope to eliminate at least some of the obvious ones.

Question 4: What does the student need to know about the world in order to understand the example?

If we want to exemplify the use of epistemic *must* (*must* for statements of inference), we might choose an example such as (26):

(26) John's last name is O'Hara. He must be of Irish descent.

In order to appreciate the use of *must* in (27), the student must know that *O'Hara* is an Irish name. If the student doesn't know this, the information in the first sentence does not--for the student--constitute evidence for the conclusion that the second sentence expresses. In order to use (27) as an example of epistemic *must* without assuming too much about the student's knowledge of the world, we need to add a little information:

(27) **John's last name is O'Hara. That's an Irish name, so he must be of Irish descent.**

Consider next an example that illustrates the use of *although* to introduce a concessive clause:

(28) **Although I prefer warm climates, I took my vacation in Newfoundland.**

A student who knows that Newfoundland does not have a warm climate is on the way to understanding this use of *although* -- both its syntax and its meaning. For the student who doesn't know this, the example illustrates nothing but the syntax.

Question 5: Will the student know how examples in a set relate to each other? (Are they paraphrases? Do they give different information? Contradictory information?)

Consider the following rule and examples for "causative *have*."

(29) **[rule] Use *have* with an object followed by a bare infinitive.**
(30) **[example] Emma had everyone come to her party.**
(31) **[example] Paul has Stephanie buy the tickets.**
(32) **[rule] Use *have* with an object followed by an *-ing* form.**
(33) **[example] Emma had everyone coming to her party.**
(34) **[example] Paul has Stephanie buying the tickets.**
(Text M1, page 71)

The student who reads these rules and examples will probably assume (no doubt correctly) that the sentences about Emma are not intended to have any relationship to the sentences about Paul. There is nothing to suggest a relationship: no content words are repeated, and the topics of the sentences are different. But what is the student to assume about the two sentences about Emma (or the two about Paul)--which differ only in the presence of *-ing*? Does the *-ing* change the meaning? The text does not say. Apparently the student is expected to understand, without being told, that in spite of the syntactic difference, the sentences are not paraphrases. And, of course, they are not. But elsewhere in the same text, the student finds this example of an active-passive pair:

(35) A flood destroyed Mr. Johnson's house.
(36) Mr. Johnson's house was destroyed by a flood.
(Text M1, page 238)

Here again, the student is not told whether the sentences are paraphrases. But in this case the student's judgment must be just the opposite of the judgment made (one hopes) about the sentences with Emma and Paul. For (35) and (36), the student is expected to understand that, in spite of a significant syntactic difference, the sentences *are* paraphrases.

An unstated principle, which I will call the principle of minimal difference, seems to exert a great influence on teachers and textbook authors in their exemplification of structures. The principle of minimal difference says that in order to focus on a structural contrast, we should present contrasting target structures in sentences that differ minimally. It is the principle that leads to examples like these (as well as others we have already seen):

(37) John likes milk, and so does Mary.
(38) John likes milk, and Mary does too.
(39) John doesn't like milk, and neither does Mary.
(40) John doesn't like milk, and Mary doesn't either.
(Text A, page 267)

(The target structures, of course, are the forms in the second conjuncts.)

We may feel that examples like (37) - (40) require less of the student than examples that don't differ minimally: once the student has read the first line of the series he does not need to process any more new words or structures other than the target structures. But there is another task that examples like these require of the student. To appreciate this task, we need to ask ourselves what steps we go through in interpreting examples like (37) - (40). When we read (37), we imagine a situational context that the sentence might fit into (as we do for any sentence out of context). Then we read (38), and the repetition of words encourages us to keep in mind the same imagined context: these are the same people in the same situation. The second sentence is odd, however, in that it gives no new information--contrary to our normal expectation that successive sentences about the same situation will give different information. We either accept this abnormality or we imagine a new context for (38). We read (39). Again, the repetition encourages us to keep in mind the same context. If we do this, however, we find that (39) contradicts (37) and (38). We either accept this contradiction or imagine a different context--and so it goes.

I believe that most students can cope easily with examples like (37) - (40) once they have become text-wise and have learned to accept contradictions and sentences that give no information. But I suggest that we can easily avoid relying on the student's imagination--and still follow the principle of minimal difference in spirit. We can allow the student to keep the *same* context in mind, and at the same time focus clearly on the structural difference we are trying to get across, with examples like (41) - (44):

(41) John likes milk, and so does Mary.
(42) John likes beer, and Mary does too.
(43) John doesn't like coffee, and neither does Mary.
(44) John doesn't like tea, and Mary doesn't either.

The contrast of the target structures still stands out, and the student is now free to imagine the same context for all of the sentences. This is not to say that the sentences now group together as a natural-sounding discourse; but each sentence does give new information, and there are no contradictions.

With semantically complex target structures, examples that follow the principle of minimal difference may confound even a text-wise student. Consider the following examples of three types of conditional sentences:

(45) If he knows the answer, he will tell her.

407

(46) If he knew the answer, he would tell her.
(47) If he had known the answer, he would have told her.
(Text K, page 257)

The syntactic differences among (45) - (47) are salient enough--the examples follow the principle of minimal difference--but the students' mental task is considerable. If the students understand (45), they imagine for it a context in which the speaker does not know whether "he" knows the answer. When they read (46), they must imagine a context in which the speaker knows that "he" does not know the answer. The students must either accept this contradiction or imagine that (46) fits a different context. The writer of these examples is careful to make it clear to the student that the sentences apply to different situations, but the problem remains that the situations are inconsistent with each other. Again, some small changes allow us to imagine the same situation for all of the sentences, while following the principle of minimal difference in spirit:

(48) If he knows the answer to number 5, he will tell her.
(49) If he knew the answers to all of the questions, he would tell her.
(50) If he had known the answers to the questions on last week's quiz, he would have told her.

I believe that (48) - (50) are at least a small improvement over (45) - (47). They do not require the student to form contradictory sets of presuppositions for each sentence. Each sentence does, obviously, require a *different* presupposition, but these presuppositions are consistent with each other.

In a section about tenses in Text S, we find these examples:

(51) I have lived here for ten years.
(52) I have been living here for ten years.
(53) I had lived there for ten years before we moved.
(54) I had been living there for ten years before we moved.
(55) I will have lived here for ten years by fall.
(56) I will have been living here for ten years by fall.
(Text S, p. 124)

In this set, the author has made a helpful switch from the first pair of sentences to the second: *there* replaces *here*, allowing the second pair of sentences to be consistent with the first. The third pair, however, fails in this regard; it is not consistent with the first pair. Here too, a change as small as the change of *here* to *there* would solve the problem: if *ten* becomes *eleven*, the entire set of examples is consistent with the same situation.

It is the principle of minimal difference, of course, that accounts for many of the most unnatural-sounding examples in texts, including some that we have already looked at. The example quoted above about *the music to which we listened* is from a set of examples that follows the principle of minimal difference:

(57) She is the woman about whom I told you.
(58) She is the woman whom I told you about.
(59) She is the woman that I told you about.
(60) She is the woman I told you about.
(Text A, page 211)

It should be clear, however, that the more natural example we quoted can also be presented in such a set:

(61) These are the earlier poets from whom Shakespeare drew many of his ideas.
(62) These are the earlier poets whom Shakespeare drew his ideas from.
(63) These are the earlier poets that Shakespeare drew his ideas from.
(64) These are the earlier poets Shakespeare drew his ideas from.
(Text M2, page 289)

The more academic content which makes (61) an improvement over (57) is acceptable in *both* the formal and informal varieties of relative clause, unlike the conversational content of (57).

Question 6: Is the example sentence fiction?

I make a distinction between fiction and nonfiction sentences. A glance at some pairs of sentences will show what I mean:

Fiction	Nonfiction
(65a) Mary's hat is similar to Jane's hat. (Text F, page 124)	(65b) Norway is similar to Sweden in its climate. (Text M1, page 92)
(66a) If you had told me about the problem, I would have helped you. (Text A, page 344)	(66b) If Reagan had lost the 1984 election, he would have gone back to California.
(67a) They have waited since 10:00. (Text M1, page 336)	(67b) Alaska has belonged to the U.S. since 1867.

The fiction sentences are one-sentence stories that are not tied to anything in the real world. The nonfiction sentences are about the real world; they do not require any imagination to interpret. If I present (66a) as an example of a certain type of hypothetical conditional sentence, I have to make it clear to my students that "you" did not tell "me" and that "I" did not help "you" (whoever "you" and "I" may be). The students need this knowledge in order to understand the conditional pattern. And every student in the class (except, of course, those who already know the target structure and can draw the right inferences) must get this information *from the teacher*. The students' knowledge of the world will not help them, because the sentences are fiction.

If instead of (66a) I use (66b) as my example, I can hope that at least some of my students already know the necessary background information--that Reagan did not lose in 1984 and that he did not go back to California. Those students who know these facts and look at (66b) in light of them already know what they need to know to understand the idea of unreal conditionals; they do not need to hear it from the teacher. (And those who do not know the historical information are no worse off with [66b] than with [66a].)

Let's compare (66a) and (66b) in another way. Let's imagine that (66a) has been written on the blackboard. There is discussion:

Student: Can I say "If you told me"?
Teacher: Yes, but then you have to say "would help."
Student: If you told me, I would help you. That's okay?
Teacher: Yes, but the meaning is different.
Student: Different meaning?
Teacher: Yes. Now it means....

Now let's imagine that (66b) is our example. The exchange between teacher and student might run like this:

Student: Can I say "If Reagan lost the 1984 election"?
Teacher: No. We're talking about the past, the election of 1984. Reagan didn't lose that election. So we say, "If he had lost..."

The use of the nonfiction example allows the teacher to focus on the structure at hand without being led into a discussion of related structures.

Question 7: Is there anything in the example that might keep the student from focusing on what is important?

Text M1, in presenting "causative *have*," uses these examples:

(68) John had his hair trimmed.
(69) We have just had a new house built.
(Text M1, page 71)

Both examples illustrate the rule, but the second example includes something which could lead the student off the track--that is, cause the student to focus on the wrong thing. The rule mentions *have* with a past participle, but in (69) there are two uses of *have* and two past participles. By exemplifying causative *have* in the present perfect form, the author has introduced another *have* and another past participle. Students must eventually be able to deal with sentences like (69), of course, but if they are just beginning to work with the structure, they may well find (69) confusing.

In (70), something quite different may lead the student off the trăck

(70) Although the weather was warm, I wore a light jacket.

The potentially misleading element is *light*. A student who understands (70) properly will understand that the speaker means "I wore a light jacket instead of no jacket at all." A student who focuses on *light* may be confused by the apparent meaning "I wore a light jacket instead of a heavy one"--which, of course, is inconsistent with the *although* clause. An improved example would simply omit *light*.

Question 8: Does the example exemplify what it is intended to exemplify?

It may seem that this question is too obvious to mention, and in fact cases of examples which don't show what they are intended to show are rare in published texts. They are not so rare in manuscript versions of texts, however, and on blackboards in classrooms. Many structures in English are misleadingly similar to other structures, and it is inevitable that teachers will at times make the mistake of choosing an example which is not an example of the intended structure. Consider this set which, in a careless moment, might be used to exemplify embedded questions.

(71) Tell me what you want.
(72) Tell me who they hired.
(73) Tell me where he is.
(74) Tell me when she calls.
(75) Tell me why you want the job.
(76) Tell me how old you are.

A close examination will reveal that the subordinate clause in (74) is probably not an embedded question at all. The most likely interpretation of (74) is one in which it is synonymous with *When she calls, tell me*. If we change *calls* to *called*, (74) is a clearer example of a sentence with an embedded question.

Question 9: How much does the example alone tell the student?

Text A exemplifies *should*, *ought to*, and *had better* for expressing advisability in this way:

(77) I should lose some weight.
(78) I ought to lose some weight.
(79) You should study harder.
(80) You ought to study harder.
(81) You shouldn't leave your keys in your car.
(82) The gas tank is almost empty. We had better stop at the next service station.
(Text A, pages 150 and 151)

The sentences in (77) and (78) exemplify the syntax of *should* and *ought to* well enough, but they fail to reinforce the notion of advisability. The context of the target structure in the examples is in fact consistent with other modal meanings: I might lose some weight, I must lose some weight, I could lose some weight. The students don't know who "I" is. Unless they already know the target structure and can therefore draw the right inference, they do not know that "I" is overweight. The example does not reinforce the meaning of *should* and *ought to*, because the context *I ________ lose some weight* does not give any sure clues.

The contexts of the target structures are a little richer in (79) - (81). The students don't know who "you" is, but if they believe (as they well may) that it is advisable for *everyone* to study harder and that is inadvisable for *anyone* to leave keys in a car, then they receive some reinforcement of the notion of advisability.

Finally, in (82), the context of *had better* is rich enough to provide good reinforcement of the meaning of the target structure. The sentence in (82) clearly tells more about *had better* than (77) tells about *should*, and it does this at a cost of only a few more words.

Another set of examples, also involving *should*, comes from Text P. Under the heading *Expressing past time with* should +

have + *past participle*, the student reads:

(83) Obligation: You should have voted in the election.
(84) Expectation: We should have arrived at the airport twenty minutes ago.
(85) Advice: You should have studied harder last semester. (Text P, page 189)

Here the second and third examples, with their time adverbials, are more informative than the first. With no time clues, *the election* in the first example could be--for all the student knows --a coming election, not a past one.

Little needs to be said about the exemplification of *little* - *a little* and *few* - *a few* in Text F:

(86) [rule] There is a difference in emphasis between *little* and *a little*, *few*, and *a few*. *A little*, *a few* have positive force--they stress the *presence* of something, although in a small quantity.
(87) [example] I have a little money; I have a few friends.
(88) [rule] Little and few, on the other hand, have negative force--they stress the *absence* of almost all quantity.
(89) [example] I have little money; I have few friends. (Text F, page 123)

Again, at a cost of only a few words, we can build enough information into the context of the target structure to make the example more telling:

(90) Jill is bad at math. She works slowly and she always makes a few mistakes.
(91) Sheelah is good at math. She works fast and she makes few mistakes.
(92) Jim enjoys babysitting. He likes children and he makes a little money at the same time.
(93) The patient is in bad condition. There is little hope that she will recover.

NINE PRINCIPLES OF EXEMPLIFICATION

1. Choose examples that exemplify an appropriate use of language.

2. Choose examples that demonstrate the need for the target structure. If the target structure could be omitted from the example with no loss of information, or if another structure would be likely to replace the target structure, then the example needs work.

3. Insofar as possible, choose examples that are not consistent with obvious false hypotheses that the student may have in mind.

4. Choose examples that do not assume knowledge of the world that the student may not have.

5. If similar examples are paraphrases, label them as paraphrases. If they are not, explain them, or (better) replace them with examples that are not misleadingly similar. Beware of the principle of minimal difference. Bend it enough so that students do not need to juggle contradictory contexts as they interpret a set of examples.

6. Favor nonfiction examples.

7. Insofar as possible, choose examples that do not include anything that may keep the student from focusing on what is important.

8. Take care that examples exemplify what they are intended to exemplify. English is full of misleadingly similar structures. Study examples to make sure that you (or your text writer) have not been careless.

9. Choose examples that tell the student as much as possible. It is often not difficult to improve an example in such a way that it helps the student understand the meaning and use of the target structure as well as the syntax. In this way, the example itself repeats the things that we tell the student in our explanations.

And one more

An example that is good according to one principle may be bad according to another. (Principles 4 and 7, especially, will often be in conflict.) Some of the examples I have offered as good examples by one criterion may be bad by another criterion. For this reason, it is wise to exemplify a target structure with a variety of examples, keeping in mind the strengths and weaknesses of each one. So the final principle is:

10. An example shouldn't be lonely.

□

The author

Eric Nelson teaches ESL in the English Program for International Students at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Azar, B. (1981). *Understanding and using English grammar.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Danielson, D., & Hayden, R. (1973). *Using English: Your second language.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Frank, M. (1972). *Modern English: A practical reference guide.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Krohn, R. (1971). *English sentence structure.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Maclin, A. (1981). *Reference guide to English: A handbook of English as a second language.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Maclin, A. (1987). *Reference guide to English: A handbook of English as a second language* (2nd ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Pollack, C. (1982). *Communicate what you mean.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Stevenson, M. (1987). *English syntax.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Publications received

Baugh, L. (1987). *Essentials of English grammar: A practical guide to the mastery of English*. Lincolnwood, IL: Passport Books, National Textbook Company.

Cargill, C. (Ed.). (1987). *A TESOL professional anthology: Grammar and composition*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Cargill, C. (Ed.). (1987). *A TESOL professional anthology: Culture*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Cargill, C. (Ed.). (1987). *A TESOL professional anthology: Listening, speaking, and reading*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Colman, L. (1987). *Intermediate activities for English language learners*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Colman, L. (1987). *Advanced activities for English language learners*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Colman, L. (1987). *Beginning activities for English language learners*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Cottrell, J. (1987). *Creative drama in the classroom, grades 1-3: Teacher's resource book for theatre arts*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Cottrell, J. (1987). *Creative drama in the classroom, grades 4-6: Teacher's resource book for theatre arts*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Danesi, M. (1987). *Puzzles and games in language teaching*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

de Frisching, S. (1986). *Let's learn about America: Games, puzzles, and activities*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Echeverria, E. (1987). *Speaking on issues: An introduction to public communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Friedenberg, J., & Bradley, C. (1986). *Finding a job in the United States*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Galvin, K. (1985). *Listening by doing: Developing effective listening skills*. [With teacher's guide.] Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Hall, E. (1986). *Grammar for use: A realistic approach to grammar study for immediate practical application.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Leavitt, H., & Sohn, D. (1985). *Look, think, and write: Using pictures to stimulate thinking and improve your writing.* [With teacher's guide.] Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Schinke-Llano, L. (1987). *Advanced vocabulary games for English language learners.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Schinke-Llano, L. (1987). *Easy vocabulary games for beginning English language learners.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

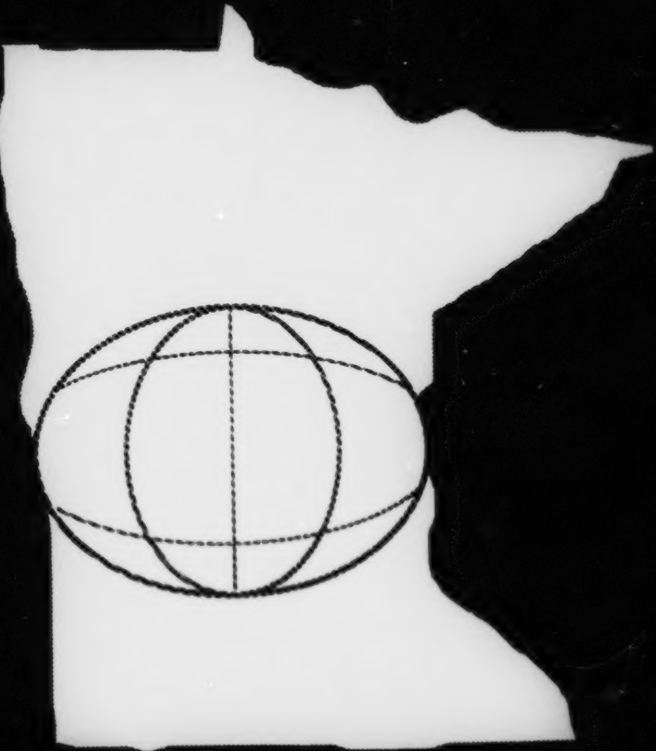
Schinke-Llano, L. (1987). *Vocabulary games for intermediate English language learners.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Schinke-Llano, L., & Terdy, D. (1987). *Campus English: Practical American English for international students.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Spears, R. (1987.) *NTC's American idioms dictionary.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

418

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages



MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 7 1987 - 1989

Minne*TESOL* Journal

Volume 7 **1987 - 1989**

CONTENTS

Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation
Thomas A. Upton 9

Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? Focus on adjustments in China's overseas policies
Lynne Ackerberg 29

Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators
Elaine Tarone 39

Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction
Irene K. Prendergast 49

Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition
William R. Sims 61

Minne*TESOL* Officers and Executive Board

1987–88

President
Audrae Coury

First vice-president
Karën Dudley

Second vice-president
Elaine Matyi

Membership Secretary
Anne DeMuth

Treasurer
Mary Ostrander

Members-at-large
Patricia Karg
Darlene Kunze
Mary Meisinger
Dixie Olmstead
Jenise Rowekamp
Karen Stier-Pulver

1988–89

President
Karën Dudley

First vice-president
Bruce Downing

Second vice-president
Judith Strohl

Membership Secretary
Pat Korb

Treasurer
Mary Ostrander

Members-at-large
Suzanne Donsky
Stephen Guthrie
Adele Hansen
Patricia Karg
Wanda McCaa
Mary Meisinger
David Rathbun
Patricia Rogosheske
Jenise Rowekamp

Journal Editorial Board

Helen Jorstad, Co-Editor
University of Minnesota

Thomas Upton, Co-Editor
University of Minnesota

Kim Brown
Macalester College

Doris Heisig
University of Minnesota

William Sims
University of Minnesota

Grateful thanks is given to our typist, Cathy Zemke, and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota

Newsletter Editorial Staff

1987–1988

Rosemary Dosch, Editor
Woody Parks, Editor

1988–1989

Rosemary Dosch, Editor
Woody Parks, Editor

Membership in Minne*TESOL*

Membership in Minne*TESOL* ($15.00) includes a subscription to the ***MinneTESOL Journal*** and ***MinneTESOL Newsletter.*** Contact the Membership Secretary, Minne*TESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Mpls., MN 55414

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome.

- **Manuscripts**

Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.*

Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words. Submission of a computer diskette is also encouraged.

Contributions to volume 8 should be submitted to the editor:

Thomas A. Upton
2409 Silver Lane
St. Anthony, MN 55421

- **Advertising**

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Mpls. MN 55414.

In this volume

Readers of the previous five volumes of the *MinneTESOL Journal* will notice a marked change in perspective in this current volume. In the past, articles have tended toward praxis, providing ideas and suggestions for immediate application in the classroom. With this volume, the journal staff has sought to select articles that would provide a more global and theoretical perspective for ESL in Minnesota. One look at the table of contents will quickly reveal the diversity of the articles that make up this issue. However, we feel this diversity is united by an underlying theme, namely the Freirean belief that instruction must be student-centered in order for it to be successful, focusing on who the students are and what it is they *really* need to learn.

How this student-centered focus may be manifested in practice is the question at hand. One approach suggested by these articles is that we need to look beyond the immediate classroom life and develop a macro-level perspective on our students and those "outside" factors that influence their abilities to learn. Our students are greatly affected by things over which teachers have no control, and we need to be aware of these. A second approach suggested by these articles is one of collaboration - with students, with colleagues, with theory. Every professional who works in ESL and wrestles with what it means to be an effective teacher has gained useful knowledge and experience. Our profession can only benefit as people step forward with their ideas and share with us their successes, their failures, their theories, and their dreams. All too often the ESL professional tries quixotically to stand alone, but it is only in collaboration that our profession will move forward.

To lead off this volume, we as a committee have selected two articles whose focus is not directly on the ESL classroom *per se*, but the students who inhabit these classrooms - in this case, Chinese students. We feel it is critical for ESL professionals in Minnesota to know the students with whom they work - not just who they are, but also what they believe and how they view life. We have also chosen these timely articles as a statement of our concern for and remorse over the recent events that have transpired in the People's Republic of China. Our commitment as educators is directed toward the development of the individual student, and events such as those which occurred in Tiananmen Square serve only to defeat and destroy the individual uniqueness and importance of the students we serve. While these first two articles deal specifically with Chinese students and scholars, they exemplify the understanding that needs to be gained on each student population we work with.

In the lead article, "Chinese students, American universities, and cultural confrontation," Thomas Upton provides an interdisciplinary framework for appreciating the difficulties that Chinese students must face when attending American universities. Upton looks beyond the "language" problem that Chinese ESL students have and outlines some of the philosophical, social, educational, and interpersonal issues that each student must deal with on an individual basis while living and studying in the United States. The underlying assumption is that as we become more familiar with the students we teach, we are better able to develop our instruction to meet their individual, culturally molded needs and expectations.

Lynne Ackerberg provides an interesting switch in perspective in her article "Why aren't Third World scholars going home? Focus on adjustments in China's overseas policies." Despite the difficulties Chinese students have in adjusting to the American educational and social culture, many are finding it more appealing to remain in the United States rather than return to their home country. Ackerberg looks at some of the reasons why and outlines several suggestions that have been offered to encourage these educated professionals to repatriate. A key question raised by this article is how seriously do we consider the ultimate goals of our international students once they finish their training. What can we as teachers do to make their education in Minnesota more meaningful once they return to their native countries?

The next two articles, one by Elaine Tarone and the other by Irene Prendergast, elaborate on the theme of student-centered instruction. While the first two articles look more closely at students as cultural beings, these next two articles emphasize the importance of instruction that is designed to meet classroom and individual level needs. Tarone's article, "Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators," argues for the importance of student needs assessments performed at the local, classroom level. Her thesis is that ESL instruction must be authentic and relevant to the students in order for it to be successful. She offers several suggestions and examples of how teachers can conduct their own classroom needs assessments and she outlines ways program administrators can encourage teachers in this task. Her use of papers written by three MA students at the University of Minnesota well illustrate the rewards that can be reaped from collaboration

Irene Prendergast, in her article "Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction," provides an excellent illustration of how a local needs assessment can be successfully accomplished through collaboration with individual students. She struggles with the issue of how to use authentic language in its natural capacity as a tool for communication and expression rather than as a subject for study. In this narrative, Prendergast invites us to observe how one teacher strives to provide a meaningful, learner-centered atmosphere that encourages not only language facility but intellectual and personal growth.

We have chosen William R. Sims' paper, "Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition," to round out this volume as an illustration of one person's attempt to use learning theory to seek solutions to a common language learning problem. Sims proposes that the existence of language "fossilization" could be a function of the individual learning strategies employed by the second language learner. His hypothesis is that language fossilization can occur because individuals choose inappropriate learning strategies for learning particular language forms and functions. He suggests that if erroneous or misapplied strategies could be identified and remediated, fossilization may not be, "terminal" as has been previously suggested. Sims once again reminds us that the key to success in language instruction is a student-centered approach whereby specific, individual issues are evaluated and acted upon with the interest of the student in mind.

As a final note, the journal committee would like to point out that, except for Tarone, none of the authors who are published in this volume are recognized "names" in the professional realm of ESL. We see this as important as there are innumerable people working in ESL who could contribute significantly to our collective understanding of second language learning if they would but take the time to put pen to paper. As we can see by reading the pieces in this volume, an article need not be empirical or quantitative in order to be powerful. It is our hope that you will find this encouraging and take the opportunity to use the *MinneTESOL Journal* as the collaborative voice it is meant to be.

T.A.U.

Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation

Thomas A. Upton[*]
University of Minnesota

This paper attempts to look at some of the issues of cultural adjustment that Chinese students studying at American universities must face. This is done by comparing and contrasting the educational philosophies and the educational organizations of both countries as well as the expectations and cultural norms of the Chinese and the American students and teachers. How the differences in each of these areas are often manifested in the lives of the Chinese students studying in the United States is also discussed.

For thousands of years China had little or no contact with Western countries and long considered itself the center of the world, hence its Chinese name--"The Middle Kingdom." A more ethnocentric, culturally arrogant country would be difficult to find than the China of only two hundred years ago. The rulers and emperors of China believed China to be the most advanced and civilized people in the world, all outsiders being, de facto, "barbarians." But contact with militarily superior Western nations beginning in the 1800s forced China--rather harshly--to look at itself as but another nation in a world of nations. In opening up to Western countries, China has had to humble itself, a totally reprehensible thought even as recently as the turn of this century.

Since its founding in 1949 international exchanges with foreign countries in education, science, and culture have been an integral part of the national policy of the People's Republic of China (Huang, 1986). Unfortunately, these exchanges, like most international exchange programs, have fluctuated with the changing political winds. From 1949 to 1966, China, a fledgling socialist country all but at war with the United States and feeling humiliated at its treatment historically at the hands of Western countries, largely limited its educational exchanges to other socialist countries--mainly the Soviet Union. During this fifteen year period, China sent over 10,000 students to its socialist allies (about 8,500 to the U.S.S.R.

---

[*] Thomas Upton, a graduate student in Second Languages and Cultures at the University of Minnesota, has an M.A. in ESL and works with ESL students in The Learning and Academic Skills Center at the University.

alone), but less than 380 to the West--and none to West Germany, Canada, Japan, or the United States.[1]

In the 1960s, China's political relationship with the U.S.S.R. began to deteriorate, which inevitably affected its educational exchanges with both the Soviet Union and the other socialist East-bloc countries. From 1961 to 1965 fewer than 210 Chinese students were sent to study in the Soviet Union, as compared to more than 4,000 during the previous five years. Most Chinese during this period were forced to restrict their education to Chinese institutions as study abroad opportunities were carefully controlled. But even the limited avenues that were available for international educational exchanges were adversely affected by the decade-long upheaval in China known as the Cultural Revolution, which lasted from 1966 to 1976. In fact, for five years (1966-1971) China suspended all educational exchanges with foreign countries, virtually closing China off from any contact with the rest of the world.

Beginning in 1976 with the normalization of relations with the United States, the end of China's Cultural Revolution, and the rise to power of the pragmatist Deng Xiaoping, a new political atmosphere began to emerge. This change in political thinking was quickly seen in the field of education when, in 1978, a radical new approach to educational interaction with foreign countries was established by the Chinese government. From this period onwards, China again started to send students abroad on a large scale, with over 12,000 government sponsored students sent to the United States alone between 1978 and 1984 (Huang, 1986). Today, with the leadership of China emphasizing economic reform and modernization, students and scientists are being sent to the United States and elsewhere to study and bring back the latest theories and developments in the realms of science and technology. As a result of this new desire to reach out beyond its borders, the Chinese have encountered a very sensitive problem: cultural confrontation. Before 1978, China had had only limited contact with Western educational systems, and many of these foreign-trained students either fled China in 1949 or were purged from positions of authority and humiliated during the Cultural Revolution because of their "evil" Western influences. Now, for the first time in China's history, tens of thousands of students are pursuing Western educations and, as a result, are encountering cultures totally alien to them, among them our American culture. Unfortunately, the encounters with these non-Asian cultures have not been as easy as most Chinese expected.

A culture has many different dimensions including a "society's system of values, ideology, and social code of behavior; its productive technologies and modes of consumption; its religious dogmas, myths, and taboos; its social structure, political system, and decision-making processes" (Coombs, 1985). Whenever two or more different cultures meet there is cultural contact. Because cultures differ to a greater or lesser extent on each of these dimensions, cultural contacts typically are quite dynamic. There is a confrontation, a cultural confrontation, and it can occur on one or more of three different levels: international, institutional, or interpersonal (Chen, 1985).

---

[1] Unless noted otherwise, all statistics in this section are taken from *Achievement of Education in China 1949-1983* , 126-129.

One typical confrontation between cultures revolves around education. Education is a cultural universal; it is common to all cultures. Yet, like any other dimension of a culture (such as music and food), it is intimately entwined with the culture. Education, with language, is the key to a culture's identity and, thus, to its ultimate survival. Historically, it has been the role of education to conserve, protect, and pass on the idiosyncrasies of a culture; because of this relationship it is impossible to separate education from culture. Students do not gain knowledge in a vacuum. They also learn an educational philosophy; they learn what their roles as students are, what they can expect from a teacher, and what their places in society are. But these definitions of what education is, what students and teachers are, are not universal. Each culture has its own definitions.

The stage for conflict is set when a student from one culture enters a second culture's educational system. Chinese students studying in America are at the vanguard of a cultural confrontation in education. They are being forced to live and learn in ways that are often totally alien to them. What these Chinese scholars are finding out is that learning in a foreign country involves more than just reading new material in a second language. There is a whole underlying realm of culture intimately bound up in an educational system and this culture has to be learned (but not necessarily accepted) before a person can function successfully and comfortably. To gain the education they want so badly, the Chinese must learn the American philosophy of education, they must deal with the different roles that students in America have, and they must come to grips with the expectations that American society and institutions place on students.

Having briefly looked at the historical setting of China's contact with the United States, I want to explore in this paper some of the issues of cultural confrontation in the realm of education faced by Chinese students studying at American universities. What are the fundamental differences in the educational philosophies of China and the United States? How do these differences manifest themselves in the educational institutions and in the lives of students and teachers operating in these different cultures? In short, what are the most salient cultural issues that Chinese students are going to have to confront and come to terms with while living and studying at an American university?[2]

CONTRASTS IN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

> *My lessons with Teacher Wei had come to involve more than reading and writing assignments. She was a teacher in the Chinese tradition, taking responsibility not only for my academic progress but for my development as a person. She had advice for me concerning my family and friends, my diet, my clothing, my study and exercise habits, and my attitude toward life. At times I got impatient with her and explained that in America, children leave for college and like to make decisions for themselves after that. She was appalled. "Don't your parents and teachers care about you?"*
>
> *"Of course they do, but--"*
>
> *"Then how can they leave you stranded when you are only a child?"*
>
> *"Well, we--"*
>
> *"And how can you possibly think you understand everything? You are only twenty-two years old! You are so far away from home, and I am your teacher; if I don't care about you, won't you be lonely?"*
>
> *She pointed out that the close relationship between teacher and student has existed in China since before the time of Confucius and should not be underestimated--besides, she was older than me and knew better. I couldn't help respecting her conviction, and she seemed to get such pleasure out of trying to figure and then straighten me out that I stopped resisting and let her educate me* (Salzman, 1986).

This exchange between an American college student and a Chinese teacher beautifully exemplifies the different perspectives that must be navigated when East meets West.

In order to better appreciate China's perspective on education, it might be helpful to look briefly at Mao Ze-dong's understanding of the purpose of education. Mao, the founder of socialism in China, had a lot to say about education and much of his thought is still considered relevant in China today. He was a firm believer in the Marxist-Leninist ideology that sees education as a part of the whole superstructure of society, intimately connected to a country's economic and political system, and a direct outgrowth of them. In 1940, Mao wrote:

---

[2] My assumption throughout this paper is that the reader is familiar with the American educational system. As a result, my efforts are directed mainly toward examining the Chinese system.

> *A national culture with a socialist content will necessarily be the reflection of a socialist politics and and a socialist economy. There are socialist elements in our politics and our economy, hence these socialist elements are reflected in our national culture; but taking our society as a whole, we do not have a socialist politics and socialist economy yet* (Mao, 1977).

The key word in this quote is "yet." Mao's ambition, in essence, was to change China's culture. He was acutely aware that it is education that transmits culture and that the socialist national culture he wanted to impart would only come with the training of the masses. Education is the foundation--education that will teach the values and ideas necessary to build China's new Communist culture. However, in recognizing the significance of education, Mao played down its inherent qualities. He saw it as being used as a tool, not studied for its own sake. In fact, Mao saw education, reason, and logic as merely instruments (though important ones) for spreading and indoctrinating political ideology (Chu, 1980). In short, education, as viewed by Mao and now by China today, is very much moral-political. It is used to promote the moral, intellectual, and physical characteristics of the Chinese people as well as to ensure their development of socialist consciousness and character (Shi, 1984).

This moral-political nature of Chinese education, however, is not a Communist innovation. Since Confucius (351-479 B.C.) it has been a part of China's culture. In Confucius' day the perfection of society was seen to come through cultivation of proper moral and ethical principles. With this in mind, Confucius presented the image of what the superior man should be like: "He was to be upright, righteous, loyal, forgiving and tolerant, cultured, a follower of the rites, and, above all, humane" (Rodzinski, 1984). Education was to be the tool used for refining these qualities. *The Book of Rites,* a description of the ceremonies and rites observed in the political and social life of ancient China, asks rhetorically, "When the ruler wishes to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs must he not start from lessons in the school?" (Shi, 1984). Education's purpose was to produce gentlemen with virtue and wisdom for service to the state (Yeh, 1969).

From China's earliest dynasties education has been a political and moral tool of the emperor to help in the reign of the country. The belief that man possesses an innate goodness, which can be nurtured by the proper education in order to achieve his full potential, is among the most ancient in Chinese thought (Hook, 1982). This innate "goodness," however, has in practice always been defined as what is deemed most desirable for the maintenance of the existing social order. The Communists have merely carried on this educational tradition with their policies, for even today education is meant to serve the ruling class--the Communists.

Ideological indoctrination has been an ever-present feature of educational life in China, particularly from 1949, when the Communists took power, until the death of Mao in 1976. During the Cultural Revolution years of 1965-1976, 'politics' dominated the curriculum in China in an unprecedented manner. Foreign language students, for example, had to use texts that consisted of nothing but translations of Mao's quotations. "To 'remold' their thought, [intellectuals and students] were also made to study prescribed Marxist texts and to participate in 'criticism, self-criticism' sessions, which usually involved a measure of public humiliation" (Hook, 1982).* Although this era of indoctrination as the main purpose of education has passed, the ancient notion that the state shall teach its citizens what to think is still the prevailing philosophy in China today. Recent events at Tianamen Square are only the most obvious examples.

American educational philosophy, on the other hand, is far less politically and morally oriented. Though reflecting the moral and political values of American culture, education in the United States is much less overt in its manifestation of them. Chinese often find the apparent lack of moral involvement by American teachers with their students disturbing. For the Chinese, good teachers, like Teacher Wei in the anecdote quoted at the beginning of this section, take an interest in the all-round development of their students. One visiting group of Chinese scholars observed the American school system for a few weeks and came away with the following conclusion:

> *Chinese teachers approach their students with a broader feeling of personal responsibility and more genuine caring and concern than do American educators. Chinese teachers tend to feel an* overall *accountability for the welfare of their students. They see themselves--and are seen by others--as mentors, concerned about not only their proteges' academic progress but also their moral, social, political, and physical development* (Grove, 1984).

American educational philosophy is probably more accurately described as a strictly academic philosophy. The central aim of an academic philosophy of education is to promote academic learning. Education is equated with schools and must involve classroom teaching and the study of books. Success or failure of the school is based on the level of knowledge acquired by its students. Standards must be maintained or elevated and research is considered a school's lifeblood (Chen, 1981). America, with its paranoia for keeping the church and state separate, has in many respects denuded the public school system of any moral role in society. Recent Supreme Court rulings limiting what teachers can teach and how they are permitted to discipline are indicative of this. Where in China it is a teacher's responsibility to teach people to be moral and to do so by example, there are few such overt expectations placed on American teachers, except possibly in the area of educational ethics (e.g., plagiarism).

---

* Editor's note: Ideological indoctrination is still in practice today. ABC News, August, 1989, noted that PRC government officials are requiring that all incoming Freshmen at Beijing University attend one year of military training and indoctrination before beginning their course work. The *New York Times* (Sunday, September 3, 1989), reports that university graduates will also now be required to spend two years working in the contryside before beginning white-collar jobs or graduate school.

For many Americans, education is seen as a means to personal achievement, an opportunity to gain an edge in the competitive world of a market-oriented economy. The idea of education as a government tool in the political and moral transformation of society is alien and often reprehensible to the American, while to the Chinese it is an accepted fact of life. For the Chinese, education does not aim at forming an intellectual class, it is not an end in itself; education is seen as a means of making the students, the inheritors of the Communist Party's dream of a future Communist culture, more conscious of their role in society.

MANIFESTATION OF CONTRASTS IN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

These differences in educational philosophy can be quite unsettling to the unsuspecting Chinese who comes to the United States to go to college. Most of the cultural conflict in this area revolves around the moral-political nature of Chinese education and the apparent lack of it in the U.S. educational system[3]. One of the first impressions that some of the Chinese students I interviewed had about the University of Minnesota was that University students have rather "loose" sexual morals.

It is not hard to see why many Chinese students are surprised at some aspects of American university lifestyle when one realizes that, in China, students are generally not allowed to even date, much less have a boyfriend or girlfriend.[4] Dating is seen as a distraction and a temptation, and students are expected to devote all their energies to their studies. They may only date after they graduate.

---

[3] Since May 1986, as a result of a National Conference on Study Abroad that was convened by the State Education Commission, the moral quality of Chinese students seeking permission to study abroad is, in fact, given major consideration when deciding who will be permitted to take part in educational exchanges (Huang, 1986).

[4] Changes are occurring rapidly here, too, however. As Chinese youths are becoming more exposed to western culture, their views on dating and marriage are beginning to change as well (See Zhao, 1988).

Physical interaction between students of the opposite sex is also rare in China. One American professor teaching English at a Chinese university noted, "I don't think I ever saw a boy and girl hold hands on campus. I never saw anyone kiss..., although I once saw it in Tiananmen Square in Peking" (Jochnovitz, 1986). Since dating on campuses is not allowed, obviously no couple would want to be seen holding hands or kissing. But even if dating were permitted, Chinese cultural mores do not allow for the public showing of affection toward people of the opposite gender--even one's spouse. More than one Chinese male living in America has been shocked by a casual female friend innocently greeting him with a hug or some other display of affection.[5] In China, though colleges are coeducational, there are usually no physical displays of friendship between sexes. Women generally do things with women, men with men. Although Chinese do not see anything wrong with dating, physical displays of affection are not culturally accepted. It is through these moral glasses that most Chinese view Americans, and few American college students meet the levels of morality dictated by both Chinese tradition and Communist culture.

On a different plane, Chinese students often state that they are more hard-working and serious (as well as more puritanical) than their American counterparts. Professor Shi Mingde, a teacher from Jiao Tong University in Xian, gives two explanations for this (Shi, 1984). The first is a political motivation. He says that China is a developing country and its students realize the importance of education toward the fulfillment of China's Four Modernizations.[6] Education is indispensable for attaining this goal and the students, who want very much to see their country modernize, are devoting their every effort toward these ends. While this patriotic drive to gain expertise for the development of the motherland seems suspect to Americans, one needs to appreciate the deep love that the Chinese truly have for their country. Patriotism is instilled in them at an early age through their educational system and their culture, and many Chinese honestly exert much time and effort for the betterment of their country. It has not been uncommon for Chinese to give up high-paying and influential positions in Western countries to return to China in an effort to help bring about its modernization. While many university students may not strongly support the communist government currently in power, they do love and support their country. Many students even see themselves as agents of change.

---

[5] One Chinese author, Liu Zongren, notes this aspect of Chinese culture when he writes of his first encounter with the family he would be staying with while living in Chicago for a few days: "Mrs. McKnight, a heavyset woman in her fifties, opened the door to greet me. She came forward and embraced me. I must have appeared very awkward to her when she did this; she was the first woman who had ever put her arms around me in front of others. Fengyun [his wife] had never even touched my hand in public" (Liu, 1984).

[6] The "Four Modernizations" is a term used to denote China's pursuit to modernize the agricultural, economic, scientific and technological, and military sectors of its society.

The second explanation is a more personal one. Education is a scarce commodity in China and those who are able to further their education are those who work the hardest. Supporting institutions and the Chinese government are only willing to support the best students at overseas universities, and the ones who are the most academically successful are the ones chosen to go overseas. These are usually the students who place all other goals secondary to their education.

In either case, the Chinese students who end up at American universities are usually very diligent. Several of the Chinese I talked with expressed the fact that they see themselves at a disadvantage in that they are not native speakers of English. But every one of them was proud of the fact that they have been able to compete with Americans in their school systems and do just as well as, if not better than, the average American student. In fact, a few of the Chinese I talked with made statements along the lines that they were surprised to see that many American students often did not adequately prepare for class, were terrible procrastinators, and spent too much time doing things other than school work. Althen comments on this phenomenon in a handbook designed for foreign teaching assistants. He writes:

> *University students in many countries have studied and worked very hard to get into the university. They have learned a great deal, and they are usually very interested in learning more. That is not necessarily true of all university students in the U.S. While many students are quite interested in their studies and want to do well in their courses, many U.S. students are not particularly interested in their studies...Some freshmen enter a university not because they truly want to be students and learn more, but for some other reason or reasons. For example, they may have been unable to find a job...Perhaps their parents wanted them to go to a university, or some of their friends were going and they thought they should go too* (Althen, 1981).

This attitude is difficult for Chinese students to understand. Only through hard work have they been able to obtain their goals. They find it hard to relate to the laissez-faire attitude that many American students have toward education.

CONTRASTS IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Because of the different philosophies on the purpose and function of education in China and the United States, there is also a marked difference in the organization of the educational structures of the respective countries. China's political system is infamous for creating bureaucracy. It has a centralized government that rules over nearly every aspect of the country. In the field of education, the Chinese government has established the National Education Commission, which is responsible for every element of education. This National Education Commission is a department of the State Council and is equal in rank with China's State Planning Commission and State Economic Commission (Swanson and Zhang, 1987). Because of this high standing in the national government, "the commission can give direction to all educational programs in all ministries in every province" (Swanson and Zhang, 1987). There are no private or religiously-affiliated schools, all schools are government owned and operated.[7] At the secondary levels, textbooks, curriculum, teaching materials, even class scheduling are generally unified across the country. A person studying a course at one school will be studying the same text at the same time in basically the same manner as a student in another school in another city. The government is the final authority on what texts may or may not be used at each level of education and in what manner the texts can be taught. According to Communist ideology and Chinese tradition, it is the right of the ruling party to edit learning materials for its political purposes.

In the United States there is no centralized ministry of education. A "public" school falls under the jurisdiction of a district or, at the highest level, of a state. Each state, each district, often each school is essentially autonomous in most aspects of the day-to-day affairs of education. They can independently decide what curriculum, what methods, what subjects they want to teach. In addition to the public schools there are private schools of all different types: technical, liberal arts, specialized, and so on. There is no government arm that unites them or has jurisdiction over them all (except in certain specific areas where laws like equal access, affirmative action, etc. govern all institutions and businesses).

In fact, while China may have one of the most centralized educational systems in the world, the United States' system is definitely among the most decentralized (Donovan, 1981). As a result, the American educational system is much more flexible than the Chinese. People can choose what type of an education they want, and if there is a market or a need for an addition to a school's curriculum, this can be done relatively quickly and easily. Schools, or school districts, individually decide on teaching plans and curriculum; programs for research and social involvement are decided upon by individual institutions; and decisions for expansion and/or improvement are also both institutional decisions.

However, there are advantages to the Chinese system. While their centralized system is often rigid and onerous, it is reasonably equitable (though this may begin to change with the new reforms scheduled to be implemented) (Swanson and Zhang, 1987). China has been able to make reasonably good education accessible not only to regions of wealth and strong academic tradition but also to regions of poverty with leaders uncommitted to education, mainly because of the active involvement of the national government. Since the government maintains the right to assign students jobs when they graduate from college, it is relatively easy for good students to be sent to teach at schools that would otherwise be unable to attract them.[8] In the United States there can be an extreme imbalance of available funds and qualified teachers from one school to the next--say between an inner-city school and a suburban one, or between an Ivy League school and a community college--with no national bureaucratic arm to exert a leveling influence. The inequality of minority and low-income community schools, for example, has long been a major issue of school systems in the United States. While some schools in China are much better endowed than others, this is a result of a conscious decision by the National Education Commission, not a result of "market" forces.

---

[7] There are seminaries, monastic schools, and other schools of religion in China, but all of these are government owned and operated.

Another drawback to the extreme decentralization of American universities and schools is the inability to achieve any sort of national standardization of education. Where Chinese universities operate on nationally established and monitored guidelines, American universities are left to independently monitor and maintain their own standards (although many do subscribe to an accrediting board, this is not required). Of course China has its "top" universities as the United States does, but the key point is that they are established and supported by the government.

MANIFESTATION OF CONTRAST IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

These organizational differences can be fraught with difficulties for the Chinese student. The advantage of a centrally-controlled school system is that every course of study is mapped out by the authorities. The curriculum is generally very rigid and does not give the students many opportunities to express their personal preference in classes. Each major has a certain sequence of courses and each person in each class generally takes the same courses at the same time during their four years at school. One American teacher in China remarked that, at his college, "The English majors all know each other very well. Their roommates are also their sectionmates. They take almost identical programs. There are almost no electives, although the students may choose French, Russian, or Japanese as their second foreign language" (Jochnovitz, 1986). There are few decisions to be made once students have started their work, and it is next to impossible to change their major once they have started a program. For Chinese students to come to an American university and suddenly find themselves responsible for which courses they will take, when they will take them, which professor to choose, whether to take an extension class from another school, etc., can all be very overwhelming. Most Chinese have had only minimal control over the course of their education, and to be forced suddenly to make all these decisions is often a traumatic experience. Colleges in China provide a number of services and have certain measures of control over students that have no counterparts in the United States. "It is perfectly natural for a PRC student or scholar to assume that the American institution's "Bureau of Foreign Affairs" will monitor his or her progress, help solve personal problems and mediate between the individual and the school. It is also natural to assume that the school will provide housing and will specify precisely what courses are to be taken--because that is what happens in China" (Donovan, 1981). What we consider to be an enviable trait, i.e., the flexibility of the American school system, demands a lot of responsibility, initiative and independence on the part of the student; for people who come from a culture where independent thinking and acting are often discouraged, or are at least not encouraged, this is not an easily acquired trait.

---

[8] Two of my former students in China had to take teaching positions in an "undesirable" town because the provincial government refused to give them jobs in their home towns. From my discussion with friends in China, this is not uncommon.

Many Chinese students at the University of Minnesota have quickly learned how to ease this period of adaptation to the individual demands of the American school system by tapping into an amazing network of information and help offered by the Chinese students already situated on campus. While American students studying abroad may get some assistance from other Americans studying at the same school, they would not generally expect much help from their fellow nationals. Chinese, on the other hand, take great pride in taking care of their own. One Chinese woman I talked with had, within 24 hours of arriving in the United States, a low-rent apartment close to campus, clothes appropriate for winter, and a list of phone numbers and names to call for help with various things, all provided for her by Chinese compatriots that only a day before she did not even know. This same network provides Chinese students with information on which classes to take, which professors are most helpful to international students, which advisers to try to get, as well as where to buy certain items at the cheapest prices. While the American educational system can be bewildering to Chinese students, they have found ways to successfully navigate these potentially troubling waters. Lacking a bureaucratic structure to tell them what to do, they often look to their compatriots for direction.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN CHINA

To understand the perspective of students from China today it helps to appreciate some of China's past traditions which still influence their thought in education. From Confucius' time until the 1800s, education was seen as the key to advancement, but it was only undertaken by those willing to devote their whole lives to that pursuit. By the time an advanced student was able to pass all the exams necessary to be appointed as one of the educated and ruling elites of the country, he (the students were always men) was usually well over twenty years old and often in his thirties. For over two thousand years the texts of study were always the same: the ancient classics. They had to be memorized verbatim, from cover to cover, and fully understood. The civil service exams for hundreds of years were to a large extent a test of a student's ability to memorize and internalize tremendous amounts of material. Discipline and self-development were considered critical to a good education (Yeh, 1969). Students were not expected to interact with, give their opinions on, evaluate, or discuss the classics; they were expected only to memorize them. Even the slightest deviation in thinking from established orthodox thought was likely to result in failure (Ebrey, 1981). Mencius (371-289 B.C.), one of China's great scholars and interpreter of Confucianism, said, "I have transmitted what was taught to me without making up anything of my own. I have been faithful to and loved the Ancients" (Waley, 1977). His was an example to emulate--learn, but don't alter.

Today there is a certain irony in the resemblance of China's modern Communist education to this traditional, "feudalistic" view of education. This resemblance manifests itself in several ways. First is this concept of unquestioned allegiance to the themes of instruction, as exemplified by Mencius. The Communists have defined their own truth and to question its validity is not generally considered wise. The underlying assumption that both the Confucians held and the Communists now hold is that they have a corner on truth and "education" is the teaching and learning of this truth--and this does not include looking for ways to improve it. A good example of this is modern history. The Chinese school system must teach a government-approved version of recent historical events and any alternatives or "corrections" may only be presented through government initiative. Competing views that permit examining different sides of an event or issue are not considered desirable, nor is it politically wise for an individual to support them. This view implies a rather passive role on the part of the learner, who is seen as a receptacle into which knowledge is poured for safekeeping. This prevalent view of students in modern China is well illustrated in the following excerpt from a Chinese student's description of a good student: "A Chinese student comes to the classroom *to take in* knowledge, to learn everything he doesn't know yet. He is ready to *receive* whatever his teacher is going to offer. He will listen to the lecture carefully, *write down* everything from the blackboard [into] his notebook, and *follow* the instructor's chain of thought...So long as he can *take in* everything, comprehension is not of the primary concern. Usually he will spend hours after a lecture [going] over his notes and [digesting] the information he took [down]" (Chen, 1985. Italics added).

The resemblances of the Communist educational perspective to that of the Confucian is also seen when comparing the perceived position of the teachers in society. Both the Confucians and the Communists highly respect the teacher's role. Ancient Chinese philosophers had many things to say about the student's relationship to the teacher. Among them, the student was instructed that

> *Nothing is better than establishing rapport with the teacher;*
> *Nothing keeps progress better than intimacy with one's teacher;*
> *Nothing quickens progress more than affection for one's teacher* (Shi, 1984).

As Teacher Wei pointed out in the anecdote quoted earlier, there has been a close relationship between teacher and student in China since the time of Confucius, and this manifested itself in many ways in the day-to-day interactions of ancient China. Teachers traditionally enjoyed a very high status in society, coming in fifth behind heaven, earth, emperor, and parents. A maxim from antiquity notes that one should "Respect the teacher; Cherish the student." Education in old China was always looked upon with much respect.

Modern China carries on this tradition in its own way. Although the teachers in recent years suffered great persecution and humiliation under the Communist rule, this was due more to the fact that they were perceived as ideologically maleficent rather than occupationally suspect. Today in China teachers are accorded much respect as they are seen through Communist ideology as the "engineers" of the soul and, as mentioned earlier, mentors concerned with the student's all-round development. There is in fact an active campaign which is attempting to restore both the status of teachers and the respect accorded them that was lost during the Cultural Revolution.

Teachers of "old" and "new" China share other similarities. In Confucian China, teachers had disciples who studied under them and learned the "correct" interpretations of the classics required as part of their education. What the teachers taught was considered absolute truth and one did not disagree with them. To do so would be to place oneself in a position of authority over one's teacher, which was unthinkable. In comparison, in the modern Chinese classroom, instruction is teacher-centered--almost always a lecture. The class will always be serious with little room for jokes or light-hearted discussion with students. Teachers are seen as authorities in their field and what they say is also accepted as truth. One Chinese student I talked with said: "In one word, [a teacher] should be perfect...It would be fatal if he showed any lack of knowledge in front of his students. He would rather give a wrong answer than admit 'I don't know.'"

A third area of resemblance between education in traditional China and modern China is with the students themselves. While this has been touched on in the above paragraphs, it is helpful to look at these characteristics a little more closely. As has been noted, both traditional and modern China consider the quiet, passive person the ideal student. Students are not expected to talk in class unless called upon, and they are not encouraged to ask questions during the class period. For both old and new China, the classroom is a serious place and students are expected to be attentive, which includes sitting up straight in their chairs, and being polite and respectful to both teachers and classmates. No student would think of coming late to class and none would dare to get up and leave class early without prior permission, as this would be terribly disrespectful. Chinese students have always been diligent and today, as in years past, will often spend incredible lengths of time attempting to master new material. A good modern example is the way Chinese graduate students bound for the USA study for the TOEFL exam. Typically they will spend weeks memorizing grammatical patterns from old TOEFL tests in the hope that this will aid them on the actual test--with apparent success.

AMERICAN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS: THE CONFLICT

Of all the aspects of education, the behavior of American students is probably the most noticeable area of contrast with the Chinese. Education in America has had a very different (and much shorter) history. Probably the most significant difference has been the accessibility of education to the average person. Education, at least primary and secondary education, has been almost an assumption for most children growing up in the United States over the past century. In China, on the other hand, before the 1950s approximately 90 percent of the population were considered functionally illiterate. Today, at the collegiate level, most Americans who want to go to college can, and many schools are even looking for ways to increase their enrollment. In China, there is harsh competition for the few available places in a handful of colleges.

Since education is not seen as such a precious commodity in the United States students do not tend to have the same amount of respect for it nor take it as seriously. American students think nothing of dividing their interests while in school; for example, taking on a job or having a boyfriend or girlfriend--things Chinese students rarely do. American students also do not have two thousand years of tradition influencing their behavior. Education in America in many respects is seen and treated as a product that is bought and sold. The student has paid for the opportunity to sit in on a class and if he does not want to listen, or wants to come in late or leave early, it does not matter. He has paid his money; he can do whatever he wants as long as it does not disrupt the class. On the other hand, since students have paid money to be in a class, many want to get as much out of it as they can. They will ask questions, argue with a professor, even accuse a teacher of being wrong. Few would criticize a student for stating his opinion and most teachers encourage it.

Education in the American school system is not seen as information to be memorized, but a process and a way of thinking and exploring that is to be developed (Chen, 1981). As a result, American education is usually considered to promote active learning, where the students are very much involved in and often responsible for much of the learning that takes place. The ideal student is considered to be creative, inquisitive, resourceful, and-to some respect--skeptical.

Chinese students often have a negative reaction toward student behavior at American universities. The first comments are almost always about the "lack of respect" that American students have for their teachers. As noted earlier, coming into class late, interrupting a teacher with questions, making a joke in class, *et cetera*, is considered to be terribly rude and disrespectful. It is an honor to be able to study under an educated person and to treat her disrespectfully is a disgrace.

The whole competitive atmosphere at American universities is also looked at negatively by the Chinese. Chen, quoted earlier, made the following observation about American students:

> *One of my deepest impressions about American college students is their self-centeredness. They come to the classroom as individuals, study whatever subjects they are really interested in, and do not care much what other people think of them. After class, they would never mind what their fellow students are going to do. When I saw many ads posted in the library and various teaching buildings offering or asking for tutors, I realized that co-operative learning was non-existent here. Students regard the knowledge they acquired as their own possession, as merchandise they have paid for, and thus do not at all feel uneasy to sell it. The competition in class is a reflection of the competitive nature of the [American] society* (Chen, 1985).

America also differs in its traditions that define the roles of the teacher. Generally the teaching profession is not looked upon with as great respect as in Asian countries, though teachers are seen to be authorities in their field of study. The biggest cultural difference, however, is probably teaching styles. Where Chinese professors are serious and generally stick to lectures, American teachers often use humor and varied, informal instructional methods--even taking students outside on nice days. Compared to the Chinese, American college students in general have a much more casual relationship with their teachers, and it is not uncommon for a playful rapport to develop between the teacher and the class. No moral mentor relationship usually exists. For example, if students want to come late or skip a day, that is their prerogative. The teacher's only responsibility is to teach the class, though he may well consider class attendance a requisite for a good grade. In China, truancy is not tolerated. There are other differences, too. A Chinese teacher would never sit on a desk in front of the class, but many American professors feel no impropriety in this. American teachers often do not feel reluctant to admit their ignorance on a topic, nor will they be angered or embarrassed by challenging questions, in contrast to Chinese teachers. American teachers usually do not look at themselves as founts of knowledge but as facilitators of learning. Americans will probe for questions, encourage discussion, praise creative thinking and daring ideas; but often they will not give direct answers. They do not feel constrained to follow the syllabus, nor do they worry about getting sidetracked onto some tangential topic in the middle of a lecture.

Classrooms in America, in contrast to China, are not governed by rules of formality. The classroom itself often seems disorganized and even chaotic. Chairs are spread out around the classroom, students sit wherever they want to, and they even eat and drink during class. Chinese students find this distracting, interfering with their concentration. They have come to class waiting to be told a prescribed amount of material in an organized, precise manner. To be in a classroom where "disrespectful" students and a teacher spend a whole class period arguing the different views of an issue seems a waste of time. "Why doesn't the teacher just say what the correct view is and go on to the next point?" is not an uncommon reaction for Chinese students in classes like those. Most Chinese students are completely handicapped in classes where discussion is the main mode of instruction, and few feel comfortable participating--that is not the traditional role of a student, in their view.

For a student used to point-by-point lectures with outlines put on a blackboard, the anecdotal meandering of many college professors is very confusing. American university lectures and discussions tend to be broad and extensive, while in China they usually are intensive, very narrow, and detailed. One Chinese student I interviewed said she felt frustrated because she was not always sure what exactly the teachers wanted her to know. When she asked a teacher to help her out, his response of "You don't have to understand everything" *really* confused her. Chinese students like to come away from a class with detailed notes, which are hard to get in discussion oriented classes. When they fail to acquire what they had expected from a class, they tend to come to the conclusion that American teachers are not as resourceful and responsible as their teachers back in China. In reality, the teacher is probably just expecting the student to do a lot of the information-finding on his own outside of class.

It is precisely in this area (i.e., classroom expectations) that Chinese students often encounter the greatest difficulty in adjusting to American colleges. It is here that they have placed their highest hopes for gaining the education they crave; but the discontinuities between American instructional methods and the customary learning interaction styles of the Chinese create formidable obstacles (Tharp, 1987).

CONCLUSION:

Roland Tharp points out that

> *Social organizations willy-nilly emphasize different interaction styles--competition or cooperation, individualization or group linking, personal or impersonal teacher relationships, formality or informality of teaching style, peer-peer or student-teacher relationships--which in turn, implicate cultural norms* (Tharp, 1987).

In this paper I have tried to show how American and Chinese cultures are at opposite ends of the continuum for each of these interaction styles. It is hardly surprising that Chinese students find their tenure at American universities to be a very stressful experience. To find two educational systems which stand in greater opposition to each other than the American and Chinese would be a difficult task. The cultural confrontation is blatant, though its causes may be subtle, and Chinese students are always immediately aware that there are differences that they are going to have to contend with while they live in the United States. There is a whole new realm of cultural norms they must learn in order to succeed.

Unfortunately, most of the stress of this cultural confrontation falls on the student. Many problems which develop are due to misunderstandings between pupil and teacher arising from different culturally-based assumptions, but it is usually left to the student to make the adjustment necessary for success. It is my hope that, by providing some historical, social, and philosophical reasons why Chinese students will often face problems when adjusting to American school systems, this will make the adjustment process for both the Chinese student and the American teacher much easier as they *both* negotiate a mutually comfortable learning atmosphere.

What the Chinese want from American education is knowledge; but both the knowledge and the educational process are encapsulated within a cultural context, obscuring the knowledge and hindering the learning. Only when the cultural assumptions of learning are understood to the point where the Chinese can work within them is there relatively free access to the information and the education they seek. If Chinese students coming to the United States realize that they will be entering a university system whose whole underlying philosophy of education is different, whose expectations for students and teachers are different, whose whole organizational structure is different, they will have gained a powerful tool to aid them in their quest for knowledge. But more than this, they will have also gained confidence through successful interaction within another culture, turning their struggles with cultural confrontation into a positive experience. If the American teachers and schools interacting with Chinese students also understand the different assumptions and expectations that these students will have, it can only help to facilitate the difficult cultural adjustments that must be made.

REFERENCES

Achievement of education in China 1949-1983 . (1985). Beijing: People's Education Press.

Althen, G. *Manual for foreign teaching assistants*. (1981). Iowa City, IA: The University of Iowa Press.

Chen D. (1985). *Cultural differences in classrooms: A comparison of Chinese and U.S. schooling*. Unpublished manuscript.

Chen, T. H. (1981). *Chinese education since 1949*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Chu, C. (1980). *Chairman Mao: education of the proletariat*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Coombs, P. H. (1985). *The world crises in education: The view from the '80's*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Donovan, K. (1981). *Assisting Students and scholars from the People's Republic of China*. Washington, DC: Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China and the National Association for Foreign Student Advising.

Ebrey, P. (Ed.). (1981). *Chinese civilization and society*. New York: The Free Press.

Grove, C. L. (1984, March). U.S. schooling through Chinese eyes, *Phi Delta Kappan*. 480-485.

Hook, B. (Ed.). (1982). *Cambridge encyclopedia of China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huang S. (1986). Contemporary educational relations with the industrialized world: A Chinese view. In R. Hayhoe (Ed.), *Contemporary Chinese Education*. (pp. 225-251). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Jochnovitz, G. (1986, Autumn). Teaching at a provincial Chinese university. *American Scholar, 55*(4), 525-530.

Liu Z. (1984). *Two years in the melting-pot*. San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals.

Mao T. (1977). On Democracy. *Selected works of Mao Tse-Tung*. vol. II. Peking: Foreign Language Press.

Meisner, M. (1986). *Mao's China and after*. New York: The Free Press.

Rodzinski, W. (1984). *The walled kingdom: A history of China from antiquity to the present*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Salzman, M. (1986). *Iron and silk.* New York: Random House.

Shi, M. (1984, May). *American education: A Chinese perspective,.* Address presented at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Swanson, A. ,& Zhang Z. (1987, January). Education reform in China. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 370-375.

Waley, A. (1977). *The analects of Confucius* (book vi), London: George Allen and Unwin.

Walker, C. (1985, September). Learning English: The Southeast Asian refugee experience. *Topics in Language Disorders,* 56.

Yeh, T. T. Y. (1969). *Confucianism, Christianity, and China.* New York: Philosophical Library.

Zhao H. (1988, August). Young intellectuals: New and old views on marriage. *China Reconstructs, 37* , 44-47.

Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? Focus on adjustments in China's overseas policies

Lynne Ackerberg[*]
Macalester College

Using China as a case study, this article examines the continuing problem of "brain drain"--the departure of skilled professionals and students from their own country. This article explains Chinese attempts to adjust their overseas study policies in view of the "brain drain" and then looks behind these policies in order to identify the reasons students and scholars from China, and other Third-World countries, often do not return home. Suggestions are offered which might encourage students and scholars to repatriate.

> *Upon completion of my studies in the United States, I will return to my home country to share the valuable experience of studying in a foreign university. I plan to become acquainted, then, with the technological industry in my country and be able to contribute with [sic] the development and exploration of human and technical resources.*
>
> **Statement by an applicant to Macalester College. January, 1988.**

The statement quoted above was written by a student applying for admission to Macalester College in 1988. He is from a Third-World country to which he clearly intends to return after he completes his studies, since, as he states, he is committed to contributing to his country's development.

Such intentions are commonly expressed by international students who consider the study abroad experience an opportunity to improve their skills in order to serve their countries at some future time. However, in the course of their studies, changes occur in their thinking and many of them do not return home. This "brain drain"--the flow of skilled professionals and students from their home countries--is a continuing problem, especially for developing countries which cannot afford to lose skilled professionals. Most recently, it has been a topic of concern among Chinese officials. This concern is stated succinctly by Dr. Han Suyin, a Chinese born physician and author: "How is the country going to advance if the best of its students are going to remain abroad?" ("Young Chinese," 1987).

---

[*] Lynn Ackerberg has an M.A. in ESL and is the International Student Advisor and International Program Coordinator at Macalester College.

Reacting to fears that Chinese students studying abroad are not returning home, the Chinese government recently issued regulations to promote their return. This paper will explain the current Chinese adjustments in overseas study policies and then look behind them to 1) identify the reasons students and scholars from China and other Third-World countries do not return home and 2) to offer suggestions from various sources which would encourage students and scholars to return home.

CHINESE OVERSEAS EDUCATION

Since the Qing dynasty in the 1870s, the Chinese have been sending students abroad for advanced training. Throughout, authorities have recognized the danger of sending their talented students to study in countries whose political systems and standard of living have differed from China's. They feared that along with the technical skills they would require, students might be "contaminated" by foreign political and social ideas (Finger & Reed, 1982).

Nonetheless, the need for technical skills outweighed Chinese fears and between 1900 and 1950 several thousand Chinese graduate students studied abroad.[1] Throughout the past several decades, the number of Chinese students overseas has peaked and plummeted depending on China's political relations with the countries to which students were sent. In the 1950s, for example, 40,000 students were sent to the Soviet Union and to Eastern Europe to acquire skills and to become familiar with Soviet models of development. However, the flow of students slowed in the 1960s as a result of political dissension between the Soviet Union and China and the isolationism of the Cultural Revolution. In the late 1960s, the number of Chinese students overseas increased slightly, most participating in exchanges to other Third-World countries. After the death of Mao ZeDong and the purge of the Gang of Four, Chinese leaders realized that in order for China to modernize quickly, Chinese scholars needed extensive contact with scholars in advanced industrial states. Since then China has been sending large numbers of students to Western Europe, Japan, and the U.S. for training emphasizing science and technology.

Between 1978 and 1988, more than 50,000 Chinese students have studied overseas in 70 countries.[2] Of this number, approximately 40,000 are government-sponsored students. Ten thousand are privately sponsored by relatives abroad. Of the 40,000 government-sponsored students, only 20,000 have returned home. Most of these returnees were visiting scholars who had finished their projects and returned quickly. Few of the privately sponsored students have returned; however, the government does not appear to be concerned about this group since none of the proposed regulation changes apply to them. Of particular concern are the approximately 12,000 young government-sponsored scholars that have been sent abroad, of whom only 200-300 have returned. The new regulations are aimed at these students, most of whom are Ph.D. students who did not go overseas until after 1982. However, since many of these students have not fully completed their studies yet, it is too early to know just what percentage will actually decide to remain abroad and not return to China.

---

[1] All statistics in this paragraph are taken from Finger and Reed (1982).

[2] All statistics in this paragraph are taken from Pepper, 1988.

In the spring of 1988, much confusion took place among Chinese scholars in the U.S. and their American sponsors as a result of reports of the Chinese government's intention to drastically reduce the number of students permitted to study abroad. Although in one breath Chinese officials publicly denied any such change in policy, in another they confirmed it. For example, Huang Xinbai, a member of the State Education Commission, in an interview with the *Beijing Review* insisted, "Sending students to study abroad is China's long standing policy which remains unchanged and will never change" (*"China reaffirms"*, 1988). In what appears to be a contradictory statement, Huang Xinbai later explained, "In light of our internal situation, it is only normal to make necessary adjustments in our Policy on state-funded students studying abroad" (*"China reaffirms"*, 1988).*

A U. S. government source recently explained that such confusion is not uncommon in U.S./China relations. According to this source, the confusion stems from the fact that Chinese policy is not yet set; rather it is still being debated. He explained, "China often has trouble helping outsiders distinguish between definitive policy change and less conclusive or evolving modifications" (Pepper, 1988).

In any case, Chinese leaders want to ensure that overseas Chinese students and scholars return home after completing their studies. Their concern has increased within the past few years as scholars and students have increasingly requested extensions in their time studying abroad.

As a result, China has begun to publicly question its study abroad policies. Recognizing the continued need for overseas training, Chinese leaders are not decreasing the numbers of students overseas. Rather, they are proposing controls on who goes abroad, where they go, what they study, and for how long.

---

* Editor's note: The *New York Times* (Sunday, August 13, 1989) reported that China has announced again its intention to significantly reduce the number of students it will send abroad, concentrating instead on improving its own doctorate programs.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN CHINA'S OVERSEAS STUDY POLICIES

According to the Chinese State Education Commission, overseas study abroad will remain an important feature in China's development; however, the commission is proposing several "adjustments" in policy (Pepper, 1988). The first adjustment is in choice of major. Students will be encouraged to focus on applied fields, particularly those needed for industrial development. Second, more scholars already holding Ph.D.s will be sent abroad and the number pursuing master's degrees will be decreased. Undergraduates will not be sent abroad at all, since they can receive appropriate eduction in China. Third, more students will be sent to Europe where few have gone thus far.*

How do these adjustments ensure that scholars will return to China after a sojourn overseas? The relationship is not always obvious. For example, the first adjustment, a change in majors, does not appear to relate at all. However, the second adjustment, sending older scholars overseas instead of undergraduates or master's degree students is more obviously related, since older scholars are likely to have strong ties to their families and their country and are therefore more likely to return home. The third adjustment, sending more scholars to Europe, may indeed result in increased numbers returning home. Since unemployment rates are high among professionals in Europe, Chinese professionals would have a difficult time finding employment there (Wang, 1988).

CONDITIONS WHICH DISCOURAGE STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS FROM RETURNING HOME

The conditions in China that discourage scholars from returning home are similar to those identified by scholars from other Third-World countries who have returned home after studying overseas. In their books, *Fondness and Frustration* (1983), and *Decline and Renewal* (1986), Crauford Goodwin and Michael Nacht report on studies they conducted of overseas scholars who returned to their home countries, Brazil, Mexico, Turkey, and Indonesia. The authors found much frustration among these returned scholars who complained that the skills and competencies which they had acquired at great expense and effort had decayed upon return home.

The frustrations Goodwin and Nacht and other sources have found include economic, bureaucratic, professional, interpersonal, intellectual, and emotional. The following are some of the more common:

---

* Editor's note: According to David Seager in the September 3, 1989 *New York Times*, Chinese leadership has recently renewed its efforts to implement these policy changes in attempt to stifle the democracy movement and the impact of Western influence on Chinese students.

1. Inadequate academic infrastructures.

Scholars complain about the inconveniences of working as scholars or researchers in institutions where the academic infrastructures are inadequate. For example, they regret the obsolete or inadequate laboratory equipment and computers, poor libraries, and inefficient telephone systems which limit or slow down their work.

2. Poor, inequitable salaries

Another frustration expressed by returning scholars is their poor salaries. Some poorly paid professionals find that they have to find supplementary employment and are thus distracted form their research by the need for additional income. As one unhappy Mexican scholar complained, "My kids can't eat books and papers" (Goodwin and Nacht, 1986).

A Brazilian graduate student studying Public Health at the University of Minnesota explained that, in Brazil, professionals keep three or four jobs just to pay the rent. This condition prevents them from excelling at any of their jobs (Rudd, 1988).

One Chinese scholar complained about the lack of equity of salaries in China. "The People who are creating economic profit are not earning what they deserve. China needs to increase income for intellectuals who contribute the most." He added angrily, "the man who sells second-hand clothes earns a higher salary than most professors or researchers (Wang 1988).

3. Inappropriate use of scholars' skills because of inefficient bureaucracies

Scholars also report that their skills are not used properly by their institutions when they return home. One Chinese scholar explained why he does not plan to return home after finishing his U.S. degree:

> *The problem is what I can do after returning. What I am learning now will definitely be wasted if I go back to my old employer in China.*

When asked if he could switch jobs he replied:

> *You know how hard it is to switch jobs in China. By the time I have made it through all the red tape, my training will be outdated. And even if I could get a transfer, there will be just as much bureaucracy in the new place. In China, the whole system is like that--some people achieve, while others make obstacles to achievement. Altogether, there is no efficiency* (Wang, 1988).

Some scholars and researchers returning form abroad do not even work in the professions in which they were trained. Goodwin and Nacht explain that this is common in decolonized countries which have a shortage of high level bureaucrats.

> *Abrupt decolonization creates one-time demands for middle-level and high-level bureaucrats and executives that tend to drain the rest of the system. During this period, pressures on the professions and disciplines are intense as the administrative temptress lures away their best.* (Goodwin and Nacht, 1986)

A Chinese scholar complained that some skilled professionals have been unable to get jobs using their skills because they do not have the right connections. "Whom you know or who your father is often becomes more important than what you've learned" (Groat, 1988).

4. Authoritarian political and social environments

Authoritarian political and social environments are another cause of discontent among scholars and researchers who are sometimes prohibited from pursuing interesting projects disapproved of by the authorities. Goodwin and Nacht explain:

> *One aspect of life in an authoritarian environment is that scientists and intellectuals may be constrained or prohibited, often frivolously, from applying their skills to problems that they perceive to be either of highest national priority or of exceptional scientific interest but that those in authority judge to be inimical to their interests. These problems may range from humanistic topics, such as questions of historical interpretation, to topics in the physical sciences that impinge on national security.* (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

5. Intellectual decay

Scholars regret the lack of a support system for innovative scholarship when they return home. The result is a decay of their intellectual skills. For example, a Turkish sociologist explained that publication in international journals was seen as demeaning and threatening to her colleagues at home. Such publications were seen as showing off. She was discouraged from publishing her scholarship internationally because in Turkey, according to her, "to love is more important than to achieve" (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

A Mexican scientist explained regretfully that, as time passed, he lost confidence in his ability to write and publish in English and consequently lost contact with the international community of scholars in his field (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

6. Resentment from other faculty members

Another source of difficulty for scholars who return home is resentment on the part of faculty members who had not studied abroad toward those who had the advantage of an American Ph.D. The result is sometimes a loss of power by the newcomers (Coleman, 1989).

7. The opportunity to stay in the U.S.

A prominent reason why scholars choose to stay in the U.S. rather than return home is the increasing demand for skilled workers in the U.S. Josef Mestenhauser, Director of the Office of International Education at the University of Minnesota, explains that the U.S., fearful of the spread of communism, first began educating students from underdeveloped countries after World War II. At this time, the U.S. and the foreign governments assumed that students would return home. More recently, foreign students have been filling open positions in the U.S., especially in engineering and health-related fields, and it is predicted that the demand for skilled workers in these fields will increase in the future (Rudd, 1988).

SUGGESTIONS FOR ENCOURAGING STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS TO RETURN HOME

What can home countries and host countries do to insure that scholars return home after studying abroad?

Home countries

A suggestion offered by Mestenhauser is for home countries to take more responsibility for encouraging students to return home. According to Mestenhauser, some countries neglect their students who study in other countries. "Sometimes, students are just dumped in the U.S. and they never get a response from home" (Rudd, 1988).

Other countries do nothing to encourage students to return except to instill feelings of guilt at not returning. In Mestenhauser's view, countries must help maintain the students' loyalty to their country by, for example, paying for annual visits home.

Countries must also make returning home an attractive option by providing reasonable salaries and attractive employment opportunities for scholars and by providing adequate reference materials and libraries.

One example of a successful program is the cooperative arrangement between the University of Mahidol in Thailand and the Rockefeller Foundation, which proved successful in attracting home Thai scholars who had studied in the United States (Coleman, 1984). The University and the Foundation provided positions for the scholars returning home and offered salary supplements for good teaching and research. In addition, they provided funds for scientific equipment, libraries, and support services.

Other cooperative arrangements exist between the U.S. and foreign companies, the U.S. and foreign colleges and universities, and the U.S. and foreign governments. The purpose of all these cooperative projects is to provide on-going training for U.S. trained students and scholars. The hope is that such training will help provide an attractive work climate for returned students and scholars. Examples include the Citicorp/Indonesia Training Project sponsored by Citicorp bank, which provides advanced training in banking, and the Instituto Panamericano de Alta Direccion de Empressa, which is a graduate school of business cooperating with the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

Home countries must also provide intellectuals and professionals with opportunities to respond creatively to the home nations needs. One Turkish economist complained that he was never asked for advice by his own government, only by international organizations. He believed that by being involved in the national development of Turkey he would "become part of Turkey" (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983). Such involvement strengthens returning professionals and scholars' ties to their home countries.

Home countries can also help strengthen returnees' ties at home by creating institutions for professional and intellectual communities such as the National Academies of Science, and by supporting their conferences and periodicals. In this way governments can facilitate activities upon which intellectual life depends (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

Host countries

Not only do home countries have responsibilities toward their students and scholars, so do educational institutions in the the host countries.

Host countries can assist returning professionals and scholars by 1) providing opportunities for their alumni to return to the host campus for continuing education, 2) dispatching faculty for lecture tours abroad, and 3) donating funds for the improvement of academic infrastructures in developing countries (Goodwin and Nacht, 1983).

Host universities can make efforts to provide Third-World students with an education relevant to their needs. In so doing, universities would better prepare students for returning to their home countries rather than for the U.S. job market. A study of an engineering department at a large U.S. university revealed "a definite mismatch between the needs of Third-World students and the institutional culture as embodied in department programs" (Lansdale 1984). For example, it was found that faculty did not use materials relevant to Third-World countries.

Faculty in U. S. institutions of higher education might provide a better transition to the job market at home by providing readings and assignments which explicitly require students to think about and apply what they have learned to situations at home (Rudd, 1988). Paige (1987), strongly argues that foreign students in U. S. universities must learn to critically assess Western technologies and learn to analyze whether Western technology is applicable or inapplicable in the context of their societies. He envisions seminars in which both U.S. and foreign students "assess the applicability of specific approaches from their disciplines . . . and examine the cultural value orientations which underlie specific technologies and problem-solving practices in their disciplines" (Paige, 1987). He argues that such seminars would enrich the educational experiences of both U.S. and foreign students and increase their understanding of global problems and of development.

Han Suyin offers one final suggestion to the problem of Chinese professionals and scholars who remain abroad. She says, "If outstanding Chinese scholars want higher eduction in the United States, let them first spend five or ten years working in China so they will know their own country" ("Young Chinese," 1987).

China is responding to the problem of scholars and professionals who remain abroad by restricting who is permitted to leave China, where they go, and how long they can remain abroad. This response will be ineffective unless it also improves the work climate for those returning home. Those students trained abroad must believe that their hard earned education will be put to good use when they return in order that they may contribute to the modernization of Chinese society. As a Chinese student at Macalester College explains:

> *The best way to improve the situation in China and make China a stronger country is to go home. . . .China really needs to change the way people are thinking and to change the way some systems are working. Those who have been overseas, who have seen the pros and cons of different systems are really the people that should go back* ("Great," 1988).

REFERENCES

China reaffirms policy on students. (1988, April). *Beijing Review*, p. 12.

Coleman, J. S. (1984). Professiorial training and institution building in the Third World: Two Rockefeller Foundation experiences. In E. G. Barber, P. G. Altbach, & R. G. Myers (Eds.), *Bridges to knowledge: Foreign students in comparative perspective*. (pp. 32-54). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Finger, T., & Reed, L. A. (1982). *An introduction to education in the People's Republic of China and U.S. China educational exchanges.* National Association of Foreign Student Affairs.

Goodwin, C. D., & Nacht, M. (1983). *Fondness and Frustration.* New York: Institute of International Education.

Goodwin, C. D., & Nacht, M. (1986). *Decline and renewal.* New York: Institute of International Education.

Groat, J. (1988, July). Chinese journalist writes home of U.S. life. *Minneapolis Star and Tribune.*

Lansdale, D. (1984). Institutional culture and Third World student needs at American universities. In E. G. Barber, P. G. Altbach, & R. G. Myers (Eds.), *Bridges to knowledge: Foreign students in comparative perspective.* (pp. 1-19). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paige, M. (1987, May). *Foundations of knowledge in international educational exchange: International development education.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, Long Beach, CA.

Pepper, S. (1988, May). China Weighs shifts in overseas studies: Brain drain feared. *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* p. 1.

Rudd, K. (1988, Spring/Summer). Brain drain: Should I stay or should I go? *International Student,* 18-19.

Wang, R. (1988, March). A state of balance: Not yet, but eventually. *China Youth.*

Young Chinese line up for visas to study in U. S. (1987, November). *Chronicle of Higher Education.*

Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators[*]

Elaine Tarone[**]
University of Minnesota

In this paper, it is suggested that the best approach to identifying the needs of ESL learners is at the local level: a local approach for identifying local needs. Specific suggestions are made for classroom teachers, drawing upon research techniques in second language acquisition and English for special purposes, and examples are provided. A list of suggestions for program administrators who wish to encourage their faculty to use this approach is also included.

In designing a syllabus for any ESL class, the teacher needs to determine at the very least two basic things: (a) what the learners know (and do not know) already, and (b) what they need to learn (that is, what language is used in the specific contexts in which they will need to function). Language proficiency tests will measure what the learners of the language know already, and the classroom teacher will continue to assess her students' knowledge informally on a day-to-day basis. But this paper will discuss the sort of needs analysis which focuses upon the second area: what the students need to learn. In this paper I will make two assumptions, both of which are relatively uncontroversial. First, I assume that English language forms and functions vary in relation to different social contexts in which they are used. All aspects of the social setting have an influence upon language use: the identity of the interlocutors (level of education, gender, role, degree of familiarity, etc.), the interlocutors' purpose in the exchange (to sell products, make friends, obtain medical aid), the physical location (university classroom, factory, restaurant), the discipline (medicine, engineering, the arts, automotive mechanics, food science). Not only will vocabulary vary in relation to these different social contexts, but so also will the degree of use of grammatical forms and the functions which those forms mark. To learn to function in a given social context is at least in part to learn the language of that social context. A second assumption I make is that no learner will need to use English in all possible social contexts of American society--any more than any group of native speakers of English will. As we move into new social contexts, we need to master the language which is appropriate to that context. This is true for native and non-native speakers alike. It is possible, given the goals and objectives of any individual, to identify those contexts in which that person is most likely to operate. For a university student, for example, one can identify typical university contexts: the registration line, the dorm room, the cafeteria, the classroom (and more specifically, the introduction to physics class, the calculus class) and so on.

---

[*] This paper was presented at the national conference of the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors, in Minneapolis, Minnesota in May 1989. The approach which I describe here was developed in collaboration with Dr. George Yule (now at Louisiana State University), and is described in more detail in our book, *Focus on the Language Learner*. In that book, we advocate a local approach to local needs -- that is, needs assessment done by the classroom teacher, focusing upon the needs of each unique language class. We feel that such needs assessment is central to the operation of any successful ESL class, and that such teacher-executed needs assessments need not be *ad hoc* or uninteresting, but rather can proceed in a principled manner, drawing heavily upon tools used by researchers in related areas.

[**] Elaine Tarone is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota.

Given, then, that as ESL educators we must select certain language forms and functions to be taught in a certain order (since in the interest of time and money we cannot teach everything), and given that we can select those forms and functions at least in part in relation to those social contexts in which the learners will be functioning, we come down to the bottom line, the very basic question: Who is going to do all this needs analysis? And how much work will be involved?

My answer is that, while many people may participate in this process, in the end this needs analysis will be done by the classroom teacher, at the local level of each individual class. System-wide needs analysis--by the administrator, textbook writer, professional curriculum developer--does of course have a role to play in setting the broad parameters. In general terms, it is possible to identify the goals of the average student population and to set course goals accordingly--in general terms. One would not expect the average university student, for example, to need to know the English language forms and functions typical of the welfare office, the racetrack--or the halls of the U.S. Senate, for that matter. General parameters can be set at the system-wide level. *But* we must remember that it is always the classroom teacher who implements any curriculum, in light of her perception of *local* student needs--that is, the needs of *this* unique group of learners. And no two classes of learners are exactly alike. It is this mismatch between the general, system-wide needs analysis of the specialists and the very specific, essentially local needs analysis of the classroom teacher which always sends good ESL teachers to the copy room, adapting and changing textbook chapters, developing handouts, and so on.

I can give a very specific, if somewhat extreme, example of this dynamic based on a paper written a few years back by one of the (then) graduate students in our program at the University of Minnesota, Karen Sorensen (1982). Sorensen was an ESL teacher at the University, assigned to teach an English class to science students. While this course previoualy had always consisted of a variety of science majors, this quarter it was made up almost exclusively of agriculture students. The textbook which had been chosen (at a system level) for the course had always been appropriate before--but this time it was not. Three weeks into the course, Sorensen was told by her students that the book was not helping them with their classes; in their classes, the students said, they were having a great deal of difficulty with writing assignments. The assigned book *did* contain exercises on writing--but primarily sentence-level grammar exercises; the most extensive writing required was the description of a few simple experiments. The students said the book did not help them with their coursework. Sorensen--having a general liberal arts background--had no idea what language skills and writing abilities were needed in the students' agriculture classes at the University.

Now, what is a teacher to do in such a situation? One possibility might have been to ignore the students and plow on with the textbook. This is not a good choice, however. The students had expressed their discontent with the textbook and their motivation could be predicted to drop with any attempt to continue using it. Another possibility might have been to just patch in some more complex writing assignments from a higher-level class ("Want more writing? OK, here's more writing"). But this would surely have been a chewing gum and baling wire approach, possibly useful to *appease* the students, but quite unlikely to meet their real writing needs in their agriculture classes. What Sorensen did is what any good ESL teacher would do: she conducted a global needs analysis on the spot, and went to the duplicating room to adapt her syllabus.

Sorensen began by re-examining the set of questionnaires she had routinely collected from her students on the first day of class. She discovered that most of her students were enrolled in one or more of five classes, each representing a core requirement in the College of Agriculture. She obtained a copy of the syllabus from each of these classes, and spoke with each instructor about the writing requirements for the class. She found that all the writing requirements shared in common the solution of a 'problem.' She also found that international students typically had difficulty with writing assignments involving the analysis of a problem and the proposal of an appropriate solution. Finally, when she examined some corrected pieces of student writing from these courses, she found that the instructors' comments almost never related to grammatical correctness; rather, they focused upon the writer's effectiveness in communicating information. Sorensen concluded that her students' writing problems related not to difficulties with grammatical correctness, but to their inability to set forth a logical argument in 'problem-solution' type papers--specifically, their failure to express the relationship between facts and to form accurate generalizations in English. It was then, of course, clear why the ESL textbook was not helpful; it focused only upon sentence-level grammatically and not upon the ability to present clear argumentation in support of a conclusion. Sorensen developed some writing activities which provided practice in selecting and organizing data, posing problems and drawing conclusions--thereby moving her syllabus closer to meeting her specific students' real needs.

Of course, Sorensen's example is extreme. Most of the time, a teacher finds that the course goals and materials are more appropriate to a given class's needs than this. Usually, the teacher is mostly fine-tuning the needs assessment. But Sorensen's example does illustrate at least two basic points. First, teachers are always conducting needs analysis at the local level; they must do this in order to decide what to teach next. Second, a teacher-executed needs analysis does not need to be *ad hoc* or sloppy. The fact that it is essentially local, useful only for one group of students, and not necessarily generalizable to a wider population, does not mean that this needs analysis is either sloppy or even uninteresting to other practitioners--quite the contrary. I would argue for the essential centrality of local needs analysis by trained ESL teachers. Here I will offer one or two guidelines and tools, gleaned from the research literature, which may be usable at the local classroom level by the teacher, and I will make some suggestions as to what program administrators might do to facilitate this sort of local-level needs assessment.

Some guidelines for teachers seem clear from the Sorensen example. First, we should always expect there to be *some* mismatch between the outcome of a system-level needs assessment and a local-level needs assessment; we expect this because there is always a difference between the 'normal' class and the actual class. An alert teacher will expect such a mismatch and plan to deal with it from the beginning. Minimally, a teacher ought to begin every class by obtaining information on the makeup of each different group of students: their learning backgrounds, goals and objectives. A questionnaire like the one Sorensen used is a good examle of how this could be done.

Second, if it becomes necessary for the teacher to depart substantially from the syllabus which was based on a system-wide needs assessment, it will be very important to gather real-world information in the actual situations in which these particular students will be using the language. It is too easy for language teachers, relying only on their intuitions as native speakers of English, to make false assumptions. For example, it is easy to assume that grammatical correctness is essential to student success in writing course papers at the University. It is also easy for any native speaker, using the armchair approach, to miss things--as, in this situation, the fact that the rhetorical organization of problem-solution writing is important and may be problematic for non-native speakers. The only way to overcome these difficulties is to get out of the ESL classroom and obtain real-world information from the situations in which these particular language learners are, or will be, functioning.

A third, and related, point to remember here is that the textbook which is being used in the class may be presenting inaccurate information about the language which is used in the situations where these students are headed. This will be so for two reasons: first, most textbooks present information about "general English," not the specialized English used, say, for writing lab reports in graduate-level chemistry classes; and, second, the authors of most textbooks do not themselves gather real-life information on language use by native speakers, relying instead on their own armchair intuitions. And those intuitions are often wrong. We know this is so on the basis of at least two studies. The first was done at the University of Minnesota by Amy Burkhalter, a graduate student in ESL at the time. Burkhalter (1986) was teaching oral discussion skills in an advanced level ESL speaking class; she found five textbooks that presented the language which ought to be used in oral discussions. *But* these five texts taught very different sets of functions for use in discussion. Even where the functions taught were the same, the books did not agree on the linguistic forms which should be used to realize those functions. For example, four of the books said that 'expressing an opinion' was a function used in oral discussion, but those books did not agree as to what language ought to be used in English to 'express an opinion.' Fifty-six different phrases were taught as appropriate to this function, but of these only *five* were taught by more than one author, and only *one* was taught by all four. All of these authors seemed to be relying on their own intuitions in presenting this information. Burkhalter decided to gather some data observing a discussion among native speakers of English who were students at the University and noting what expressions *they* used to 'express an opinion'. Of the fifty-six expressions which the ESL authors had suggested for use in 'expressing an opinion,' only *three* were actually used by these native speakers--and *one* of these was used almost to the exclusion of the others. These textbook authors, by relying on their own intuitions instead of basing their recommendations on observations of actual language use by native speakers, were presenting students with inaccurate information and in some sense creating extra and unnecessary work for them.

Burkhalter is not alone in noticing this inaccuracy in textbook presentations. Williams (1988) observed the language actually used by fluent speakers of English in business meetings in Hong Kong and compared it to the language taught in EFL textbooks in Hong Kong. Of the seventeen functions taught in the EFL textbooks as appropriate for business meetings, only ten actually occurred in real meetings. And, out of the 135 different linguistic expressions presented in the EFL books to realize the functions presented, only seven were actually used in the business meetings in three hours of talk.

These findings suggest that ESL teachers should not rely on their textbooks for information about the frequency with which language forms are used in the real world, or about the usefulness of those forms in particular target situations. If target situations can be identified which are relevant to a particular group of students, then some real-world data ought to be gathered from those situations.

To reinforce these second and third points, I would like to describe another case in which real-world data from the target situation might be useful. Imagine a situation in which an ESL teacher is working with a group of adult refugee students living in St. Paul. She has been assigned a textbook organized along the lines of a situational syllabus: each chapter deals with a different situation in which these learners might need to use English--the grocery store, the post office, the bank, and so on. In order to decide which chapters she needs to cover and in what order, she tries to determine the situations in which her particular students need to function. Almost all of her students say that they need to visit the welfare office frequently, and that they have difficulty communicating in that context. Now there is a problem: the textbook does not cover that situation, and the teacher has never set foot in a welfare office. The teacher can do one of at least three things: ignore her needs analysis, and just teach what is in the book. Or, she can use the armchair approach, and try to imagine what sort of language might be used in welfare offices. Or, she can try to obtain some direct information on language use in the local welfare office. Using this third approach would provide helpful information for the ESL teacher to use in planning a syllabus--and would also provide real-world, relevant language data for the class to analyze in any learner-centered, problem-oriented classroom approach, such as that proposed by Shirley Brice-Heath (1986).

"But," asks an overburdened ESL teacher, "who has time for this sort of data-gathering? I barely have time to teach what's in the book, without having to, in essence, write my own textbook, going off-campus to gather language data." As both a teacher and a researcher, I acknowledge the difficulties involved. In response to this overburdened teacher, I would say: "You do not have to write a new textbook." There is a whole continuum of actions that can be taken, ranging from the minimally time-consuming to the most time-consuming, but all of them actions which will provide helpful and accurate information on language use by native speakers in the situations into which the students are moving .

Think back and consider the teacher I just described--the one who needed information about language use in the welfare office. There are a variety of things she can do, some more time-consuming than others.

1. She has already used the least time-consuming tactic: developing and distributing a language use questionnaire on the first day of class.

Her purpose was to determine learner aims and to identify those situations in which her students needed to use the language.

Ideally, her questionnaire would also ask for information about language-related activities which take place in those target situations. Armed with this information alone, the teacher could identify areas where her textbook does not meet the needs of her students.

2. Her second step now might be to organize a student-executed needs assessment, as proposed by Hanges (1982), and which I will describe in more detail below. Minimally, she can ask her students for more information on language use in the welfare office (the target situation), for details on the communication problems they have had there, and for copies of written materials they have to read and/or fill out. Written materials can be used for classroom exercises. Discussion of communication problems may enable the teacher to identify language functions and forms which learners need work on.

3. If she has more time, she may be able to make direct contact (possibly by phone or mail) with someone who works in the welfare office, asking about communication problems which have arisen with refugee clients.

4. She might ask a willing student to tape-record his or her own interactions in the welfare office; this tape, or parts of it, could profitably be used, with the student's permission, for later class discussion. The students might be asked to discuss the following: What questions does the native speaker on this tape ask? What language forms are used? What is the speaker's intention in asking this question? What are possible ways the learner.might have answered? What would be the implications of answering one way as opposed to another? In this kind of discussion, the student who taped the interaction becomes the "expert" on what happened and what might have happened, and the teacher becomes a supporting resource on language use. (See Brice-Heath 1986 for more on this sort of learner-centered problem-oriented classroom approach.)

5. The most time-consuming thing (but possibly the most rewarding) the teacher could do would be to actually go to the welfare office with one of the students and observe the sorts of interactions which take place and the difficulties which arise. But, as we all know, few teachers have the time to do this. (Program administrators, on the other hand, might find it useful to free one or two teachers for a period every year to do this sort of on-site needs assessment in situations which have been identified as central targets for large numbers of students over the years.)

The best alternative for data-gathering (for the language teacher with no time to spare) is the learner-executed needs assessment, proposed by Hanges (1982). Hanges argues that there are sound educational and philosophical reasons (propounded by people like Freire, 1970, and Jenks, 1981) for having the students tell the teacher what they need to learn in their own target situations. Hanges argues that learners themselves can, with guidance, provide the teacher with valuable information about those precise situations in which they need (or will need) to use the language. She developed a student assignment (reproduced in Tarone and Yule, 1989) which sent her university-bound students out into their respective departments to gather information on language use within a common framework which they had all previously worked out together. The students then reported the results of their research to their teacher and to one another. In this case, the data represented information on the kinds of writing assigned in required courses in their fields, the amount of each kind of writing required, and examples of writing assignments from different courses. Such learner-executed needs assessments have a number of advantages for the ESL teacher: they save the teacher a tremendous amount of time, they permit the learners to become the 'experts' on their own language needs (thereby improving learner motivation in the ESL classroom), they provide the teacher with data which might otherwise be hard to get (for example, quizzes and corrected pieces of student writing), and they allow for insights the teacher might not have planned on--as, for example, that agriculture teachers do not mark student essays down for grammatical inaccuracy. There are, of course, also disadvantages to the student-executed needs assessment. There is the possibility that students may not be accurate or thorough in their reports. While this disadvantage may be most serious in the short run, it seems to me that it can be remedied in the long run; as the teacher gathers information from more and more students on the language used in Department A, she will be increasingly able to weed out the inaccuracies and fill in the gaps. The program administrator may have a role to play here, too, in creating and maintaining a system for filing information of this sort.

This, of course, brings me to a final consideration. What can the program administrator do in a situation where the classroom teacher is the key to local-level needs assessment? I have a number of suggestions.

First, the system-level needs assessment is still needed in order to set the general parameters for the individual classes. The 'normal' student should be identified, and the needs of that 'normal' student identified as well. The better this system-level needs assessment is done, the less work there will be at the local level for the classroom teacher.

Second, the administrator should recognize that, no matter how well the system-level needs assessment is done, there will always, NECESSARILY, still be a mismatch with the needs of any particular class--a mismatch which the classroom teacher will need to identify and move to handle. After all, the norm is only the norm--each group of students is unique, and the classroom teacher has the task of identifying the precise needs of each unique group of learners. The administrator should not therefore insist that classroom teachers adhere unquestioningly to program-wide goals and objectives defined on the basis of a system-wide needs assessment.

Third, the administrator can support the classroom teacher in her attempts to conduct local-level needs assessment in a variety of ways. I have already hinted at some of these ways.

(a) The administrator can make it a matter of program policy that classroom teachers should administer a language needs questionnaire at the beginning of each class. A model of such a questionnaire could be provided to all language teachers. Results of questionnaires from previous classes could be saved and tabulated for the information of the classroom teacher.

(b) The program administrator could free one or two teachers every year to spend a few weeks going out into some of those situations identified as targets by large numbers of program students in order to obtain first-hand data on language use in those situations. Tapes of authentic interactions between native speakers in those situations, authentic written materials gleaned from those situations--all would be useful, both for the teacher's use in developing a syllabus and for classroom use in a learner-centered problem-oriented approach.

(c) The program administrator could arrange for the establishment and maintenance of a file of information on language use in target situations: tapes and transcriptions of tapes with marginal comments by the participants who were involved, authentic written materials, interviews with native speakers in those situations, course syllabi, and so on.

(d) The program administrator could arrange for the establishment and maintenance of a file of teaching materials, organized in terms of language function and forms used to realize those functions, and cross-classified in terms of situations in which those functions have been identified as useful. Since the outcome of local-level needs assessment usually involves the adaptation of the textbook by the classroom teacher, such a file of teaching materials would be very helpful indeed.

To summarize, in this paper I have (drawing heavily upon Tarone and Yule, 1989) argued that local-level needs assessment, executed and organized by the classroom teacher, is central to successful instruction in the ESL classroom. I have outlined some guidelines which the classroom teacher ought to follow in conducting a local-level needs assessment, and suggested a continuum of data-gathering techniques which might be used, ranged from least time-consuming to most time-consuming. Finally, I have suggested some concrete actions which program administrators might take to facilitate the work of classroom teachers in conducting local-level needs assessments.

REFERENCES

Brice-Heath, S. B. (1986). *Children at risk? Building investments in diversity.* Plenary address, TESOL Annual Meeting, Anaheim, CA.

Burkhalter, A. (1986). *The expression of opinions: a preliminary needs analysis of discussion skills for academic purposes.* Unpublished M.A qualifying paper, ESL Program, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* NY: Herder & Herder.

Hanges, K. (1982). *Course design for a composition/research skills class for international graduate students.* Unpublished M.A qualifying paper, ESL Program, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Jenks, F. (1981). Learners' needs and the selection of compatible materials. In J. E. Alatis et al., (Eds.) *The second language classroom.* New York: OUP.

Sorensen, K. (1982). *Modifying an ESP course syllabus and materials through a teacher-planned needs assessment.* Unpublished ESL Working Papers, University of Minnesota 2 (Summer) 1-17, Minneapolis, MN.

Tarone, E. & G. Yule. (1989). *Focus on the Language Learner.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, M. (1988). Language taught for meetings and language used in meetings: is there anything in common? *Applied Linguistics 9,* 145-58.

Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction

Irene K. Prendergast[*]
Independent School District No. 284

Using a case history approach, this paper describes one teacher's attempt to integrate theory and practice in an elementary English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. Paulo Freire's problem-posing educational model (cited in Crawford-Lange, 1981) is viewed in its capacity to effectively incorporate the following theoretical premises: Language and culture form an inseparable unit; language learning may not equal language acquisition; language acquisition necessitates message-focused "comprehensible input" in a suitable affective environment (Krashen, 1984). A narrative of in-class experiences traces the development of teacher and learner in a collaborative decision-making process which juxtaposes features of behavioral and problem-posing curricular approaches, including those that are communicative, functional-notional, grammar-based, and content-based. Positive learner outcomes can include self-worth, critical thinking, full literacy, language acquisition, and learner autonomy, and potential positive teacher outcomes include fuller understanding of students and the collaborative nature of learning.

Despite a growing consciousness of the benefits to be reaped from an interactive learning environment, many of us have still to meet the challenge of integration into our own classroom situations. Apparently "fixed in an operational 'rut,' [we are unsure] just how to bridge that chasm, as it so often seems, between theory and practice" (Prendergast, 1987).

During a recent sabbatical leave of absence, I found myself particularly engaged by the idea of a problem-posing approach to education. I was deeply impressed by the humanism and potential of its dialogical, horizontal, and participatory orientation, as described in Crawford-Lange (1981). A problem-posing approach provides an insightful differentiation between the "act of knowing" and knowledge. The "act of knowing" is seen as the acquisition of information, skills, and knowledge with education being the "product" of creative proplem-solving on the part of learners and teachers, while knowledge is generally seen as a "pre-existing body of facts for consumption" (Crawford-Lange, 1981). By extension, cornerstones of this idea must be the development of responsible learner initiative and critical thinking, the practical application of which is thus delineated by Wallerstein (1983): "The problem-posing process directs students to name the problem, understand how it applies to them, determine the causes of the problem, generalize to others, and finally, suggest alternatives or solutions to the problem."

---

[*] Irene Prendergast currently teachers Spanish at Wayzata East Junior High School. She has completed a Master of Education degree in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota.

Defined thus, I found excitingly evident its inherent capability for practically translating my own theoretical persuasion that language and culture are inseparable in any real communicative event (where culture is seen as the expression of that peculiar and shared gestalt of a people, deriving from the dynamics of interacting beliefs, values, and behaviors). The explicit focus on real, meaningful, learner-relevant dialogue and material was also readily congruent with a theory of second language acquisition with which I had already experimented very successfully, via application of Terrell's *Natural Approach* and Asher's *Total Physical Response* in French and Spanish classrooms. The basic instructional emphases are summarized by Terrell (1982) as 1) providing comprehensible input; 2) lowering anxieties; and 3) creating opportunities to convey messages.

In discussing second language acquisition, Krashen (1984) has proposed that "acquisition is a far more powerful and central process than . . . conscious learning [which] serves only as an editor or monitor, making changes in the form of output under certain, very limited conditions." Acquisition itself results from *comprehensible input* (i.e., language which is significant for the learner as input, but just beyond the learner's reach as output) and attention to the message being conveyed versus its language conveyor. Hence language may be acquired most efficiently when the acquirer 'forgets' that he is listening to or reading another language entailing, of course, the concomitant existence of an affective environment capable of nurturing such an anxiety-free response on the part of the learner (Krashen, 1984). In other words, full access to another language would seem to be most effectively accomplished within its authentic role as a *tool* for communication and expression rather than as a *subject* for study; the latter may indeed produce knowledge, but does not automatically produce functional ability in the medium.

A stimulating year of study and reflection at an end, return to the classroom was to be more abrupt and bewildering than expected, and unaccountably, the old "chasm" still yawned! How to, where to, how much to, when to begin that "bridge?" With endless other demands, the task seemed nothing short of overwhelming. Pacifying myself rather unsatisfactorily with existing materials in my foreign language classrooms, I finally determined to fully commit to the challenge of creating new materials in at least one of my ESL classrooms. Indeed, as a student teacher fulfilling certification requirements in ESL, I was very fortunate to be afforded the opportunity, besides unstinting encouragement and support from both advisor and supervising teacher.

I began in early January, with assignments at the junior high and elementary school levels. Years of second language teaching notwithstanding, I found myself very apprehensive, particularly with regard to the elementary assignments. This would be a novel experience, not only in its unaccustomed curricular approach and instructional strategies, but also in terms of its group dynamics. I had never taught or even considered teaching below the seventh grade age range, and had never taught, except at the junior college level, to class groups of less than 15-20 (more commonly, 30-35) students.

My account will focus on a class of one; a 10-year-old, fifth grade girl from Central America, for considerations of privacy, to be referred to simply as "M."

The situation could not have been any more different from what I expected! Desperately grateful for a 2-week observation period to master clamant impulses to retreat to "safer" ground, I uneasily reported for duty minus the comfortable, well-used crutches of carefully-structured lesson outlines complete with preplanned exercises and activities, sufficing instead with a review of my own professional goals: to guide and help students (a) to value themselves and their potential contributions; (b) to develop their own capacities for critical thinking; (c) to accomplish full literacy; (d) to acquire an additional (not replacement) language-cum-culture so as to permit access to, as well as fruitful functioning and interaction within, the larger community and its various sub-groups (school, neighborhood, church, etc.); and (e) to command the requisite "access routes" to enable and accelerate learner autonomy. Calmed considerably in this redirection of focus away from myself, I bent to the task of intent, non-prejudicial "listening." What were M's goals, aspirations, interests, frustrations . . .?

However, two industrious weeks of observation only served to augment the quandary. I had, in fact, been witness to the undeniable and proud successes of an avid, highly intelligent pupil. She was happily functioning in a sensitively caring and anxiety-free environment within an exemplary systems-behavioral design. Fortuitously, in retrospect, there seemed no alternative but to begin work within this framework. It permitted me the interchange necessary to more accurately determine M's linguistic ability, preferred learning strategies, and degree of flexibility in exploring alternatives, while allowing much needed time for adaptation to a new teacher and development of a comfortable relationship between us.*

The next couple of weeks evidenced more time spent in progressively less-structured oral dialogue, with M's own interests and preoccupations increasingly pivotal in generating comprehensible input and output activities, which was rather effortlessly to lead to more shared decision-making as regards lesson content and form, and simultaneously less predetermination by linguistically-sequenced objectives. We gradually shifted classwork from the correspondingly organized texts--initially to independent homework assignments supported by in-class correction, and then eventually to discretionary, independent work, which would intrude on classtime only as requested by M (rather infrequently) for clarification of comments or corrections on returned worksheets.

---

* See article in this issue by William Sims

Paralleling this process, we also tried the gradual implementation of a functional-notional approach, which was very useful in contextualizing M's superb linguistic ability. Conveying a sense of purpose-appropriate language versus a merely syntactically-driven lexicon, it would concomitantly reveal the inextricable weave of culture in such negotiation. In her chapter on "Curricular Alternatives for Second Language Learning," Crawford-Lange (1987) quotes the following questions proffered by Munby toward determination of functions and notions (content) for the learner: "Who is communicating with whom, why, where, when, how, at what level, about what, and in what way?" Clearly, answers to these questions must also embrace the cultural parameter.

An interesting dividend in our particular situation as we worked through such communicative intents as greetings and introductions, asking and answering information questions, making requests and excuses, *et cetera*, was the sometimes bicultural (yet monolingual) input available due to the American and English/West Indian backgrounds of supervising and student teachers, respectively. Of course, M's own cultural heritage and expertise were also recognized and valued, and again fortuitously, we were able to exploit my own experiences in acquisition of "Spanish as a Second Language," experiences of daily life within a related cultural context (South America), and experiences in the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language in the neighboring junior high school. Such oral dialogues would naturally find written expression and further exploration in M's weekly journal, as she compared, contrasted, and expressed her own opinions with regard to holidays, schools, home-life, and so forth.

At this point, she also looked back to her first month at School "X," recapturing some of the feelings and impressions for us. Before describing our first completely learner-engendered venture together and indeed what proved to be the beginning of a true "partnership" as co-learners and explorers, I should like to reproduce an unedited portion of this composition, illustrative of M's competence and written performance.

> *The first day of school was hard, strange, happy, pretty, boring and unhappy.*

> *It was hard because I couldn't understand any word what they were saying, strange because I never had been with a teacher (boy) never, happy because I was in another school of other country, pretty because always I loved when the first day started, boring because I couldn't do anything of the work, and I try to see what was doing my next to me, but I didn't understand anything, unhappy because I fell incomplete like somebody was mising en my school and house. . . .Now I fell that I can talk a lot more and understand better than before. I'm so happy.* (Anonymous, personal communication, February, 1988)

It should probably also be mentioned that much of M's reading by this time (apart from a couple of exploratory library sessions together) was essentially unfettered and pursued independently for her own pleasure. An enthusiastic reader, she was reading copiously and across a wide range of subjects (biographies, detective mysteries, "Choose Your Own Adventure" stories, etc.), some of which she would voluntarily report on or discuss.

THE BEGINNING OF OUR COLLABORATION

Our collaborative venture was launched quite unexpectedly when pursuant to some activities centered around giving and asking directions, we extended our map work to a cursory review of the world map, locating major bodies of land and water. M was very disturbed by the continental divisions of North and South America, feeling quite sure that Central America had also been named as a continent by her teacher. I was somewhat slow to grasp how important this was to her, but she persistently returned to the topic, proffering one argument after another in refutation of my rather perfunctory and inadequate responses. Reluctantly and quite uncomprehendingly, I was forced to acknowledge M's distress, which seemed to encompass feelings of affront, alienation, and injustice. Chagrined at my own limitations and obtuseness, I promised to further investigate the issue with our science department at the junior high school, and directed myself more assiduously to my commitment as co-learner/explorer and listener.

Admitting that I might be on uncertain ground, I raised the question of whether the seven accepted continental divisions might not in fact be somewhat archaic, and asked whether she had ever heard of the theory of plate tectonics. Unsurprisingly, she had not. I attempted an explanation, at first rather tentatively, feeling a bit ridiculous, but rapidly warming to a subject I had always found very exciting. The end of our session together found me completely amazed. The turmoil had subsided for us both, supplanted by mutual excitement at the prospect of further delving into this fascinating area.

I immediately repaired to the school libraries (elementary and junior high), gathering as many books as I could find on the topic, irrespective of reading level. However, the most exciting source proved to be the junior high school science department, which, thanks to an accommodating earth science teacher, yielded not only excellent printed materials, but also a videocassette of the telecourse entitled "Planet Earth" (Metropolitan Pittsburgh Public Broadcasting & the National Academy of Sciences, 1986). Unbeknownst to us, we were about to embark on a 6-week project.

Reviewing our materials, we roughly separated the books and magazines into those which M and I would read outside of class and those which we would explore together in class. We began right away with pertinent articles in the January, 1973 issue of *National Geographic* (Camby, 1973; Matthews, 1973), utilizing the excellent pictures and illustrations to seed development of adequate schemata and an essential lexicon prior to viewing of the videotape. Reading also developed naturally in this way, as we supplemented pictures, captions, and the oral dialogue generated with relevant portions of text, sometimes silently, sometimes with one or other of us reading aloud. And as time progressed, this would extend to tangential excursions through a variety of other sources (see Appendix for some of the most frequently consulted).

The foregoing process thus preceded, occasionally interrupted, and succeeded our videotape viewing, which itself spanned a period of 2 to 3 weeks. We were to make full use of the advantages of a cassette recording during this time: frequently pausing for discussion, backing up and reviewing, or discontinuing to consult other sources, be it for supplementation, clarification, or simply to roam down a contingent pathway. We were fortunate, too, to have access to a large topographical globe, indeed one of our favorite and most fruitful resources.

Concurrent with our own undertaking, M had been hard at work on a research project in her regular classroom. On the day of her formal oral presentation in class, she reported breathlessly and was a bundle of nerves. On the one hand she was elated that the presentation had gone well, that she had been able to incorporate some of what she had learned about volcanoes in our investigations, and that her classroom teacher had been really very pleased; on the other hand, she was anxious that she was still speaking too quickly and afraid that her classmates might not always have been able to understand her. She determined then to include a more controlled rate of speech as one of the primary objectives for her oral report at the conclusion of our own project. The latter had been conceived in the very early stages of our inquiry, when our supervising teacher (Mrs. "X")--and a very special person for M--had warmly responded to our proposal; confiding to M how little she herself knew about the subject of plate tectonics, and in fact how interested she would be to learn more about it. Indeed, this anticipated outcome considerably informed our undertaking, as it became an added incentive for M not only to comprehend for her own information, but to also be able to communicate this new understanding to someone else.

THE FINAL REPORT

Concluding our joint excursion with some reluctance, M excitedly reviewed and prepared for her oral summation. It was a formidable task, as M was eager to convey it all: Earth's origins, evidence for plates and plate tectonics, boundary types and their relationship to earthquake belts, volcanic activity, and mountain formation, as well as anomalies of hot spots and mid-plate quakes. Armed with charts and globe, she nevertheless did a commendable job of both presenting and discussing in response to questions asked.

At this juncture, M would also decide to complete the project for herself with a formal written report. This resulted from her own initiative and despite our protest and clarification, due to her then heavy workload, that this need not be an outcome; but proud of her accomplishment, she apparently wanted to document it accordingly. This would likewise be entirely her own enterprise, completed out of class and submitted to Mrs. X less than a week later.

The report was limited to three aspects, divided into chapters correspondingly: "Plates Together," "The Hot Spot," and "Subduction." Unedited excerpts follow:

> *200 million years ago all the continents were join together. It was like a supercontinent. That supercontinent was called Pangea. It means all "land together."* . . . .
>
> *The hot spot is the middle of the world. . . . A very interesting thing, but, we're floating in the hot spot. We float because the hot spot is that hot that came liquid.* . . .
>
> *Subduction is when two plates go under. Like when two plates crush to each other and one goes under* (Anonymous, personal comunication, April, 1988).

Subsequent discussion and review of M's oral (taped) and written reports would again culminate in little anticipated expeditions in our learning partnership. Feeling much better at a marked reduction in her rate of speech, we were nevertheless to specify three objectives for continued improvement: rate reduction, distinct word boundaries, and final consonant emphasis. These would be charted daily according to her own awareness and effort, and in response to her own weekly goals (e.g., word boundaries and consonant emphasis: 25% awareness). Similarly, review of her written report would produce a written language objective for increased accuracy in past tense use entailing the *ed* inflection.

Thus we were to embark upon a course of lessons and activities, the very hub of which would now be language "the tool." With very little time remaining prior to M's return home and the end of the school year, she was anxious to exploit it to the fullest extent possible. Besides galloping through texts and workbooks, she continued to amaze me with her ready and fired responses to my often unsuspectingly casual enquiries. For example, after a routine journal review and discussion of (a) content, (b) organization, (c) past tense usage, I asked M whether there was anything else that she wanted me to look at or comment on. She was very quick to tell me there was: word order. She wanted to have feedback on this aspect of her language use as her own wording was too frequently rearranged by her American cousins. On another occasion: "Yes, we've been wondering for a long time about when you use *may* and when you use *can*, for example, . . ." Yet again, "I don't know if I really understand about imperatives," and so forth (Anonymous, personal communication, May, 1988).

However, despite the stated emphasis and pursuit of a number of specifically "language" oriented objectives, we were by no means limited to these. As M became increasingly at ease in co-directing her own educational process, we were to spontaneously devote several meetings to discussion of "problems" of significant issues for her. Unable, of course, to be more specific for reasons of privacy, these ranged across psychological, legal, political, and cultural questions, and were thus to naturally yield legitimate forums for applied language use in a variety of content (sometimes culturally-contrasting) areas.

There cannot reasonably be any direct inference of benefits of a *sine qua non* nature in attempting to qualify this particular educational experience for M. Certainly, M was tremendously successful in her ESL acquisition during her 7 months of school life, but just as certainly there were many factors, experiences, and people inextricably contributing to this overall result. However, I should like to summarize the positive benefits of a collaborative approach such as ours in terms of those aspects which seemed to enhance accomplishment of the following (previous amplified) educational goals:

1. Self-worth: the markedly greater opportunities afforded for responsible self-direction and collaboration in determining one's educational process. M may have been expressing this in her own way when she wrote in a farewell note, "I like being your friend. Besides all the fun we had it gives me a little status" (Anonymous, personal communication, June 3, 1988).

2. Critical thinking: implicit in the ongoing co-learner negotiation and evaluation essential to this approach.

3. & 4. Full literacy and second language acquisition: Accepting a definition proffered by Enright (1986) of communicative competence and full literacy as "one's capacity to construct and to communicate meaning across all of the settings one encounters and for all of the purposes one wishes to achieve," there are indeed several bonuses inherent in the collaborative process itself. Since a collaborative process involves ". . . intentionality, interest, and motivation on the part of the learner" (Winograd & Greenlee, 1986) it therefore increases the likelihood of a fertile affective environment. Its intrinsic flexibility also lends itself more readily to "meaningful" exploration of a wider range of contexts, including support of content area specific concepts and uses of language.

5. Learner autonomy: Acceleration toward this end also informs the process, with its emphasis on learner responsibility and initiative.

In looking back at my own response to our educational partnership, I too could echo M's sentiments, "I like being your friend. Besides all the fun we had it gives me a little status."

Once past the initial morass of panic, uncertainly, and discomfort--I did like it, it was "fun"! In fact, such was the unaccustomed aura that it was not long in provoking a precipitation of guilt. Surely I couldn't be doing my job, a serious business of the well-planned, well-controlled dispensation of knowledge to its variously interested or disinterested recipients. Indeed, I was doing my job, by far a more demanding and challenging one for my profession!

As never before, the teacher must be prepared, not just for execution of Lesson 4, Unit II, but also for using a fully functioning knowledge of one's subject matter, its available resources, and supporting resources in order to apply authentic language in the construction and communication of meaning. The task of communicating meaning or comprehensible input (as earlier defined, would for me constantly demand the fullest employment of my linguistic expertise and powers of perception. This alertness and acuity had also to be harnessed in sustaining an appropriate environment. Such an environment defies specification. It is dynamically capable of promoting discovery and learning, flexibly assessing, adjusting (deleting, incorporating, deviating, circumventing), and reassessing in response to student input; it is amenable to the uncertainties of exploration, its successes and defeats; it is capable of nurturing critical thinkers in an "evolutionary process" of the "act of knowing" (Crawford-Lange, 1981).

Indeed this *job*, with its requisite of professional competence does give me *a little status*, the status of constructive autonomy versus that of passive automaton. It gives the impetus for development and improvement, previously superfluous. It underlines the dialectical interaction between teacher and learner.

The intent of this discourse has not been to provide a blueprint for a particular curricular approach or method of instruction. Rather, as entitled, the paper points toward collaboration as a viaduct for teacher/student interaction in management of the teaching/learning processes, thereby enabling us "to teach from learners rather than at them" (Bernhardt, 1986), and learners to access positive, task-oriented strategies as opposed to "strategies aimed at avoiding failure" (Winograd and Greenlee, 1986).

My own experience has led me to appreciate the validity of Paulo Freire's observation that "experiments cannot be transplanted, they must be reinvented" (cited in Wallerstein, 1983): reinvented by each uniquely-composed unit of teacher(s) and student(s). An interactive operational matrix, in its ability to specifically account for the who, where, when, why, and what of the situation, could provide a viable mechanism for determination of the *how*. By definition, it also has the capacity to register and respond to the *evolutionary* nature of the process, progressively complementing, eliminating, reinstating from among the array of alternatives (curricular or instructional) as appropriate and functional for the individual unit. Indeed, ESL teachers might find exploitation of such a framework particularly useful in addressing the dilemma of multi-level and frequently fluctuating student populations.

The purpose of this article will be served should others also be motivated to "bridge the gap" toward the establishment of a fertile learning environment, resulting from teachers and students working together in pursuit of a common goal.

REFERENCES

Bernhardt, E. B. (1986). Reading in the foreign language. In Barbara H. Wing (Ed.), Listening, reading, writing: Analysis and application (pp. 93-115). Middlebury, VT: The Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Camby, T. Y. (1973, January). California's San Andreas fault. *National Geographic, 143*, pp. 38-53.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1981). Redirecting second language curricula: Paulo Freire's contribution. *Foreign Language Annals, 14*, 257-268.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1987). Curricular alternatives for second language learning. In Michael H. Long & Jack C. Richards (Eds.), *Methodology in TESOL: A book of readings* (pp. 120-144). New York: Newbury House.

Enright, D. S. (1986). "Use everything you have to teach English": Providing useful input to young language learners. In Pat Rigg & D. Scott Enright (Eds.), *Children and ESL: Integrating perspectives* (pp. 113-162).

Krashen, S. D. (1984). *Writing: Research, theory, and applications.* Oxford, England: Pergamon Press.

Matthews, S. W. (1973, January). This changing earth. *National Geographic, 143*, pp. 1-37.
Metropolitan Pittsburgh Public Broadcasting & The National Academy of Sciences (Producers), The Annenberg/CPB Project (Major Funding). (1986). *Planet Earth* [Videotape]. Chicago: Films, Inc.
Prendergast, I. K. (1987). *Literature review: Second language reading.* Unpublished manuscript.
Terrell, T. D. (1982). The Natural approach to language teaching: An update. *Modern Language Journal, 66,* 121-132.
Wallerstein, N. (1983). *Language and culture in conflict: Problem-posing in the ESL classroom.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
Winograd, P. , & Greenlee, M. (1986). Students need a balanced reading program. *Educational Leadership, 43*(7), 16-21.

APPENDIX

Some Sources: Plate Tectonics Investigation

Lambert, D. (1982). *Earthquakes.* London: Franklin Watts.
Lauber, P. (1972). *Earthquakes: New scientific ideas about how and why the earth shakes.* New York: Random House.
Namowitz, S N., & Spaulding, N. E. (1985). *Earth Science.* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
Navarra, J. G. (1980). *Earthquake.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
Readings from Scientific American: Continents adrift. (1972). San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition[*]

William R. Sims[**]
University of Minnesota

In interlanguage, the transitional state reaching from one's native language to a given target language, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, socio-cultural, or psycholinguistic errors may be generated and systematized by the process of fossilization. Depending on the amount of time needed for remediation, fossilized features may be considered either "hard" or "soft." Fossilization may arise from the application of false learner hypotheses, or it may have neuro-linguistic, socio-affective, or instructional origins. Language learning strategies are devices which are employed to process incoming target language data in instructional situations, and which are thought to facilitate deep cognitive processing, hence more thorough learning. Such strategies may be metacognitive (involving reflection on the learning process, planning for learning, monitoring the learning task, and evaluating performance), cognitive (involving mental or physical interaction with the material to be learned, or the application of a specific technique to a given learning task), or socio-affective (interaction with another person or the use of affective controls to facilitate a learning task). Proceeding from a sampling of the literature, links between fossilization and language learning strategies are suggested, as are implications for pedagogical praxis and an agenda for further research.

FOSSILIZATION

According to psycholinguist John Schumann, a major difference between the processes of first and second language acquisition is that all normal human beings achieve proficiency in their native language, yet exhibit great variation in the degree to which they acquire second languages (Schumann, 1975). This variation among second language learners has been studied from varied perspectives. One especially rewarding line of inquiry is enunciated in Corder's "The Significance of Learners' Errors" (1967), in which the author suggests that a central task of a second-language learner is to test the following hypotheses: "Are the systems of the new language the same or different from those of the language I know?"

---

[*] In this discussion, the terms "second language learning" and "second language acquisition" will be used interchangeably.

[**] William Sims is a doctoral student in Second Languages and Cultures at the University of Minnesota, and has taught German and ESL at the University.

and "(I)f different, what is their nature?". Further, Corder maintains that a deeper understanding of hypothesis testing in the second language acquisition process could be gained from analysis of the systematic errors committed by learners (as opposed to random "mistakes" made by speakers of any language) along the continuum from their native language to a given target language.

Proceeding from Corder (among others), Selinker (1972) has developed the concept of "interlanguage" (IL) to more clearly describe the learner's transition from native language (NL) to target language (TL). In his description of interlanguage, Selinker addresses the problem of nonrandom learner errors which tend to recur in one's IL, despite attempts at eradication. The process by which such persistent, systematic interlingual errors are generated is called "fossilization," around which topic the present discussion will revolve.

Definitions and perspectives

In general terms (see Selinker, 1972), fossilizable phenomena are language features, rules, or subsystems (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, socio-cultural, or psycholinguistic in nature) which speakers of a given NL tend to preserve in their interlanguage *en route* to a particular TL. One might suggest two disparate perspectives concerning the relative permanence of fossilized features. A "hard" perspective would see fossilized features as being, for all practical purposes, irremediable. No amount of explanation or instruction in the TL would appear to make much difference. On the other hand, a "soft" perspective might represent fossilization in terms of learning plateaus, where development of given TL features is simply "arrested" or "inhibited" for shorter or longer periods of time, depending on changes in instruction or learner attitude/motivation (as suggested by Canale, 1987).

In the face of such a distinction however, there is much intuitive appeal in the broader notion that the "hard" and "soft" views of fossilization really represent varying degrees of the same thing. At one end of the spectrum, fossilized features would seem but moderately tenacious, whereas at the other end, such features would appear resistant to most every sort of remedial effort. The key to "hardness" or "softness" in this broader view of fossilization seems to be *time* . In other words, degree of fossilization may be described in terms of the relative amount of time necessary for remediation of systematic errors in interlingual development. If a systematized IL error requires more remediation time than is practically available, it could be considered an example of "hard fossilization." Conversely, if a systematized error requires relatively less time to be eradicated, it could be considered an example of "soft fossilization." Whether fossilization is perceived as soft, hard, or immutable, it might prove useful to turn to an assortment of general perspectives.

Beginning with Corder (1967), much attention has been paid to the notion that second language learning consists mainly in the testing of learner hypotheses. If in fact hypothesis testing is one of the most central processes in second language acquisition, where might the fossilization concept be applied? Recall Corder's suggestion that learner hypotheses are chiefly concerned with the degree of similarity or difference between a learner's NL and the TL in question. One might argue then, that if a given learner has formed an incorrect hypothesis during interlingual development (that is, if one has perceived a similarity between NL and TL which is not really there), the potential for systematic error is immediately introduced. If the same learner attempts to apply such an ill-conceived hypothesis, an error of production will result in that learner's IL. Further, if the incorrect hypothesis is not replaced with one which is more nearly in line with the TL norm, the attendant production error will fossilize, that is, be systematized in the learner's IL.

There are other perspectives, of course. According to a number of scholars (among them Jakobovits, 1970; Selinker & Lamendella, 1978; Walsh & Diller, 1981), neurolinguistic factors may play a role in the fossilizability of features in IL. As learners grow older, it is argued, there may be a "loss of plasticity" in the brain, which could well ensure that numerous TL norms will never be achieved. This notion might account, by way of example, for the familiar "foreign accent" phenomenon (fossilization of IL phonological features) in most adult second language learners.

Attitude and motivation are widely considered critical factors in second language acquisition. A number of recent studies have linked these two factors (either explicitly or implicitly) with fossilization. For example, in her discussion of second language learners and risk-taking behavior, Beebe (1983) maintains that as a result of risk-taking situations where learners perceive high risk/low gain, IL structures can fossilize. That is, learners experience a *motivational crisis* because they adjudge a certain kind of situation to be a poor gamble; hence they will not attempt TL features of which they are unsure. Consequently, learning (with regard to these uncertain features) stops at a certain point in IL. Beebe notes a related phenomenon among learners living temporarily abroad, such as missionaries or Peace Corps volunteers, who tend to master the minimal TL corpus requisite for comfortable existence in their impermanent surroundings. Once mastery of this minimal corpus is complete, acquisition effectively stops. Beebe suggests that this sort of fossilization may be related to learners' unwillingness to take further risks. In a related study of competitiveness and anxiety, Bailey (1983) opines that IL development may be inhibited (i.e., features may fossilize) by high levels of stress stemming from the need to function in a second language at a performance level higher than one is really able to maintain. Consequently, learning can be drastically impeded, or may even cease.

On the other hand, such a cessation of learning (resulting in fossilized IL features) may not necessarily involve risk-taking or stress at all. Selinker (1972) refers to what has been called a "strategy of communication." According to Selinker, the suggestion proceeds from Chomsky's notion of "linguistic competence" (one's language capability, as distinguished from "linguistic performance," one's actual language output): When a second language learner determines that no more TL need be acquired for communication, learning stops. Similarly, Terrell (1988) has formulated a "communicative needs hypothesis," which "claims that the degree of communicative need determines the level of attainment in the target language," that is, "those who fossilize at low levels (in their IL) have fewer and less complex communicative demands than those who . . . acquire a richer and more expressive version of the target language."

In a fairly broad survey of affective factors involved in second language learning, Schumann (1975) stresses the importance of one's incipient relationship with the target language and its culture. In natural settings (and possibly in certain classroom settings) a language learner (as "alien") must undergo a process of "dealienation" or "redomestication." During the process, the learner will suffer three types of disorientation: *language shock*, *culture shock*, and *culture stress*. Language shock involves problems of correctly identifying referents, dealing with dissimilarities between NL and TL visual images, and general feelings of shame or inadequacy. Culture shock is, quite simply, the anxiety inherent in a learner's dealings with a new culture. Culture stress centers around long-term questions of personal identity. Any one of these disorientations might engender negative attitudes toward oneself and the target language and culture, inhibit the processes of language learning and acculturation, and ultimately result in fossilized linguistic and socio-cultural features.

Culture is also the prime factor in Terrell's (1988) "target language group identification (TLGI) hypothesis," in which a learner wishing to reap all the benefits of membership in a new culture must desire to become an indistinguishable member of the TL social group. Since, for numerous reasons, most adult second language learners would not tend to fit this category, the TLGI hypothesis predicts that in general, adult learners will fossilize far short of targeted (linguistic and cultural) norms.

Fossilization can play a role in the consideration of second language teaching methodologies, as well. In their article "The Push Toward Communication," Higgs and Clifford (1982) discuss fossilization with regard to those learners at Government language schools who appear to be hopelessly stranded on various sorts of developmental plateaus. Higgs and Clifford have designated such learner types "terminal" cases, attributing this phenomenon to linguistic "proactive interference," where the prior learning of language task A interferes with the subsequent learning of language task B. They note further that, in their experience, the terminal profile is typically "high vocabulary/low grammar," suggesting that these learners have been affected by prior language experience of some informal nature (language task A), such as "street" learning in the target culture, which then inhibits their progress in formal classroom instruction (language task B). Further, Higgs and Clifford suggest that proactive interference might also be a factor in contemporary approaches to second language teaching which place a premium on communication, often at the expense of accuracy. They reason that, under such methodologies, learners will tend to fossilize at relatively low levels, because systematic errors in their IL will usually go unremediated.

Another aspect of the fossilization question is suggested by recent discussions in the second language literature focussing upon "language learning strategies." Their possible relationship with fossilization (see III. below) will be explored subsequent to a brief consideration of the learning strategies concept itself.

LEARNING STRATEGIES

To facilitate second language acquisition in a classroom situation, learners employ numerous devices, frequently called "language learning strategies." The primary function of such strategies is to enable learner comprehension, memory, and use of new language information and skills (Cohen, 1988; Chamot & Küpper, 1989; Oxford, Lavine, & Crookall, 1989).

The concept of learning strategies has appeared under sundry guises. By way of example: Corder (1967) uses the phrase "strategies of learning" to refer to the process of hypothesis testing which learners carry out with regard to the nature of their first and second languages. Tarone (1983) regards learning strategies as one's attempts to develop TL linguistic and sociolinguistic competences which may then be incorporated into one's IL. In her Freirean, problem-posing approach to language curriculum, Crawford-Lange (1981, 1987) addresses learning strategies as devices which arise from the dialogical relationship between teacher and student. Through these and an array of other perspectives (e.g., Beebe,1983; Bialystok, 1979, 1983; Chaudron, 1988; Færch, 1985; Seliger, 1983; Selinker, 1972; Wenden, 1986; Wesche, 1979), there runs a common thread: the manner in which learners think and behave in order to deal with incoming TL data in instructional situations.

Research suggests that learning strategies operate on several levels (Oxford, 1986; Chaudron, 1988; Chamot & Küpper, 1989). A number of investigators have developed detailed taxonomies of language learning strategies (O'Malley, et al., 1985a; Oxford, 1986; Wenden, 1986; Oxford, Lavine, & Crookall, 1989; and others). One such taxonomy has been constructed by Chamot and Küpper (1989), and is divided into sections for *cognitive, metacognitive,* and *socio-affective* strategic behaviors (an abbreviated adaptation of the taxonomy is appended).

Typically, cognition refers to procedures which the mind uses to process information, that is, recognizing, remembering, thinking, problem-solving, and so forth. In second language learning, one might relate cognition to the processing of verbal and/or visual input which language learning tasks might require. Chamot and Küpper (1989) describe cognitive learning strategies in terms of interactions with the material to be learned, which may involve mental or physical manipulation, or the application of a specific technique, en route to completion of given learning tasks. A typical cognitive strategy is "inferencing," where prior knowledge and other available information are used to deduce meaning/usage of unfamiliar components in a given language task, to predict outcomes, or to supply information which is missing (Bialystok, 1983; Chamot & Küpper, 1989).

In general terms, metacognition is thinking about thinking (Glover & Bruning, 1987). In the realm of second language acquisition, metacognition would involve learners' thoughts about the process of their own second language learning. Metacognitive learning strategies include behaviors, largely self-regulatory, which involve reflection on the learning process, planning for learning, monitoring of learning tasks, and evaluation of performance (Chamot & Küpper, 1989). Metacognitive strategies would relate then, to one's self-questions: "How do I learn languages? What sorts of things help me learn best? How am I doing with this task? How did I do on the task I just completed?" For example, in the Chamot and Küpper taxonomy, a metacognitive self-evaluation strategy would involve checking one's work when the task was finished, and then evaluating: 1) one's overall performance of the task, 2) one's ability to perform the task, 3) the strategies one has used, and 4) how much one really knows of the TL at any given level (word, phrase, etc.).

Socio-affective learning strategies might include interaction with another (likely a teacher or peer) to expedite learning, or the use of affective control over one's own learning behavior. Typically, one might ask another for verification, explanation, or feedback on one's own performance; or one might use techniques for one's own anxiety-reduction and self-reinforcement (Chamot & Küpper, 1989; Oxford, Lavine & Crookall, 1989).

Having briefly discussed the concept of "language learning strategies" and noted some typical strategic categories and types, a logical question would be: "How might learning strategies facilitate language acquisition?"

Strategies and cognition

One answer arises from information-processing theory in cognitive psychology (Wesche, 1979; Cohen, 1988). It has been suggested that memory is a function of *depth of processing* , that is, the more deeply or carefully learners analyze new information, the more likely that information may be recalled over time (Glover & Bruning, 1987). Processing and analysis make information more *distinctive* in its context, hence more easily recalled. A related idea is that of *elaboration* : As learners use more and more varied methods of encoding new information, memory and recall of that information should improve. The key to memory as related to depth of processing, distinctiveness, and elaboration is what learners actually *do* with the material they are attempting to learn.

The application of more and varied learning strategies to given tasks (elaboration) would result in deeper processing and greater contextual distinctiveness, hence more accurate and thorough learning. Cohen (1988) suggests that it is elaborate processing which causes TL "input" (teacher presentation, explanations, gestures, materials, student questions, etc.) to become "intake" (comprehension of TL data leading to learning). Consequently, IL features arising from the successful application of language learning strategies should more closely resemble corresponding TL target norms.

The notions having been discussed individually, a relationship between fossilization and language learning strategies may now be proposed.

FOSSILIZATION AND LEARNING STRATEGIES

The relationship between fossilization and learning strategies has received minimal scholarly attention (E. Tarone, personal communication; L. Selinker, personal communication). Proceeding from the discussion of learner hypotheses in Corder (1967), one might suggest that someplace along the IL continuum, inappropriate or misapplied learning strategies could lead to fossilization of some features (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, psycholinguistic, or socio-cultural). Selinker (1972) maintains that systematized errors could likely arise from the use of learning strategies in IL, although the exact nature of the process is not discussed. Cohen (1988) also suggests that the repeated use of unsuccessful strategies (i.e., those strategies which do not enable completion of a given language-learning task) could impede a learner's progress.

One might suggest that the process of "fossilization-through-learning-strategy-use" could operate as follows: A learner has reached some conclusions about effective second language learning, based upon NL metalinguistic awareness, prior NL instruction, current TL instruction, or general knowledge. These conclusions manifest themselves in cognitive, metacognitive, or socio-affective behavior which the learner feels will facilitate learning. So far, so good — but there is evidence for what one might call a "specificity factor" inherent in language learning strategies; that is, learning strategies tend to be task-, context-, situation-, or learner-specific (Chamot & Kūpper, 1989; Cohen, 1988; Oxford, 1986; Politzer, 1983; Wenden, 1986). Perhaps then, if a given strategy is inappropriate (e.g., having been derived from another task/context), and is repeatedly applied by a learner (perhaps through ignorance of its inappropriateness), successful completion of the language task at hand could tend to be inhibited rather than facilitated. If the inaccurate strategy in question is never identified/remediated, the TL features touched by the strategies could tend to temporarily or permanently (for all practical purposes) fossilize.

The situation might become yet more complex if there were prior instruction in a different foreign language. Based upon previous experience in another TL, the learner may assume that a once-successful strategy will again be successful in the context of instruction in a new TL; but because of the specificity factor, the old is inappropriate for the new. Learning is inhibited, perhaps sufficiently for IL errors to systematize. Similar complexities might arise if any prior instruction were under a substantially different methodology (say, a grammar-translation or audio-lingual approach) than the methodology operant in the current learning situation. If certain strategies were methodology-specific, strategy transfer would be inappropriate. Of course, if prior instruction were in a different TL *and* under a different methodology, chances of strategy misapplication could increase further still.

Research suggests that *frequency* and *type* of strategies used can also affect language learning (Wesche, 1979; Oxford, 1986; Cohen, 1988; Chamot & Küpper,1989; Oxford, Lavine, & Crookall, 1989). For example, in their recent discussion of the Learning Strategies in Foreign Language Instruction Project, Chamot and Küpper (1989) report that higher level learners tend to use more and more varied strategies than lower level learners, and that more effective learners tend to use more and more varied strategy types than less effective learners (which they suggest is in keeping with previous "good learner" research). It would seem to follow, then, that the use of fewer and less diverse strategy types could leave learners in the "less effective" category, perhaps with a number of systematized IL errors still short of TL norms.

Conclusion

Although the discussion of fossilization and learning strategies is, at the moment, chiefly theoretical, it does have some implications for *praxis*. Certainly, the fossilization literature suggests possibilities for understanding the origins of systematized interlingual error. The strategies literature urges a shift of pedagogical focus from language *teachers* to language *learners*. The proposed relationship of fossilization and learning strategies, given a cognitive frame of reference, could be a key to the remediation of systematized errors, as the role of learner information processing in the second language acquisition process becomes more clearly understood.

Of course, much careful thought and investigation will be necessary before any substantial conclusions can be drawn. The possible use of learning strategies to remediate fossilized IL features will require further research, as will the relationship of time with fossilization and language learning strategies. For example, the tenacity of erroneous or misapplied hypotheses could be described in terms of the time required to identify them and to replace them with accurate hypotheses. In dealing with the neurolinguistic effects of age, the time required to devise and apply compensatory techniques (such as teaching of skills for using kinesthetic memory to deal with the "foreign accent" problem) might be discussed. The amount of effort needed for learners to improve levels of attitude and motivation in regard to target language (and cultural) learning tasks could be described in terms of requisite time. Similarly, fossilization stemming from types of prior learning or from the misapplication of learning strategies might be seen alongside the measure of the time needed for their identification and remediation. Other topics for further research might include: the transfer of learning strategies from L1 to L2 to L3 and the effects of similarities/differences between languages; the joint operation of metacognitive strategies as sort of "strategy monitor;" or the application of the "compensation hypothesis" (Cohen, 1988), where learners lacking adequate TL strategies rely on NL strategies more than they do in NL learning. It will be of great interest to see what practical and theoretical insights might be generated by further research in these areas.

REFERENCES

Bailey, K. M. (1983). Competitiveness and anxiety in adult second language learning: Looking *at* and *through* the diary studies. In H. W. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 67-102). Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Beebe, L. M. (1983). Risk-taking and the language learner. In H. W. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 39-65). Cambridge MA: Newbury House.

Bialystok, E. (1979). The role of conscious strategies in second language proficiency. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 35*, 372-394.

Bialystok, E. (1983). Inferencing: Testing the "hypothesis-testing" hypothesis. In H. W. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 104-123). Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Chamot, A. U., & Küpper, L. (1989). Learning strategies in foreign language instruction. *Foreign Language Annals*, *22* (1), 13-24.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms: Research on teaching and learning*. New York: Cambridge UP.

Cohen, A.D. (1988). *Easifying language learning: Insights for learners, teachers, and researchers.* Unpublished manuscript.

Cohen, A. D., & Hosenfeld, C. (1981) Some mentalistic data in second language research. *Language Learning, 31* (2), 285-313.

Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learner's errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics ,5* , 161-170.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1981). Redirecting second language curricula: Paolo Friere's contribution. *Foreign Language Annals, 14* (4-5), 257-268.

Crawford-Lange, L. M. (1987). Curricular alternatives for second language learning. In M. H. Long & J. C. Richards (Eds.), *Methodology in TESOL: A book of readings* (pp. 120-144). New York: Newbury House.

Ehrman, M., & Oxford, R. (1988). Effects of sex differences, career choice, and psychological type on adult language learning strategies. *Modern Language Journal, 72* (3), 253-265.

Færch. C. (1985). Meta talk in FL classroom discourse. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition , 7* (2), 184-199.

Glover, J. A., & Bruning, R. H. (1987). *Educational psychology* . Boston: Little, Brown.

Higgs, T. V., & Clifford, R. T. (1982). The push toward communication. In T. V. Higgs (Ed.), *Curriculum, competence, and the foreign language teacher* (pp. 57-79). The ACTFL Foreign Language Education Series. Skokie, IL: National Textbook Co.

Jakobovits, L. A. (1970). *Foreign language learning: A psycholinguistic analysis of the issues* . Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

James, C. (1980). *Contrastive analysis* . Harlow, Essex: Longman.

O'Malley, J. M., Chamot, A. U., Stewner-Manzanares, G., Küpper, L., & Russo, R. P. (1985a). Learning strategies used by beginning and intermediate ESL students. *Language Learning, 35*, 21-46.

Oxford, R. L. (1986). *Development of the strategy inventory for language learning* . Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Oxford, R. L., Lavine, R. Z., & Crookall, D. (1989) Language learning strategies, the communicative approach, and their classroom implications. *Foreign Language Annals 22.* (1), 29-39.

Politzer, R. L. (1983). An exploratory study of self reported language learning behaviors and their relation to achievement. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 6* (1), 54-68.

Schumann, J. H. (1974). Implications of pidginization and creolization for the study of adult second language acquisition. In H.H. Schumann & N. Stenson (Eds.), *New frontiers in second language learning* (pp. 137-152). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schumann, J. H. (1975). Affective factors and the problem of age in second language acquisition. *Language Learning 25* , 209-35.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics10* (3), 209-231.

Selinker, L., & Lamendella, J. T. (1978). Fossilization in interlanguage learning. In C. E. Blatchford & J. Schachter (Eds.), *On Tesol '78* (pp. 240-249). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Stern, H. H. (1983). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching* . Oxford: Oxford UP.

Tarone, E. (1983). Some thoughts on the notion of 'communication strategy'. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Strategies in interlanguage communication* (pp. 61-74). London: Longman.

Terrell, T. D. (1988). Avoiding fossilization in communicative approaches. Unpublished manuscript.

Walsh, T. M., & Diller, K. C. (1981). Neurolinguistic considerations on the optimum age for second language learning. In K. C. Diller (Ed.), *Individual differences and universals in language learning aptitude* (pp. 3-21). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Wenden, A. L. (1986). What do second-language learners know about their language learning? A second look at retrospective accounts. *Applied Linguistics, 7* (2), 186-205.

Wesche, M. B. (1979). Learning Behaviours of successful adult students in intensive language training. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 35*, 415-430.

APPENDIX

Inventory of Language Learning Strategies (adapted from Chamot & Küpper, 1989)

Cognitive strategies:

Repetition (repeating a word or phrase during a language task)
Resourcing (using dictionaries, textbooks, prior work)
Grouping (ordering, classifying or labeling common material in a language task)
Note-taking (writing key words/concepts in short verbal, graphic or numerical form)
Deduction/Induction (applying learned or self-developed TL rules)
Substitution (selecting alternative approaches, plans, words, or phrases)
Elaboration (relating new material to prior knowledge, relating components of new information, making personal associations to new information, etc.)
Summarization (making mental or written precis of task-related language/information)
Translation (verbatim relating of ideas from one language to another)

Transfer (using previously learned linguistic knowledge to facilitate a new language task)
Inferencing (using available information to guess meaning/usage of unfamiliar items, predict outcomes, or fill in missing information)

Metacognitive strategies:
Planning (using advanced organizers, proposing strategies for a given task, anticipating necessary parts, sequence, main ideas, or language functions)
Directed Attention (deciding to attend in general to a learning task; maintaining attention)
Selective Attention (deciding to attend to specific aspects of TL input; attending to input during task)
Self-management (understanding/arranging for conditions requisite to task success; controlling performance to maximize use of prior knowledge)
Self-monitoring (checking, verifying, correcting comprehension / performance during language task)
Problem Identification (explicitly identifying central unresolved facet of task)
Self-evaluation (checking performance outcomes, language repertoire, strategy use, or task abilities)

Socio-affective strategies:
Questioning (requesting explanation, verification, rephrasing about materials or task; self-questioning)
Cooperation (working with peers to solve problems, pool information, check learning task, model an activity or obtain feedback)
Self-talk (using mental techniques to reduce anxiety)
Self-reinforcement (providing motivation by arranging personal rewards for task completion)

eec/WICOM® DOES IT AGAIN

First we introduced the MC-8501 Console System, a full featured language lab that was not a budget buster. Now we announce the new WICOM MC-9800 Instructor Console featuring a color CRT display of all class activity including built-in analyzer system with printer and the LP-98 Language Partner recorder with remote control.

Check these unique features:

- Sealed sheet switch instructor control console, no bigger than a computer key board. Eliminating knobs, levers and switches means greater reliability and long life.
- Color CRT display of classroom with plain language messages indicating mode, function and class activity.
- An easy to use analyzer function with multiple choice question capability and again with CRT display of individual student responses, overall class comprehension and print out of grades, ranking and student bar chart.
- Handfree automatic student monitoring.
- FOUR program distribution and Library or Free Study.
- Master program recorder includes selectable:

  Automatic repeat of single or multiple phrases,

  Edit and reformat tapes, adjust spacing for student responses and bookmarks for continuous tape segment replay,

  Automatic "end of phrase" pause, ideal for "answer only" oral testing or analyzer use.
- Student recorders include automatic last sentence repeat without head to tape contact reducing unnecessary wear on all components.
- Computerized design and circuitry result in simple operation and an effective teaching tool.

PRACTICAL LANGUAGE LAB SYSTEMS AT AFFORDABLE PRICES

Best of all the MC-9800 system with all of these features is still competitively priced. Call us for a budgetary estimate which will pleasantly surprise you. There is no obligation.

Toll Free (800) 553-7669

---

educational electronics corporation

213 North Cedar Ave ● Inglewood, CA 90301

eec/WICOM

BUILDING A REPUTATION . . . ONE LAB AT A TIME

The Minne*TESOL* Journal
P.O. Box 14694
Minneapolis, MN 55414

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
St. Paul, MN
Permit No. 8037

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 5 [illegible]

MINNETESOL JOURNAL

Volume 8, 1990

A Journal for Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
MinneTESOL is the Minnesota affiliate of TESOL.

Co-Editors
HELEN JORSTAD, University of Minnesota
THOMAS A. UPTON, University of Minnesota

Editorial Advisory Board
Yolanda Dewar
University of Minnesota
Doris Heisig
University of Minnesota
Valerie Lewicki
William Sims
University of Minnesota
Betty Leone
Metro State University and
Inver Hills Community
College

Grateful thanks is given to our typist, Cathy Zemke, and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD 1990-91

President
Bruce Downing
University of Minnesota
First Vice President
Yolanda Dewar
University of Minnesota
Second Vice President
Judith Strohl
Minneapolis Public Schools
Membership Secretary
Pat Korb
Burnsville Public Schools
Treasurer
John Neumann
Robbinsdale Area Schools
Past President
Kären Dudley
St. Paul Public Schools

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

Suzanne Donsky
Pat Eliason
Stephen Guthrie
Adele Hansen
Pat Wilcox Peterson
David Rathbun
Patricia Rogosheske

Membership in Minne*TESOL*

Membership in Minne*TESOL* is $12.00 and includes a subscription to the ***MinneTESOL Journal*** and ***MinneTESOL Newsletter***. Contact the Membership Secretary, Minne*TESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Mpls., MN 55414.

MINNETESOL JOURNAL

Volume 8, 1990

Contents

Introduction 5

ARTICLES

"Back to Basics:" Literacy for Second Language Learners in the Public Schools
Elaine Tarone 7

Geodes Like Sky Blue Popsicles: Developing Authorship Literacy in Limited English Proficient Students
Lisa Boehlke & Mary Kay Rummel 17

THE ESL TEACHER AS RESEARCHER
Helen Jorstad 27

Finding a Voice: Secondary Students Write Their Stories
Lindsey Allen 27

Citizenship Education: The Three S's—Self, School, and State (Excerpts)
Michael J. Mullins 38

Schemata, Strategies, and Social Construction: Some Implications for Second Language Pedagogy
Paul Prior 53

Some Effects of Culture in the ESL Classroom and their Implications for Teaching
Laura Buchanan 73

The Role of Error Correction in the Process-Oriented ESL Composition Classroom
Susan Bosher 89

MINNETESOL JOURNAL

Volume 8, 1990

POETRY

To All the People Who Make the Circle
Amy Egenberger 103

Explaining Miracles
Jennifer Jesseph 104

REVIEWS

Teaching and Learning Vocabulary
Reviewed by Adele Hansen..105

When They Don't All Speak English: Integrating the ESL Student into the Regular Classroom
Reviewed by Betty Leone..108

THE FORUM

Comments on "Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation"
Kristine Torkelson..111

MINNETESOL JOURNAL

Volume 8, 1990

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

The *MinneTESOL* Journal seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the state of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome.

- **Manuscripts**

Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.*

Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words. **Submission of a computer diskette is STRONGLY encouraged.**

Contributions to Volume 9 should be submitted to the editor:

Adele Hansen
Minnesota English Center
102 Klaeber Court
320 - 16th Avenue S.E.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455

- **Advertising**

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MINNETESOL JOURNAL

Volume 8, 1990

Introduction

The first 4 articles of Volume 8 of the *MinneTESOL Journal* look at issues surrounding Limited English Proficient (LEP) students in our public school systems. Elaine Tarone's article, "'Back to Basics:' Literacy for Second Language Learners in the Public Schools," leads off these selections by providing the theoretical background as well as the political implications of LEP instruction. She first summarizes the literature which finds that "the best way to promote literacy in a second language is for learners to first become literate in their native language, and then in the second language." Tarone then looks at the extent to which our public school systems are meeting their "obligation...to provide adequate language instruction for LEP students" and concludes by offering suggestions for improving our LEP programs.

In "Geodes Like Sky Blue Popsicles: Developing Authorship Literacy in Limited English Proficient Students," Lisa Boehlke and Mary Kay Rummel narrate how LEP students at Chelsea Heights Elementary School were instructed in "authorship literacy" and provide examples of pieces which their students created.

The next two papers are written by students in the University of Minnesota's postbaccalaureate teacher education program. Lindsey Allen's "Finding a Voice: Secondary Students Write Their Stories" describes how she worked with her LEP students through journal writing to develop a student-authored book. Michael J. Mullins' paper, "Citizenship Education: The Three S's--Self, School, and State," is his account of how he attempted to involve his LEP students more and make them more responsible for their own learning while he was their student teacher.

With Paul Prior's paper, "Schemata, Strategies, and Social Construction: Some Implications for Second Language Pedagogy," the theme for the last three articles in this volume shifts from the LEP student in particular to the English as a second language learner in general. Prior provides a theoretical argument for involving students actively in language learning through the use of authentic and live language in order to facilitate the acquisition and retention of language skills.

Susan Bosher's paper, "The Role of Error Correction in the Process-Oriented ESL Composition Classroom," and Laura Buchanan's paper, "Some

Effects of Culture in the ESL Classroom and Their Implication for Teaching," provide two practical examples of how the theory outlined by Prior can be implemented. Buchanan discusses the all pervasive influence that culture has on any ESL classroom and offers suggestions for controlling and taking advantage of these cultural differences in order to teach language. Bosher, in her paper, presents an idea that makes the students responsible for and active in correcting their syntactic errors in writing while also providing positive feedback on the content of student papers.

Finally, along with two book reviews and a letter to the editor, we have added two pieces of poetry written by students in the University of Minnesota's postbaccalaureate program.

Both Helen Jorstad and I are very excited about this volume of the *MinneTESOL Journal* as we feel it represents the diversity of the field of ESL in Minnesota. We have contributions from practicing teachers, postbaccalaureate students, master's and doctoral students, Ph.D.s, M.Ed.s, M.A.s, administrators, and -- most importantly -- ESL students themselves. We hope that you find the articles, the stories, and the poetry that follow as stimulating and rewarding as we do.

Thomas A. Upton

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL, Vol. 8, 1990

"Back to Basics:" Literacy for Second Language Learners in the Public Schools[1]

ELAINE TARONE
University of Minnesota

The question of what influences the acquisition of literacy skills in a second language is addressed. A selected review of the literature shows that prior literacy in the native language greatly increases the ability of elementary school aged children to become literate in a second language. The implications for LEP students as well as students in immersion programs are highlighted with a final discussion of the political realities and ramifications.

The "back to basics" movement in American education has urged us to return to the time-honored goals of public elementary and secondary schooling: the three 'R's of Readin', Writin' and Rithmetic. The President's wife, Barbara Bush, has put her considerable energy into the goal of promoting literacy—Reading and Writing—for America's youth. Nineteen ninety is called the International Year for Literacy.

In light of these facts, it seems to be a good time for us, as second-language teachers, to turn our attention to the literacy skills of our students. What is the best way for second-language learners to become literate in their second language? This paper will summarize research relevant to this issue and suggest some general approaches we can take.

The primary focus here will be on the limited English proficient, or LEP, student—the learner of English as a second language in the public schools. But this discussion will also have implications for language immersion programs in the public schools which are designed for majority children.

Before we begin to look at this issue, we need to make a fundamental distinction. This is the distinction between a second-language learner's mastery of *basic communication skills* in the new language, and her proficiency in the use of *school language*.[2] In basic oral communication in the second language, the learner can use context to help her to understand and to encode meaningful messages: gesture, physical objects in the environment, and the ongoing and repetitive patterns of social interaction can help the learner to interact meaningfully in the second language. But in school language, communication is context reduced: the contextual cues are missing. The learner must rely primarily on linguistic cues to meaning and must learn to manipulate the language logically. Think, for example, of what is involved in reading the following in a chemistry book:

---

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the MinneTESOL Conference, Fall 1989.

[2] Jim Cummins (1981a, 1981b) refers to BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency). Here, I use the term "school language" to refer to Cummins' notion of CALP.

> *Although the Periodic System does not embrace or depend upon any particular theory of atomic structure, it certainly must agree with any such theory, and vice versa.* (Rochow, p. 13)

Here there may be few illustrations or outside context to help; the learner has to manipulate the language logically. Or think of what is involved in taking a multiple-choice test. There are no contextual cues here: no pictures, no gestures, no human interaction. In fact, the choice among A, B, C or D often balances on the choice of a single word, like 'might' vs. 'must', or a choice among options like 'A and B but not C', 'all of the above' and 'none of the above'—where the student may be deliberately misled by the test-maker, and where selection of the correct answer (again) depends on the ability to manipulate the language logically. Much of formal education aims at teaching students to process and use school language: language in which meaning is represented with minimal contextual support. When we refer to "literacy" in a second language, we must remember that we refer to more than the simple ability to decode letters or to copy letters down on paper. We use the term "literacy" at the level of meaning, as the ability to understand the *meaning* of what one is reading when extra-linguistic context is reduced, and to write making one's *meaning* clear to readers who are not physically present.

Let us turn to the issue of literacy in a second language. What is the best way to acquire literacy skills in a second language? Should students learn to read first in their native language, or in the target language? Swain (1981) cites the evidence on this point: it is very clear that children do best when they *learn to read first in their native language*. The ability to deal with decontextualized school language seems to transfer quite easily from the native language to the second language. But the initial development of that ability seems to be much easier when the learner is working with the native language. This is true not only for LEP children in ESL programs, but also for majority children in language immersion programs. Swain describes two studies, one with LEP learners and one with immersion learners. The LEP study was done with Navajo students at Rock Point, who, according to Swain (1981)

> *used to be educated in English only, and their performance on standardized tests of English remained continuously below the performance expected for their grade level. In 1971 a bilingual program was set up in which literacy was first introduced in*

> *Navajo, from kindergarten through grade 2. After children learned to read in Navajo, they were introduced to English reading. The program through to grade 6 continued to involve instruction in both languages. Students were administered standardized tests of English achievement and the results were compared, among other groups, to those of previous students at Rock Point who had not had bilingual education.* (p. 24)

The results? With each successive year, the children in the bilingual program scored progressively higher in *English* literacy-related tasks than did the children educated in English only. That is, the way to English literacy for these children was by means of literacy first in Navajo.

In French immersion programs, English-speaking children in Canada are taught a standard curriculum for their grade level, but the material is taught entirely in French, their second language. The children learn to read first in the second language, and are only introduced to English reading in the second grade. Swain describes the well known success of these French immersion children in oral interpersonal communication in their second language. They are

> *able to argue in French, to contradict, to play games (including language games), to change topics, to exchange information, to make jokes, to laugh at them, and so on ... But it would be inaccurate to suggest that their French was flawless. It was not, and is not, even at higher grade levels. At the same grade level that the immersion children were demonstrating their ability to use and understand French in face-to-face interactions, the performance of immersion children on a standardized test of French language skills placed them at approximately the 16th percentile relative to the native French-speaking population on whom the test was standardized.* (Swain 1981, pp. 23-24)

That is, their French school language lagged far behind their oral communication skills in French. Tests also showed that these children had very low scores on measures of their (native) English school language but once they were taught to read in English, they quickly caught up with their English-educated peers on measured language skills. What is most interesting is this: once these children developed literacy skills in their native language, their literacy in the second language also improved markedly. Even here, with immersion programs, so highly regarded as successful, it seems that literacy in the native language is fundamental to successful literacy in the second language.

There are two types of immersion programs in Canada: early immersion, in which children learn to read first in the second language, and only later in their native language; and late immersion, in which children first achieve literacy in their native language, while studying the second language a few minutes a day, and in the 7th grade are totally immersed in the second language in their study of regular school subjects (Swain 1974). How do these two types of programs compare in terms of the L2 literacy skills imparted to the students? The students in *late immersion*, already literate in their L1, become literate in the L2 *much faster* than the early immersion students: late immersion students require only 1200 hours of immersion to reach comparable levels of literacy with early immersion children who have had 4000 hours of immersion (Swain 1981, p. 25). Here again is evidence that we learn second-language literacy skills best when we have first become literate in our native language.

Let us now turn to the question of the amount of time it takes second-language learners to learn the L2. Cummins (1981a) indicates that it takes 2-3 years for immigrants in all-English programs to master the *oral*, context-supported language: the ability to converse in the language in ordinary day-to-day interactions. But how long does it typically take a second-language learner to achieve *literacy* in a second language? And how long does it take a second-language learner to catch up in academic subject areas? Collier (1989) provides an extremely thorough review of all the studies currently available in the published literature on the acquisition of literacy skills by LEP students in English-only and in bilingual programs, and by immersion students in both early and late immersion programs, and on these language learners' success in academic content areas. Collier's conclusions ought to be profoundly troubling to language educators in the Minnesota public schools. Basically, it takes LEP students a much longer time to learn to read and write in a second language than to speak in that language. Their oral skills develop relatively quickly, but their literacy-related skills are much slower to develop.

The speed with which L2 literacy may be mastered differs in *bilingual* programs as opposed to *English-only* programs. Let us take bilingual programs first. Collier concludes that LEP students in *bilingual* programs are in the best possible situation: they learn to read first in their native language, and later in the second language.[1] But even under these best of conditions, it takes these students as little as 2 years to master math and simple language skills, but from 4 to 7 years to catch up with their native-English-speaking classmates in literacy-related skills and in mastery of academic content.

But of course very few LEP students in Minnesota are in *bilingual* programs. How long does it take to become literate in English, in *English-only* programs? Here, the results seem to depend upon two factors, which are sometimes related: (1) whether the immigrants are already literate in their native language, and (2) their age of arrival in the U.S. It seems that children who already are literate in their native language, and who are 8 to 12 years old when they enter English-only programs, take only a little longer than children in bilingual programs to become literate in English and to catch up in mastery of content: 5 to 7 years. These are somewhat encouraging results, since Minnesota favors English-only programs for LEP students. But what of learners who are under 8 or over the age of 12 when they arrive in the U.S.? Collier says:

---

[1] Collier argues that in all such bilingual programs, content courses should continue to be offered in the native language until the children are 12. This is because native skills in the school language continue to develop until that age.

> *Young arrivals with no schooling in their first language in either their home country or the host country may take ... possibly as long as 7 to 10 years [to master] ... reading, social studies and science, or indeed, [they may] never. Very little longitudinal research has been conducted in this area, however.* (Collier 1989, p. 527)

Basically, then, we do not know much for sure about younger arrivals. The little evidence we have on the performance of these younger children, many of whom are not already literate in their native language when they arrive, is negative: they may take much longer to achieve literacy and to master academic content in English than eight to twelve year olds, and many of them never seem to equal their native-English-speaking classmates, no matter how long they continue. Possibly these are the children of whom it might be said, following Swain, that they are *submerged* in English, rather than immersed; some never rise to the surface. But, Collier cautions that more research is needed on children whose age of arrival is eight or under; almost no longitudinal research has been been done to study their acquisition of school language and school content in the L2.

Preliminary results in a study (Dailey et al., in progress) on the writing skills of Southeast Asian learners at the Highland Secondary Complex in St. Paul may help to shed some light on the skills of these early arrivals. Preliminary analysis of the data in this study seems to show that eighth grade children who had arrived early and begun their study in English-only programs in kindergarten or first grade wrote the best of all the LEP learners in the study (including later arrivals who were college freshmen at the time of the study)—and the kindergarten/first grade arrivals seemed to write far better than children who had arrived as early as the second and third grades! That is, there seems, at this stage of the analysis, to be a big difference in writing ability between learners whose study was uninterrupted, and learners whose school years were interrupted—even by missing only the first two years. As we shall see below, uninterrupted schooling may be a key ingredient in the recipe for academic success of LEP learners. But clearly we need more research on the needs and skills of LEP learners whose age of arrival is eight or under.

What about adolescent arrivals to English-only programs? Collier says:

> *Adolescent arrivals who have had no L2 exposure and who are not able to continue academic work in their first language while they are acquiring their second language do not have enough time left in high school to make up the lost years of academic instruction. Without special assistance, these students may never reach the 50th NCE or may drop out before completing high school. This is true both for adolescents with a good academic background and for those whose schooling has been limited or interrupted.* (Collier 1989, p. 527)

Assuming it is true that it takes some 7 years to acquire literacy skills in a second language, simple math will tell us that a 16-year-old does not have 7 years of public schooling left in which to gain literacy skills in English. And, while trying to learn English in English-only programs, these students are also missing out on their schooling in the content areas of science, social studies, history, health education and so on. What adolescent can avoid boredom when schooling consists only of language study and either classes in content areas which do not involve the development of higher-level thinking skills (like study hall and P.E.), or mainstream content classes where they lack both the requisite background information and the language skills to understand?

It is important to remember that many S.E. Asian adolescent arrivals have had their academic careers seriously interrupted by years spent in relocation camps. Such learners may lack many concepts which we consider basic to further academic growth; one such adolescent learner of whom I know, a very bright boy, when shown a globe, asked what all the blue was! Collier concludes:

> *Consistent, uninterrupted cognitive academic development in all subjects throughout students' schooling is more important than the number of hours of L2 instruction for successful academic achievement in a second language.* (p. 527)

That is, the research which Collier has examined shows that students' ability to use school English in content classes depends more upon their knowledge of the content itself, than upon the number of hours they have spent in English-language classes.[1] Their understanding of the content seems to provide them with the presuppositions and assumptions they need to be able to work with the language appropriately: in some sense, it might be said to provide context for their language use in those classes. In this view, LEP children whose academic studies have been interrupted by years in relocation camps may be the children who are most at risk, because they may lack knowledge of basic content, and this knowledge may be more important than their mastery of specific English language skills. Researchers on English for academic purposes at the university level have reached similar conclusions: graduate students consistently report that their English grammar books, which teach them sentence-level rules out of context, do not prepare them to understand English prose in the context of their fields. A common complaint goes something like this, "I understand every sentence, but I do not understand the whole paragraph." Understanding of the whole paragraph usually involves some understanding of the academic field, and of the presuppositions and assumptions which people in the field bring to the writing.

---

[1] Schema theory can, of course, provide a framework for explaining this phenomenon. A great deal of research on schema theory has supported the view that if a learner can activate a relevant content schema before reading a text, that learner's comprehension will be greatly enhanced -- and in fact, that possession of such a relevant schema is more important for comprehension than the learner's mastery of specific vocabulary terms in the reading (cf. Omaggio 1986, pp. 100-2)

To summarize then, this brief survey of the research literature seems to show that the best way to promote literacy in a second language is for learners to first become literate in their native language, and then in the second language. Under these conditions, it may take from 4-7 years for learners to become truly literate in their second language. Learners who are not already literate in the native language may take much longer to become literate in the second language. A matter of great concern for LEP education is—while they are becoming literate in the second language, these learners fall years behind in their knowledge of content in science, social studies, geography, health and so on.

So, what are the practical implications—for parents, language teachers and language program administrators—of this brief summary and synthesis of research on second language literacy?

Most obviously, we must adjust our expectations of second-language learners in the public schools. We cannot expect them to master either *literacy or content skills* in the second language until several years after they have achieved acceptable *oral fluency* in the language.

Then, we should explore ways in which we can adjust our curriculum in accordance with these changed expectations. My first two points relate to language immersion programs for majority children.

First, advocates of foreign language instruction in the public schools might want to look much more closely at the late immersion approach as a very successful option, one which promotes literacy in the native language before that in the second language. Research in Canada indicates that such programs may be more efficient and time-effective in promoting literacy in the second language. Second, in early immersion programs (which may still be preferable to late immersion, for example, in promoting better attitudes toward the target culture), perhaps more attention should be given to manipulable, hands-on materials which would allow children to study first and second grade content in creative and innovative ways even with minimal second language proficiency. (Such hands-on materials might easily be adapted for younger LEP learners.) The point here is that our children are, after all, *learners*—not just second-language learners. Presenting interesting subject matter by means of creative hands-on materials will surely facilitate *all* their learning.

Third, for those concerned more specifically about the fate of LEP students in our schools: the good news is that the research evidence at present indicates that English-only programs may be adequate for at least some LEP students: the age-group of students 8 to 12 who are literate in their native language. While bilingual programs might gain them a year or so, research studies indicate that this group suffers least in English-only programs.

But what of learners with no literacy skills in their native language (including younger learners) and adolescent learners? The research results here seem clear: it seems now that such learners should be in bilingual programs. In particular, in programs which promote literacy in the native language and which provide native-language instruction in content areas during the years when these learners are mastering school English. How can this instruction be provided?

Serious questions are raised here. For example, when speakers of Hmong are scattered throughout the district, how can each school provide content classes in Hmong? It would be far more economical to send all speakers of Hmong to the same school so that fewer content and NL reading teachers would have to hired district-wide. But what would it do to the concept of integration and racial balance to have all Spanish-speaking LEP students at one school, all Cambodian-speakers at another, and so on? Or even to concentrate all non-native speakers of English at one or two centers? Recently, the intensive ESL center at Highland Secondary Complex in St. Paul was disbanded because, as administrators put it, there were too many ESL students at the school. To meet racial quotas, it seems, LEP students were dispersed to schools throughout the district—where teachers were ill-prepared to meet their language needs and adequate funds were not provided to maintain services which had been available at Highland. School districts are legally mandated *both* to provide special language instruction to LEP students *and* to avoid violating racial balance guidelines, but it is extremely expensive to do both *well*. There are clear guidelines for what constitutes racial balance, but there are no similar guidelines stipulating what constitutes adequate language instruction for LEP students. To stay within a budget, in cases such as these, a school district may cut back on the quantity and quality of the special language instruction provided to LEP students. An interesting question here is this: is the goal of integration and racial balance indirectly preventing these minority children from obtaining needed instruction in literacy and content area skills which might otherwise be provided within the tight budgets of school districts? This is no small issue.

Here is another question: for LEP children outside the Twin Cities, what options are there? Where there are very small numbers of speakers of a given language, how can a district afford to provide any bilingual support services at all?

Some partial answers to these questions have been proposed in the Twin Cities. As with language immersion programs, creative hands-on materials might be developed for the teaching of content to LEP students in the first and second grades—material relying minimally on language and maximally on manipulation and demonstration of physical objects—construction of models of (e.g.) dinosaurs, solar systems or pirate ships, making of student 'books', 'chemistry' experiments with baking soda and vinegar and red dye to create lava for volcanic eruptions.

For LEP adolescents, some teachers are proposing that (lacking bilingual programs) special sections of content courses (sometimes called "sheltered" courses) ought to be offered—sections in which possibly the instructor might use simpler English sentence structure. Or an ESL course might be presented in tandem with a content course ("adjunct" or "paired" classes) where the two teachers could cooperate in the creation of course materials. It is an open question whether content-area instructors can be found who can modify their presentation in this way.

What if, for financial reasons, the schools will not provide appropriate instruction for LEP students in reading, writing and content areas? What can be done?

One option might be to educate and help the families and ethnic communities to organize somehow to provide after-school classes or home instruction for these learners. It does not, after all, matter *where* these students become literate in their native language, as long as they become literate. It does not matter *where* they obtain their content area knowledge, as long as they obtain it. Of course, this approach seemingly excuses the public schools from an obligation to provide basic education to these children. But if these were *my* children, I would feel that time was of the essence. I would not want to stand idly by while the school system tried to get itself organized. Local communities might have the resources to offer classes after school or on weekends which might make the difference between success and failure for these children. Families might be able to offer support for individual children; where one or more family members is literate in the native language, arrangements might be worked out with a child's teacher. For example, one family in the suburbs of the Twin Cities, which has adopted a non-literate Spanish-speaking 7-year-old, is planning to ask the child's teacher to provide on Fridays information about goals, worksheets and readings for the following week, so that the family can provide the child with relevant content information and reading in Spanish. But perhaps not many families have the resources to provide this sort of remedy.

So, finally, let us return to a consideration of the long-term obligation of the public school system to provide adequate language instruction for LEP learners. For many LEP students, native language reading and writing courses are needed. For many, content courses in the native language, or "adjunct" and "sheltered" courses, are needed. These and other curricular changes mentioned above will necessarily involve changes, of one kind or another. Attempts to provide adequate language instruction to LEP students most economically would involve a re-examination of the guidelines for racial balance in the schools. Attempts to provide such instruction *within those guidelines* will be much more expensive.

Expensive programs are of course unwelcome to educational administrators. But here we must hold firm: the expenditure of funds to foster the English language literacy of these students will have long-range benefits which will far outweigh short-term financial gains. Surely now, when so many are focusing upon the importance of education (we have an 'Education President') and of literacy, we should seek financial support from both public and private sectors to promote the cause of literacy for second-language learners. This is a serious challenge to our school system. ESL teachers will need to work creatively with content teachers to create new options for LEP learners and all of us will need to bring considerable pressure to bear upon both an educational system which seems resistant to this kind of change as well as course content with superficial and short-range goals. But the long-range welfare of a great many LEP students is at stake here. Our schools have an obligation to meet the long-range educational needs of these students, to make it possible for them to become truly literate in their L2 and to master school content in the L2. We know *how* to promote literacy in a second language. The big question now is—will we be *able to do it* in today's public schools?

THE AUTHOR

Elaine Tarone is a Professor Linguistics and director of the M.A. program in ESL at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Collier, V. 1989. How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly* 23,3:509-531.

Cummins, J. 1981a. *Bilingualism and Minority Language Children.* Language and Literacy Series. Toronto: OISE Press.

Cummins, J. 1981b. The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. *Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework.* Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University, pp. 3-49.

Dailey, B., B. Downing, S. Gillette, R. Murie and E. Tarone. In progress. Assessing the writing skills of Southeast Asian learners.

Omaggio, A. 1986. *Teaching Language in Context.* Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Rochow, E. 1977. *Modern Descriptive Chemistry.* Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.

Swain, M. 1974. French immersion programs across Canada: research findings. *Canadian Modern Language Review* 31,2: 117-129.

Swain, M. 1981. Bilingual education for majority and minority language children. *Studia linguistica* 35,1-2:15-32.

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL, Vol. 8, 1990

Geodes Like Sky Blue Popsicles: Developing Authorship Literacy in Limited English Proficient Students

LISA BOEHLKE
St. Paul Public Schools

MARY KAY RUMMEL
COMPAS

Recent research in second language reading has focused on developing metacognitive awareness and use of reading strategies. Strategy research in reading argues that less proficient learners may improve their skills through training in those strategies demonstrated by more successful learners. This suggests that writing strategies demonstrated by more successful learners could also be taught. The following article describes an approach to developing the language of Limited English Proficient students using process writing with content drawn from across the curriculum. A narrative of in-class experiences with LEP students ages eight to twelve years over eighteen months traces the development of learners and their teacher in a collaborative decision-making process.

Elementary school children acquiring English proficiency as young second language learners have been given a range of options in their oral language production. It has been expected that these children will move from receptive listening to physical responses before oral language production. Their speech often begins with one or two word statements with increasing command of longer meaning units such as phrases, sentences, questions, and narrative prose (Krashen, 1981a, 1981b; Tarone, 1988; Wells & Robinson, 1982). All speech attempts by the limited English proficient learners are rewarded with encouragement and continued modeling by the English as a second language teacher.

However, if you look at the writing opportunities presented in elementary school curriculum, it is clear that the process of learning to write is not seen as a natural one. In elementary schools, frequent opportunities to write rarely extend beyond the sentence level of mechanistic linguistic skills, such as grammar drills and spelling tests, yet schools claim to teach communication skills (Heath & Branscombe, 1985). Indeed, writing activities in many language-arts textbooks focus on identification of parts of speech, figurative images or verb tenses

509

(Graves, 1983). Once identified these words are numbered in a notebook. Academic discourse forms which lie at the heart of success in the higher levels of schooling—oral and written extended prose, sequenced explanations, and logical arguments—rarely receive explicit identification and discussion at the elementary level (Heath & Branscombe, 1985).

As the LEP students become more proficient in English, it becomes more obvious that they strongly believe that economy of expression in *written* English is adequate. Terse sentences using simple subject-verb sentence structure handle the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter and many children's games:

Give candy
I like apple.
I want juice.
I no want milk.

I go in now.
Rain come.
I no like wet.
I want warm.

I find jacket red.
I wear mittens.
I run in my sneakers.
I carry backpack.

You run.
I pla, okay?
You like? I like, okay.
Go, go, go . . . We WIN!

These notions become reinforced through traditional language arts activities which generate phrasal answers on worksheets (Graves, 1983). Yet, these same children often run out of time in their *oral* conversations about families, gardening, monsters and practical jokes. Two recent conversations illustrate oral communicative skills of elementary LEP children:

A. 1: I have three sisters and six brothers.
2: You have that many. You have a BIG family.
3: I have ten kids in my family. I can't count how many brothers and sisters. I have too many. They tell me what to do every day.
4: I have a little brother. I tell him what to do.
3: He listen? I don't listen to my sister Pang and she hit me. She mean.
4: He listens. If he doesn't, I don't play with him when my grandmother babysit us.
2: My mom yells at me when I make a mess in the kitchen.
1: My big sister slaps me and pulls my hair when I read and make mistakes.
2: My baby (brother) pulls my hair, but he's nice.

B. 1: We have a garden. It big.
2: Me, too.
3: My gramma has garden. I help her sometimes. I cut (week) plants.

4: My mom grow cucumber, tomato, corn, pumpkin, onion, and lettuce.
3: I like cucumber and pumpkin.
1: I eat cucumber and cut pumpkin Halloween make scare face.
2: We have many pumpkin and cut big scare face.
4: You like cut pumpkin scare face?

It is difficult to believe that these same children stop writing after a few sentences because they have nothing more to express in their writing. Perhaps we as teachers have communicated that we care more about what we have to say to our students than we care about providing opportunities to help them discover and refine who they are. After all, young children try to write or draw on walls, tables, books, and even newspapers long before they enter elementary school. They continually find ways to assert "I am."

LEP students need to discover connections between their own knowledge and experiences and writing. Good questions reflecting on and responding to the children's writing helps them express information they did not know they possessed. The LEP students need to have rich imaginative prose from literature with syntactical forms they recognize. They need opportunities to take risks with writing that emphasizes ideas and vocabulary before spelling and punctuation so that students' ideas may develop to the writers' satisfaction. Then the final revision may be polished with spelling, capitalization, and punctuation changes. LEP students need to create their own meaning and voice through personalized language combinations, or metaphor-making such as was encouraged by the COMPAS Dialogue program.

COMPAS DIALOGUE

During 1988-1990 Mary Kay Rummel and Lisa Boehlke collaborated in *Dialogue*, a writing program co-sponsored by Community Programs for the Arts and Sciences (COMPAS) and the St. Paul Public Schools. COMPAS is Minnesota's largest community arts agency. Since 1974, it has provided experiences in the arts to people who would otherwise not have had them. Each year, in Writers-and-Artists-in-the-Schools, community mural projects, dance groups, theater productions, and musical performances, COMPAS has reached more than 160,000 people through its belief that we create for ourselves a richer community by participating in the arts (*Dialogue Newsletter*, 1988).

The COMPAS Dialogue program was a three-year initiative (1986-1989) to improve the teaching of writing in the St. Paul Public Schools. The program was designed to help teachers develop new skills and ideas for using writing as a teaching tool, and encouraged teachers to become familiar with the writing process through their own writing. By its third year, COMPAS Dialogue had worked with over two-hundred teachers in twenty-eight St. Paul Public Schools.

Funding for the program came from the Rockefeller Foundation, the St. Paul Foundation, the Knight Foundation, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press/Dispatch*, the Matsushita Foundation, the Minnesota State Arts Board, the Minnesota Academic Excellence Foundation, and the St. Paul Public Schools.

The COMPAS Dialogue program was founded on three beliefs:

1. Professional writers provide powerful models for authorship.
2. By engaging in the writing process, teachers can gain insight into authorship literacy.
3. It takes time and close collaboration if teachers and their students are to understand this new kind of literacy in which the students take charge of writing and give a personal shape to materials of memory or history.

Rummel and Boehlke met at the fall 1988 COMPAS Dialogue Institute which provided teachers an overview of concepts and approaches to writing. Later, Rummel wrote with teachers to demonstrate how professional writers alter their own compositions. Central was the belief that ideas are redefined as written pieces and are examined for reflection of the author's intention. Additional details are added to the written pieces as the author clarifies his/her own voice. It is this process of reflection which creates the writing strategies of authorship literacy (Wolf, 1987).

Rummel guided both teachers and students in the writing process at Chelsea Heights Elementary School in an extended six-week residency during the 1988-1989 academic year. During her residency, she demonstrated authorship literacy with participating COMPAS Dialogue classes. Both students and teachers practiced authorship literacy with their own writing during the three-week intervals before Rummel returned to Chelsea Heights. Although Rummel was physically absent from Chelsea Heights during these intervals, she made herself available to discuss difficulties that teachers and students may have had with the writing process. Her availability and cheerful encouragement for the teachers and students engaged in authorship literacy continued at more infrequent intervals for part of the 1989-1990 academic year with COMPAS Dialogue funding.

AUTHORSHIP LITERACY: THE PLAN

Many details that are used in writing are generated before a first draft (Graves, 1983), so we used semantic mapping, a term which "embraces a variety of strategies designed to display graphically information within categories related to a central concept" (Johnson, in the foreward to Heimlich & Pittelman, 1986, p. v). Categories or associations were indicated visually in a diagram or map.

The procedure generally began with a brainstorming session in which Rummel or Boehlke facilitated student associations on a topic or key concepts into categories in the form of a map. As the students contributed to the brainstorming procedure and built on each other's associations, they became better able to focus on what they knew. It is in the process of naming and contrasting that children become more explicit in stating what they know as earlier examples of children's conversations about simple need indicated. We helped them collect details related to personal history as well as to science content material (Ellis, et al., 1989). We also led them to help each other become more detailed in their language use. In this article, we will describe three of these writing projects and discuss examples of the student writing that resulted. We began with autobiography and personal description in order to help students tap the rich resources of personal history.

PERSONAL HISTORY: HOUSES

1. Students created a semantic map of details about their homes in response to the questions:

Where do you live?

How long have you lived there?

What does your house look like?

What colors and materials (wood, brick, or concrete) does your house have?

Which smells make you think of your home?

Which room do you like the best?

Why do you like that room the best?

They started by writing their addresses in the center of the paper, then drew lines off from the central information and filled the lines with physical details as well as memories in order to respond to the above questions.

2. After all students finished drawing their semantic maps about their homes, they shared them orally. Students responded to the presenter by telling which part they liked.

3. Students then wrote short descriptions and personal experiences about their homes. As each one shared what had just been written, the other students told the author what information he/she would need in order to better understand the meaning of the written piece. Each student author chose which questions from the group to answer by adding more details to the written piece. At first Souad (Grade 4) wrote:

> *In my kitchen there is a microwave, stove, walls, sink, tables and a floor with pictures with squares. I have white cupboards. The cupboards are down low. Some are up high.*

After questions and discussion she changed the above writing to:

> *In my kitchen there is a old dusty microwave and an old white stove. The walls are a clean white. There is a gray sink and little tables and a floor with pictures and dirty with squares...*

PERSONAL HISTORY: SELF

The need to add detail causes students to write longer, more varied sentences. Since their control of English syntactical patterns was limited and verb tenses often inappropriate, we added models from children's literature to further develop skills in autobiographical writing (Ellis, et al, 1989).

1. First, students listened to sections from the memoir, *When I Was Young in the Mountains*, by Cynthia Rylant (1982).

2. Then they wrote about personal experiences based on a model from Rylant such as the following:

> *When I was young in the mountains, Grandfather came home in the evening covered with the black dust of a coal mine. Only his lips were clean and he used them to kiss the top of my head.*

Two students quickly wrote:

> *When I was young in Sudan Winkel came home in the evening covered with dust. Only his kilt was clean and he used it to wear for the day.* (Filmon-Grade 5)

> *When I was young in the city my friend Nick and I would go to Como Pool and we both were carrying towels, shorts and goggles. It was cold but we jumped in anyways. Afterwards, when we came home, we would play nintendo.* (Fanglay-Grade 4)

By grabbing their ideas and writing quickly, Filmon and Fanglay inspired the other students in their LEP pullout group to comment about their ideas and demonstrated far better than a teacher could have that ideas may flow from thought to written expression.

3. Students wrote pieces based on Rylant's childhood activities for several days, then chose a favorite to share with the group. "Picture" words and phrases were identified by the students in each other's writing. Individuals then used a student thesaurus to find synonyms that might be even more specific. Alauddin (Grade 4) made the following language changes in his story:

> Before: *When I was young in the city I* went *to the pool across from my house* with *my towel. The swimming pool was cold and deep and I would sometimes see girls. I would whistle.* (Alauddin)
>
> After: *When I was young in the city I* walked *to the pool across from my house* carrying *my towel. The swimming pool was cold and deep and I would sometimes see girls. I would whistle.* (Alauddin)

Both Alauddin and Tou read possibilities aloud to a friend and argued about word choice. They stated they had chosen the words they had for their second pieces because the "first words were too big and made too many pictures when somebody read it."

SCIENCE: CRYSTALS

Early in the collaboration we introduced the LEP students to the strategy of sensory listing based on observation of concrete objects and then practiced metaphor making with those same objects. The science curriculum has ample opportunities for observation, identification, description, recorded information, and classification. During January 1990, the intermediate LEP students (Grades 3-4) grew crystals on charcoal briquettes or sponges using salt, laundry bluing, water, household ammonia and food coloring. Another group of fifth and sixth graders even dissolved copper sulfate in water over a hot plate to make walnut shell geodes.

1. After watching the crystals grow over a period of a week, the students brainstormed sensory descriptions especially those of sight, smell and touch and put them on a chart under sensory headings.

2. They next listened to the poem "Icicles" by Barbara Juster Espensen (1984) to examine the surprising turns ordinary objects take with similes and metaphors.

3. Teacher questions asked for answers from the sensory description chart:

Have you ever smelled . . . ?
Have you ever looked at . . . ?
Have you ever wondered . . . ?

The group effort "Snowflakes in Heaven" responded to the above questions with the structure of "Icicles."

SNOWFLAKES IN HEAVEN
Have you ever looked at
colorful
from food coloring?
Have you ever smelled
jelly beans
in charcoal
like mushroom flowers?
Have you ever wondered
if charcoal mushroom flowers
could march through the streets?
The crystal light travels
on heaven.

by Alauddin, Yang Shia, Fanglay and Souad

4. Improbable juxtapositions were set up by Rummel or Boehlke to create surprising images:

How would you introduce yourself to crystals?
How would you tell others about yourself if you were a crystal?
What do crystals eat?
Where do crystals go for fun?
What do crystals wear?

As the students responded to the improbably juxtapositions, all could participate at their comfort level of language fluency. More important than this, however, is the phenomenal delight the LEP students shared as they amazed themselves with their creations.

I AM A CRYSTAL
growing like Paul Bunyan.
I smell terrible
so I have to go swimming.
Everybody likes flower me
because I am a great artist.
Different colors -
blue, yellow, red, pink, purple.

by Josh, Mang, Alex, and Wa Men

GEODES LIKE SKY BLUE POPSICLES
cups with baby blue water
swimming in a life vest
swimming with a bikini bathing suit
swimming with a blood red popsicle
Chatter, whisper, robot talk
Let's go to the 1990's
old fashioned video arcade
forever
Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles
Willow
Healthy Junk Food
chocolate spinach pudding
pizza
vanilla with chocolate sauce and
chunky nuts
cold fish fin potato chips
cinnamon french fries
vinegar chocolate ice cream
We eat our friends!

by Filmon, Tou and Thai

Literature has played a vital role in all these writing process activities. Reading and responding to or reflecting upon literature is vital to being able to write it. When encouraged to write using a process approach the LEP students we taught came to see themselves as real authors who create literary pieces similar to the manner in which authors familiar to the children do (Hudelson, 1988). It established for us that the LEP children we guided had acquired new eyes and ears for imaginative imagery. They had successfully played with language and learned to respond to each other's work with interest and specific assistance.

REFERENCES

Ellis, A. Standal, T., Pennau, J., Rummel, M. K. (1989). *Elementary Language Arts Instruction* (175-194). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Espensen, B.J. (1984). *Cold Stars and Fireflies* (28). New York: Crowell.

Graves, D. (1983). *Writing: Teachers and Children at Work* (1-10). Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.

Hudelson, S. (1988). *Write On: Children Writing in ESL* (59-61). Champaign-Urbana: NCTE.

Rylant, C. (1982). *When I Was Young in the Mountains*. New York: Dutton.

Wolf, D. (1988). *Writing, Dialogue and Literacy* (1-6). Unpublished Evaluation of the COMPAS Dialogue Program. St. Paul, MN: COMPAS.

THE AUTHORS

Lisa Boehlke teaches ESL at Chelsea Heights Elementary School in the St. Paul Public Schools.

Mary Kay Rummel is a private consultant and works with Community Programs for the Arts and Sciences (COMPAS).

THE ESL TEACHER AS RESEARCHER

To bridge the sometimes very large gap between research and classroom practice, ESL teachers of the future themselves must begin to do research. However, teachers rarely have the time to build knowledge of research techniques and goals once they are committed to teaching in a classroom. The faculty in the Postbaccalaureate teacher education program at the University of Minnesota, in an attempt to prepare teachers who are both aware of research methods and capable of carrying out simple studies, have built a strong research component into the program that every pre-service ESL teacher completes. The Postbac program, which includes 15 months of coursework and nine months in elementary and secondary schools, yields a license to teach ESL. Upon completion of a followup one-year videotape project a Master of Education degree is granted.

We present here two examples of purely classroom-based, personal research models completed by prospective teachers in the 1989-90 "Postbac" program.

H.L.J.

Finding a Voice: Secondary Students Write Their Stories

LINDSEY ALLEN
Cleveland Jr. High, St. Paul Public Schools

INTRODUCTION

The following curriculum project consists of a unit I developed for a writing class in a secondary ESL classroom. Although this unit is intended to give the reader an idea of what can be accomplished in the ESL classroom with developing writers, it will not provide any specific "recipes" for writing development. Individual teachers and students, which vary from class to class in their needs, should set their own direction and determine their own process to be followed. What will be included as part of the unit, however, is a description of the setting in which I taught, the rationale which guided me, the objectives, and the process that was followed. I will also include a few samples of the end result of the students' writing efforts, a "published" book of their stories.

SETTING

The unit was created for an ESL beginning/intermediate reading and writing class at an urban senior high school. There were 17 students in the class ranging in age from 15-21 and in grades from 9-11. All of the students were Hmong with the exception of one Cambodian who dropped out of school and did not complete the class. There were three women and fourteen men. Students were at varying levels of English proficiency. The majority of the students had arrived in this country within the last two years with the longest resident having been here almost six years. With the exception of English classes taught in Thailand or Laos, all the students began their formal education upon arrival to the U.S. Before teaching this class, I observed the students four times a week for two weeks. My cooperating teacher advised me to work on a writing unit with the students since writing is such an important skill for academic survival in the mainstream. Prior to my taking over the class, students had written daily in journals on topics given to them by their teacher. In order to gain information on their current level of writing proficiency I read over their journals and have included some samples of their writing below, reproduced exactly as they were written by the students:

> *"When I first meet some one I want he or her to know about my self. I want to meet everybody and to be friend with they and to be nice to they. I want to finish nigh school and go to college to become a doctor and to help people. I really want to go to college..."*
>
> *"In 1975 I has 6 years old. I am and my family live in Laos. 1976 I am a boy take care a horse and lawn my father work in the farm my sister and brother go to school they are study Laos language I am no go to school because my city don't have school young children 6 years old. I am go to take care my father horse and lawn one day my father teach me study ride horse. but first time I don't ride. The horse run and jumping I am fell down in the floor. When I study ride horse I have 7 years old."*
>
> *"Something that I have done is pround of my product rice. When I was pround in Laos. Something that I was pround in Laos it was Rice, Cucumbers, and corn. When I was product rice of field far away so long times. So that one day my friends and I went to the field we seem many cucumbers in the field. So that my friend and I were very happyed of the cucumbers it*

> *was pround of the field four years ago. Thank you."*

> *"In this class they are all my class mates. In this class they are good friends of my I like this class. Because some people are girl but the most people are boys I think in class I have one guy is my good friend but they are all also my friends too.they are my friend too but not sure. In this class mates we never get angry eather we are good eather. Some people we had the same class some thing we don't know we to slow eather. Because we are good friends."*

It was evident that the students were at vastly different levels of writing. Some were capable of clearly expressing their thoughts and ideas on paper while others had difficulty conveying a coherent message to the reader. I felt intimidated by this. I wasn't sure where to start with the very beginning writers and was uncertain how to manage all the different levels of writers. The second observation that I made, however, was encouraging: the students had a *lot* to say. They had written so many different things about themselves in their journals that I was beginning to get a glimpse into their world as students, refugees, parents, and young adults. The entries in their journals were not well developed, however; all their thoughts had been written in bits and pieces. The idea that I could somehow get them to develop these bits and pieces was exciting!

RATIONALE

When I began to plan what I'd be doing with this class for the next four weeks, I decided that I should start by writing about my "philosophy" on writing. It struck me that despite the writing classes I had taken, the writing texts I had studied, and all the rules of writing that had been bestowed on me, writing is not a linear process that can easily be taught--if it can be *taught* at all. The process varies with each writer and is very personal. It's a process that has to be *learned.* I reflected on how many different types of writing I had done and how I had, sometime in college, really begun to understand my particular writing process. This was a skill I had developed. It had not been taught to me. I knew that in this class I was working with beginning writers in their second language, writers who had not developed writing skills in their first language. I decided to stick to some basic premises to guide me through this process. The following thoughts are not all original but are ideas which I've either come across in readings or have developed in my own journey in writing. Much of what I have put down here comes from what people have called a holistic or whole language approach. Whatever the label, my approach included the following basic assumptions:

1. The process of acquiring language will come naturally when students are engaged in activities that are stimulating, interesting, and meaningful to them.

2. Students learn to write; they are not taught.

3. Students learn to write best when given a lot of opportunity to write in class.

4. Writing should be meaningful, purposeful, and communicative; it should be real.

5. Writing for meaning first rather than form should be emphasized. This is not to say that form should be ignored but rather it should be secondary to meaning in the early stages of the writing process.

6. Writing is a process. Students' writings should not be viewed as final, end products. There should be many opportunities for revision and rewriting.

7. Students' own culture(s) should be affirmed and explored in the writing process.

8. To learn to write, one has to want to write. A student has to have something that she wants to say to others or herself in order to be able to write. Therefore, topics and ideas for writing should be student generated.

9. A supportive, non-punitive environment should be created in the classroom so that students will be encouraged to write and take risks.

10. Language is not a mass of independent and separate skills. Therefore, writing does not have to be "the last skill mastered" but can be developed at the same time other skills are being developed.

11. Technical, mechanistic approaches found in many writing texts should be avoided. Too many rules may end up blocking the creative process and prevent students from taking risks.

12. It is easier for students to write about things that they have experienced.

PROCEDURE/ACTIVITIES

There were two main "activities" used in this unit: dialogue journal writing and narrative writing. The first "activity" I focused on was the dialogue journals. Students wrote every day for 15 minutes (at least) in their journals. I, in return, responded to their journals never making any error corrections or any evaluative statements but always responding to the message conveyed. Occasionally this was difficult but there was always something in the student's entry that I could respond to. We did this at the beginning of each hour. I quickly discovered how much they appreciated my reading and responding to their entries. Many thanked me in their journals and expressed gratitude every time I asked about them, their families, their history, or their culture. The allotted 15 minutes of journal writing each day quickly and often became 20 minutes. Students were truly experiencing real writing and enjoying it. Because I gave them no topics to write on, but rather an opportunity to write on anything they would like, I had expected some confusion and some resistance from the students. Out of 17 students, only one ever seemed to have difficulty coming up with a topic to write on. Interestingly enough, he was the student who had spent a decidedly longer period of time in this country in our school system (six years versus the average two years). He always asked me what I wanted him to write about and didn't seem satisfied when I told him that this journal was for him and that he had the power to choose his own topics. Other students simply continued the "dialogue" which we had started, or would write about any of a number of topics including family, friends, school, Hmong culture, and favorite movies. I usually had to ask the class two or three times to finish up in their journals and turn them in to me.

As the weeks passed, I know that they had accomplished the following through dialogue journal writing:

- a learned enjoyment of writing,
- an understanding that writing can have a meaning and purpose,
- an environment that was non-punitive and supportive,
- an opportunity for them to generate their own ideas and direction in writing, and
- a consistent opportunity to write.

The journal also served an added purpose for me. Through the use of these daily, personal exchanges I got to know these students in ways I never could have had we not used journals. It also allowed me to learn of areas of interest shared by the students which could provide a good context in which to continue our writing. This leads me to the next major project.

NARRATIVE WRITING

In our first few meetings as a class I had the students complete short writing assignments. These assignments usually consisted of interviewing a classmate to find out certain things about him or her and then writing three or four paragraphs. To help them get started, we would simulate an "interview" and write a few paragraphs together on the board as a model. Generally these types of writing activities went well but they were always clouded by the fact that the students needed to write three or four paragraphs or that they had to find out certain information. In other words I felt like there was a lot of blockage to the students' creative writing process. They were concerned about writing what I wanted them to write and worried that they somehow weren't meeting my expectations.

I decided to use one of the topics consistently brought up in their journal writing: the story of their history and culture. I brought in a book that had been written in 1982 by ESL students in St. Paul and edited by Sandra Hall, *Voices Over the Water*. I had been reading entries in dialogue journals that reminded me of the stories that I had read in this book. I wanted to figure out a way that I could use *Voices Over the Water* to help these students to write.

READING STORIES

I began one day by reading a story from the book on schools in Laos. It generated a lot of laughter from the students as well as some of their own recollections of their own school experiences in Laos and Thailand. They begged me to read more. I randomly chose another story written by a Hmong student some of them knew. It touched on some pretty horrible events in his life and I all of a sudden wasn't sure whether I should continue with the reading. I looked up from the text at my students and every eye in the room was on me. I asked them if they wanted me to continue. Unanimously they said yes. That day they wouldn't let me stop reading the stories. Many began telling of their own similar experiences. When the bell rang a couple of students came up to me and asked if they could borrow the book to show to their families at home. Instead I made copies of several stories for them and eventually ordered some copies of *Voices Over the Water* from the district office so that they could read the stories themselves.

DISCOVERING A CONTEXT

The next day I gave them the copies I had made of many of the stories. I thought that based on the response I had witnessed to *Voices Over the Water*, it would be a good idea for them to write their own book. I brought up the idea to the class. They were almost skeptical when I talked to them about making their own book. We spent some time talking about audience and who might read this book that they were beginning to create. The students came up with all sorts of ideas about the audience: American students (with whom many wanted to become friends), other teachers at their school, their families, and their friends. They also knew that it would be something that they could keep for a long time for themselves so that they would never forget all their experiences and memories. I then asked the students to start thinking of what story they would like to tell to others. A few students started writing right away and others read. By the end of the hour everyone was writing. The only instruction that I gave them was to try to write as much as they could--the longer the better. I wanted to make sure that the students had a lot to work with. I thought that this could be the perfect context in which to work on the skills of writing. It turned out to be just that!

Thus began our journey. What a difference it made that these students were writing about something that was important to them. I got the feeling after seeing the outpouring of stories that they had never had the opportunity to write about their past or what they had always collectively referred to as "Hmong culture." I was thrilled to see their commitment to this project.

RESPONDING TO STUDENTS

After students had written their story and it was considered by them to be complete, I would take it home and read it. I never corrected errors in these early stages but I asked (or wrote) a lot of questions on their drafts. The most important thing at this stage was to make sure that the reader understood what was going on. I also tried to have their peers edit for meaning. Without exception, however, the student whose job it was to edit, pronounced every story read as being "perfect." I knew that this was another area that needed development! I brought in writing samples from another class I was teaching, put them on the overhead projector, and as a class exercise tried to teach the students what to look for when editing. Whether the reason was cultural in nature, or not, peer editing did not work with this particular group of Hmong students. If I had had more time perhaps they would have become more comfortable in critiquing their classmates' papers. As it was, I ended up being the main source of editing, occasionally with the help of the student-author. The process was a long one but the students always were eager and ready to continue with their stories. After a couple of drafts that focused on getting their story across to the reader, we began to focus more on technical issues. Many of the mistakes made were made by all the students. Each day we would go over these in class to help students know what to look for in their own paper. Many of the more advanced students began to recognize their own common errors and correct themselves. With each new draft the errors became fewer. At the end of our process, the students' stories ranged from several handwritten pages long to only a paragraph or two.

THE BOOK

The last step was to put the stories together in the form of a book. As a class, we brainstormed on the chalkboard all the things that needed to be done to make this a complete book. The suggestions included illustrations, a title, a table of contents, and a cover. That day we formed groups to deal with each of these issues. Each group was responsible for coming up with something to present to the class the following day. We would then as a class make decisions on our book. The title group came up with four suggestions which were put to a vote. The table of contents group had recorded everyone's story title along with the author's name and had put them into an order which they thought was acceptable. The group which was in charge of illustrations decided, along with me, that everyone's picture should be included. We needed only to vote on the cover illustration. After this was done, we essentially had completed their book. All that remained was to have it typed and bound. The last two tasks were my responsibilities. If there had been more time, I would have made at least the actual compiling of the books a class activity. In some settings perhaps students could have helped with the typing.

On my last day of teaching, I came to class with the bound books. Although the students knew that the end product was to be a "published" book, they really were surprised to see it in its final form. Many couldn't believe that this was theirs to keep. They thanked me over and over again. I tried to tell them that this was their doing and that I had only acted as the facilitator. My cooperating teacher had the class that day write a letter to me telling me what they thought of the books. I guess this was for me the most important feedback I could get. I've included several of their comments below.

> *"I think the book that we wrote was interested and It was a great story of our Hmong culture, customs, and lives. And I thought that some story in this book was very fun and some was very sad. However, I love to read this book and I'll keep it forever."*

> *"I think the book is very good and the stories that we wrote are very good, too. I feel godd to write the story. I feel good that I can make a story by myself. I think all of them will feel good about themselves that they made the story by themselves, too"*

> *"I think this book is very important for me, because I studied long time ago no teacher whom want me to make my own*

story like you. I very happy that you really want to help me how to write about my story."

"I think this book is very good because it's telling about our Hmong culture in the past. It's good for us to keep and remember what are we writing about."

"March 16, 1990 I had recieve the story that had been written by my classmates and me. I was very happy, because I think it will be memory of my country. I will keep the book as good as possible."

THREE STORIES

A Sad Story About My Parents

I remember when we were in Laos. I was the oldest in my family. My mom and my dad were married in 1973. My dad was a soldier, his name was Xai. When he got married to my mom he was 17 years old. My mom was 15 years old. After he got married to my mom, in 1975, there was a war in Laos. My dad went to fight. My dad told my mom that he would come back to my mom but he was killed in the war.

When my mom heard about that she was so mad because my mom and dad were only married for a year. My mom missed him so much but our cousin told my mom that there were a lot of men that wanted to marry her.

When my cousin buried my father, my mom didn't even know that she was pregnant. She felt tired and she didn't want to eat. Then my mom's mom thought that maybe my mom was pregnant. Pretty soon she delivered her first baby. That baby was me.

When I grew up I never knew who my father was. During that time my mom still lived with my grandmother. My mom got married when I was eight months old. When I got older I asked my grandmother if I had a father or not. My grandmom told me that my father was killed in May, 1975.

In 1976, our cousin asked my mom to marry my father's brother. She told them that if his brother wanted to marry her then she would marry him. Not long ago they were divorced because they didn't love each other. Then my mom married another man when we were in Thailand.

I am so mad about it because my mom and my dad were just married. Sometime I think about my dad. I want to see him and I don't want to live in this world with out a father.

10th Grader

My Life in the Past

I am writing about my life in the past. When I was in Laos I was five years old. We had eleven people in my family. We had a lot of animals but we didn't have a lot of money to buy clothes and shoes so we sold some animals to some people for money. After we sold the animals we had some money to buy clothes and shoes.

In 1975, my brother got married and we didn't have enough money to pay for the wedding so my father gave the animals to my brother's wife's mother and father to eat for the wedding. He gave them about six cows, two pigs, and twenty five chickens. After they got the animals, my brother's wife came to live with us.

After my brother got married, the communists came to shoot all the men in my country, so we ran away. We had no place to live so we lived in the mountains and in the forest. We didn't have enough food for my family and not enough water to drink. It was summer time and there was little water. We were so thirsty and hungry. When my father went back to our home, the two hundred animals were very hungry and thirsty and they all cried to my father. After that my father came back from our home. My father brought some water and rice to us. After a couple of weeks we didn't have any more rice or water. My father couldn't go back to our home because the communists were shooting everybody in my neighborhood.

On February 2, 1976, we went to Vientiane. When we got to the river of Vientiane my father got killed by the communists and we were very sad. My mother cried all the time because my mother missed my father so much. After we were in Vientiane for one month my mother died so we went back home. At that time the communists were back in their country.

When we got to our home, it looked very old. Some animals were still around our home. We didn't have money then because when my mother died we spent a lot of money for her funeral. So we sold all the animals to our neighbors. After we sold the animals we went to Thailand.

When we escaped to Thailand we didn't have any food to eat so we almost died. When the Thai people saw us they gave food to us to eat. We lived there for *two weeks and then we went to live in Ban Vinai. We lived in Ban Vinai for nine years and then we came to the United States. When we got to the United States we were very happy because we didn't get killed by the communists. I think I will never forget the communists!*

9th Grader

Laos and Thailand

We lived in Vientiane in Laos for twelve years. After twelve years we fled to Thailand. We were starving in Thailand and we didn't have enough money to buy food. We wrote a letter to my mother-in-law and to other people in the United States. They sent us some money to buy clothes and food. We had nine people in our family in Thailand. We had a lot of cousins in California. They also sent us some money. We lived in Thailand for three years. Each year we got one shirt and one pair of pants. Our parents just wore the same clothes every year because we were very poor.

I was little kid, about eight years old, but I remember all the things we did in Laos. My parents lived on a farm. When my parents came home, my uncles and my dad went hunting in the forest for two and a half days. Then they came back and brought some baby animals and the mothers home. We took care of them. After the baby animals grew up we let them go to find their home. We didn't want to hurt them because they were very nice animals but I was scared of them. One day I and my brother went to the farm. I saw a nest of leaves on the ground. It had a crow in it. I saw the mother fly to get things for her baby birds. Then I told my brother about where I saw the birds and how they were. My brother said not to tell anybody. "If you tell someone the crow might hear what you have said." The next day I went to see if the eggs were all gone in the nest.

In Laos I had four brothers and one sister. I always took them with me. We went to the forest and took walks for a few minutes to see the animals. The animals walked around us and played near us. Then we went to the mountain. We saw animals, trees, bamboo, and a lot of things--a waterfall, too. We played there for thirty minutes, then we came home. My parents said to go get water for them because they were tired. The lake was so far from our house but we had to get the water from the lake. If we didn't get it, we wouldn't have water at home.

At that place where we lived, my grandparents died at midnight. The ghost came to get them. After that we left this place and moved to another place. We went to live at the farm We never will come back to this place again because if we come again maybe I would die, too. I'll never see this country again.

9th Grader

THE AUTHOR

Linsey Allen is working on her M.Ed. at the University of Minnesota and teaches ESL at Cleveland Junior High School.

Citizenship Education: The Three S's—Self, School, and State (Excerpts)

MICHAEL J. MULLINS
Forest Lake Public Schools

> *Powerlessness and confusion in daily life can only be understood through critical thinking. Critical thinking is a fundamental pre- condition for an autonomous and self-motivated public or citizenry. Its decline would threaten the future of democratic, social, cultural, and political forms.*
>
> Aronowitz

BACKGROUND

When I applied to the College of Education to pursue an M.Ed. in Second Languages and Cultures in the summer of 1989 I had many reasons for doing so, the most important one being that I felt a desire to help younger people with something that I did not personally take seriously until I was almost 27 years old: education. I had gone through my public elementary and secondary education occasionally reading a text but mostly being concerned with all those facets of adolescence extraneous to the academic curriculum. My early school years were filled with experiencing my adolescence while minimally coming to grips with academic necessities.

As I entered the University I began my pursuit of the next "required hurdle in life" with the same enthusiasm I had had in high school. I really was in school only because I had been blessed from birth with the intellectual aptitude that "the system" required. I did become somewhat more interested in my coursework, but as I now reflect back on why this was so I can only recall that I felt that I was doing things in college that I could "use" later in some profession. The things I looked forward to the most during my first two years at college were the Saturday afternoon Big Eight Conference football games and the social life on my coed dorm floor.

My lack of involvement in my education suddenly changed when I travelled to Europe in the summer between my Junior and Senior years at college and I found myself in the midst of something very foreign. Almost everything I saw I did not understand. I was suddenly not able to "just be myself" and continue functioning based on what I knew. I began thinking about why things in Europe were the way they were. It is, I believe, the first time in my life that I began thinking about my thinking. In a Piagetian sense I was finally a formal operational thinker at twenty.

After completing my Bachelor of Science I moved to West Germany where I lived and worked for three and one-half years. During the next few years I was involved in many discussions with people and began fundamentally questioning why I grew up in America the way that I did. I returned to America in 1983 attempting to further my career in agriculture, but my desires were elsewhere. Finally, in 1987 I enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota in a German Studies program, something I would have excoriated anyone else for doing had it been four years earlier.

I greatly enjoyed my studies and I pursued them with a passion that I could not really explain. I came to the conclusion at some point during that liberal arts study that I finally had come to enjoy learning for its own sake. I was deeply involved in my studies and I found myself relating most of the things I was studying to personal my life. I was reading a lot of eighteenth and nineteenth-century German writings and I had been especially impressed with one individual and his feelings on education. The eighteenth-century German Wilhelm von Humboldt was the founder of what is today's German "gymnasium" or advanced placement secondary school system. Von Humboldt wrote about education as an aesthetic experience, one in which each person must consciously embark on a voyage to learn about him- or herself and how that person fits into the scheme of the world. His concept of educating mankind is referred to as "bildung," which I can only vaguely translate into English as "a complete molding of one into a whole person." The process does not imply training, but rather "educating" each person so that s/he appreciates the values of a liberal, humanistic education. The core argument of von Humboldt's theory is, "the real purpose of the human being is to develop his or her potential for wholeness in the fullest and most balanced way, and freedom is the first absolute prerequisite for this development" (von Humboldt, 1954). He felt that the key to this 'freedom' is that each person receive an education in which s/he is always learning and, most importantly, is learning about learning. Each person receives that education with the ultimate goal being to get to the "business of improving the nation" (von Humboldt, 1981).

These things I was learning had meaning to me and I was *consciously experiencing* them. The learning was so much fun that I decided that I wanted to teach. I kept thinking that it would have been so much better if I had just begun learning earlier and I hoped someday to be able to convince high school students that they should begin learning at an earlier age.

Meanwhile, I would tell my peers about my desire to teach in high school and they would mostly laugh at me, deriding me as being foolish for attempting to think that I could really take high schools and high school students seriously. This bothered me, since I knew well that much of what I was hearing seemed to be true. I had not taken high school seriously, so why should other people do so? As a matter of fact, even American society itself did not seem to take high schools seriously! I was just about to enter an advanced teacher certification program and I seemed to be the only person who really believed that it was the best thing for me to do. Many of my peers jeered me and said I was entering an intellectual wasteland that should more appropriately be referred to as some sort of full-time babysitting service. People would tell me that they really admired my decision to enter education. But, they did not see how I could relinquish one profitable profession to enter another in which the term "professional" would be used only ironically to describe teachers.

I was troubled at the time for many reasons. Would I like teaching? Would people respect me? Would I learn from this experience? Would I feel satisfied with my peers? Why had my school experience been the way it was? Was it because of me or was it because of them? Had I now somehow become destined to the fringes of society by believing that learning was fun? Would the M.Ed. program be a traditional teacher training program where mainly pedagogical theories and lesson planning ruled the day? Most importantly, I questioned whether I could continue to find the intellectual stimulation that I had come to enjoy in the past few years. In spite of all these questions I began the M.Ed. program hoping at best not to be to terribly disappointed with what I would be asked to do.

The Recent Past: The M.Ed. Program

At the time I entered the Postbaccalaureate program, I had read a few documents addressing the state of education in America today. These mostly were the pronouncements of well known and widely "respected" individuals or the blue-ribbon reports that various presidents of the United States had commissioned. I had listened to the past three presidents bemoan the state of American education. I had listened to the William Bennett debate about the changing of the Stanford University freshman reading list. Most recently I have listened to the "Education President" and his goal that America's schools be number one in the world in the physical and social sciences by the year 2000.

I was not exactly sure how I should interpret all of these messages but I was sure that the American public was having similar problems. One thing I had come to believe was that education is a very political issue. However, everyone seemed to be just concerned enough with it to talk a lot about it. But that seemed to be where the great debate always ended. I wanted to go beyond the periphery of the five-thirty national news coverage but I did not know how or where to begin. At this point the M.Ed. program provided me with the necessary assistance.

From the very beginning the staff of the program seemed to be wanting to approach education from a different perspective. When the students assisted the staff in formulating the syllabus for fall term I knew we were dealing with a very novel approach. The staff actually asked us for our input into the course content and than followed up by inviting us to the "rap sessions" the staff held to discuss the progress we were making. This was all very new and exciting, needless to say unexpected, and I found myself beginning to think about education and learning in a much different context. I saw the staff and students actually working and learning together. We were discussing what we were doing and learning together about what that was. The emphasis was not at all on a product but on something the staff was calling a *process*. This process has the key feature of truly learning about learning.

With the syllabus in place and the atmosphere in the "classroom" having been established as quite egalitarian I was quite enthused to see what materials we would be using to learn how we were to become teachers. The first essay I remember reading was an excerpt from a text written by one who was for me at that time some obscure Brazilian philosopher—Paulo Freire. The title of the text was *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. It has since become the cornerstone of my philosophy of education and Freirian texts fill a large portion of space in my private library. The essay we read discussed what Freire calls the "banking" concept of education whereby "the scope of action allowed the students extends only as far as them receiving, filing, and storing the deposits" (Freire, 1970). These deposits are the unrelated bits and pieces of information that they receive in school instruction. Freire refutes the Lockian Blank Slate belief of the mind and maintains that students are by nature inquiring individuals. The important point here is that they must be given the chance to inquire, the result being the establishment of what Freire terms student *conscientizaçao* (consciousness heightening) (Freire, 1973). This *conscientizaçao* requires that the students and the teachers enter into critical analysis of and dialogue with each other on their own life situations. This is also referred to as experienced-based education; the instructors draw from the immediate lives of students to begin the learning process.

This was all fine in the abstracted safety of the University; however, I was not sure then and I am not sure now exactly how one goes about creating an environment in the classroom that would accommodate Freire's beliefs. Much of Freire's discussion and many of his concerns developed out of his work with the poor and illiterate in Recife, Brazil. I was not sure how one might be able to apply his theories to American classrooms. . . .

. . . As I continued reading other Freirian texts such as his most recent one *Learning to Question* I began expanding my circle of authors. Freire has a large following in a segment of American pedagogy commonly called Critical Pedagogy. Some of the authors I have been most influenced by are Henry Giroux, Ira Shor, Michael Hartoonian, Stanley Aronowitz, and Michael Apple. These people are all believers in Freirian theory but the added focus they offered me was their applicability to the American classroom setting. Some of the common features that link their theories and writings include the following five characteristics:

1. Teachers and students strive to learn together in hopes that each of them can link school to the imperatives of a critical democracy (Giroux, 1988). This is possible only by giving students a role in determining their curriculum.

2. Educators should strive to evoke critical thinking about self and school in their students. Only after one has consciously thought about one's situation will one be able to act.

3. Students are humans and as such they are subjects that must act upon objects. This dichotomy between subject and object goes back in time to the moment when Aristotle wrote the first words and man was thereafter confronted with a separation of "I" from "Me." Kant describes education as the process of man becoming Man (Kant, 1926). Of importance for this paper is that students must not passively sit and absorb information. They learn by doing and creating their own lives.

4. Schools must act as transformers and not just transmitters of cultural values. Students must learn to enter into dialogues questioning what it is they see around them.

5. A definite link between schools and politics exists. In fact, they demand that the schools and the students recognize the political nature of education and incorporate discussions into the curriculum of the schools, the result being that schools will be begin to explicitly address the political nature of education. . . .

. . . What I hope to do in the second section of this paper is to describe a few of the things I did in an ESL classroom in which I was teaching. The process I am going through only allows itself to be seen as a product only when I write it down. But as the next thought enters my mind that product is again is transformed into a process. This is indeed the ideal learning situation in which one consistently molds, shapes, reshapes, and redefines what one is doing. This process is a prerequisite for defining a new, improved approach to education that does not have as its goal the mere transmission of what we perceive to be "knowledge." Instead, the goal is to create new forms of knowledge through doing. As Dewey said, "The society that not only changes, but which has the ideal that such change will improve it, will have different standards and methods of educating from one which aims simply at perpetuation of its own customs" (Boggs, 1984). . . .

. . . I entered the classroom the first day as a preservice teacher with my goal being to write as many observations as I could. We had been discussing in our postbaccalaureate program an ethnographic approach to classroom observation, and this seemed like a very reasonable way to record what I saw. The idea is that one should be as unobtrusive as possible in attempting to record the classroom environment. Such things as interactions among students, interactions among students and staff, and the make-up of the school itself would be of possible interest to the observer who wishes to define the culture of the classroom.

After about one week of observing and writing I began collecting my thoughts and reviewing my notes. (1) The arrangement of the room was such that most of the interactions in the classroom were between teacher and student. Very seldom did I record students interacting with one another—except of course when student interaction was the focus of the activity. Spontaneous student interaction with another student was rarely seen. (2) The teacher was providing the majority of the information. S/he would be standing in front of the class writing information on the chalkboard, many times asking the students for choral responses. When the activities were not teacher directed the structure of the lesson seemed to be coming out of a workbook. The students were required to supply the missing pieces of information. i.e., fill-in the blanks, true/false, or matching. (3) The content of the class seemed to be grammatically-based. The course was a language course. However, we had been discussing at the University and I had been reading how instruction could be organized around thematic content units instead of around grammatical units. The students did not seem to be actively involved in the course material and there seemed to be no link between school and anything else in the outside world. (4) I did not see how the students' higher order thinking skills were being challenged. The majority of the material that was being covered required perfunctory rote memorization of a block of material. The activities all seemed to have as their goal the completion of rigidly-defined prescriptive notions of the "knowledge" one should learn. Nowhere did I see "knowledge" being subordinated to thinking. There existed proper responses that the teacher expected the students to be able to give. (5) Finally, and this is the most troubling, I did not record a single time that they protested. They appeared simply to resign themselves to performing according to the teacher's best judgment!!

I spent the next two weeks trying to determine what it was I wanted to do in this classroom. The students were the most advanced level of ESL at the school where I was working but they came from different grade levels and exhibited varying levels of English proficiency. The most interesting characteristic of the class was that there were students from five different countries. Most of the students were Southeast Asian, but I did have some Russian and Korean students. I visited with my cooperating teacher about some of my interests and asked her what she would like me to do with the students. She said that it was totally up to me and that I had no restrictions—within reason, that is. I thought that it might be a good idea to ask the students a bit about themselves, so I began by designing a questionnaire.

Deciding on a Curriculum

I handed out the student information sheet two days before I was to begin teaching and I asked the students to return it to me the next day. Several of the questions asked for general information: age, native country, languages spoken, and hobbies. However, I was quite interested in some personal opinions, as well, so I asked such questions as:

1) What do you like (and dislike) about living in the U.S.?

2) If you remain in the U.S. will you become a citizen?

3) Are you satisfied with the news you read in the American press pertaining to your native country?

4) If you were able to write the school textbooks and help determine what students learn in school, how would you do it?

The responses to the first two questions varied from no answer to "I like everything." However, two people did write that the thing they most disliked was that they had "no nation here" and that "they are discriminated against." I found this very interesting and thought the chance existed to dwell on this topic in classroom discussions. The response to the last two questions (#3 and #4) was about as mixed as with the first two. Again, I did record two interesting responses, both to the fourth question: a) "You must respect the teacher and behave to friend and the old man, God." b) " I learn from the teacher."

Out of the eighteen forms I received back—I handed out twenty-one—twelve students indicated that they wished to go to college after graduating from high school. I found this quite interesting given that the majority of the students either did not feel like filling out the forms completely or they had no opinions.

On the questions where the students were to provide personal opinions, only eight wrote more than two sentences. One response that was written more than any other to the question "What do you like (dislike) in America"? was the word FREEDOM. I found this on ten forms. I decided that the curriculum could include three topics from these forms: (1) I would develop the concept of freedom; (2) racism—which appeared in response to three "What do you like (dislike) in America?" questions; and (3) the topic of curriculum content and who decides it.

The dilemma now was how to develop these ideas so that I could reach the students and get them involved. The ages in the class ranged from fourteen to nineteen (and possibly older) and the grade levels from seventh to eleventh grade. I had to consider that I had not only different language abilities but also that people were processing information at many different levels. I decided that it would be best to speak with the class about some of my ideas before proceeding. Anyway, I was interested in the student-teacher generated curriculum ideas that I had read about in Freire's and Ira Shor's texts, and so an open discussion with the students was ideal.

The first day was spent with introductions and I explained to the students why I was going to be working with them for the next six weeks. They seemed to accept this information unceremoniously; I hadn't expected much else. We finished the class by beginning to discuss the class rules. I told them that they should think about the existing rules and decide if they liked them or not. Emotions remained rather subdued.

My mind was reeling after that first day as I tried to come to grips with the realities of the first day in class. All I could think of were the many blank stares and the few responses I experienced. How was I to try to begin with my ideals of "citizenship education" when the majority of the class couldn't even spell those two words?? I thought to myself that the students were just waiting for me to tell them to open their texts to page so-and-so; at which time an immense sigh of relief would go out from all parties in the room-including myself. This was, of course, the commonly accepted way of doing things. I couldn't let myself down, however, and I would go in the next day full of enthusiasm. I immediately reached for Henry Giroux's text *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life* (1988), hoping to find the needed tips. I decided that night that I was going to focus on three main areas of instruction:

(1) I would try to fundamentally change the physical arrangement of the classroom. I wanted to achieve something other than the hierarchical relationship that existed currently between students and teacher. (2) I would try to include a unit that would have as its focus experienced-based learning. My coop teacher had told me that the students would have to pass a competency writing exam in four weeks. Why not have them begin by writing a personal essay about why they came to America. (3) I wanted to ask the students for their feedback on what they would like to learn and than we could develop and research the unit together.

Physical Arrangement

We had been reading a lot about the way classrooms are arranged and how those arrangements can play a very significant role in either enhancing or discouraging discussions. I observed, in almost all classrooms that I saw, the traditional straight-rowed seating structure, and I decided that I would rearrange the chairs. I left the chairs in the rows they had been in for the first week and then the next Monday as we were beginning class, I asked the students if they had ever sat in anything but rows. No one had, and so I asked them if they thought it might be advantageous to change the make-up of the room. No one had an opinion, so I asked them to push the rows into a circle and see how they liked that. Fifteen seconds hadn't expired before a student announced to the entire class that he could now see people whom he previously hadn't known were in the class! There was a lot of visiting among students and suddenly a male asked if they might introduce themselves. I agreed, and from that moment a number of aspects of the class began to change.

First of all, the amount of interaction between students increased immensely. Certainly a lot of what was being discussed was not related to the lesson; however, I felt that communication was the key to this class and, furthermore, that communication among students, and not just between myself and the students, was needed. The first thing I noticed was that the students were grouping themselves into ethnic groups and speaking their native languages. So, I asked them if they might like to choose their own seating arrangement and that they should keep in mind that we were in this class to speak English. No one moved. I told them that I would assign them seats if they didn't try to mix with people from other countries. About one-half of the class then moved voluntarily and the volume level decreased accordingly.

This was just fine, since now we could spend time introducing ourselves and coercing each other into talking with the newly found "friends." I did the majority of the coercing, but what emerged was that slowly some people did start speaking. I mingled with the class listening to the students and observing that many of them were watching me and looking at their friends with whom they previously had been sitting. I asked what the major difference was for them now that they were sitting elsewhere, and the resounding response was that they couldn't speak because they couldn't understand one another. I announced that that was fantastic and I asked the students why I might feel this way. After about a thirty-second pause, a Russian woman said, "Because we must speak English." (One big thing I learned this year is to just simply wait for a student to say something after having asked a question. The ringing silence tends to bother students more than it does the instructor!)

The next positive aspect of this new seating arrangement was that the students could not only see one another, but I felt that I could see them better too. The classroom appeared to be more open and, although the dialogue was still quite limited in the first few weeks, I did have students telling me continually that they enjoyed being able to see everyone. Eventually, one side effect was much more dialogue among students.

Class Rules

One specific topic of discussion that I will now address, and which I think the new seating arrangement greatly benefited, was deciding to ask the students to discuss the classroom rules. I was always thinking of how I might bring "citizenship education" into the classroom, and I stumbled onto the idea of asking the students to vote on the discipline rules. There had been three simple rules before I took the class over, and I decided to just ask the students if they felt comfortable with those three rules. Amazingly, about five students raised their hands and began telling me what they felt the rules meant to them. Shortly thereafter, some students began discussing the rules among *themselves*. I am convinced that changing the chairs around allowing the students to speak among themselves, and continually encouraging student interaction brought these first remarks about classroom discipline. Of course, not all students were participating. The most shy were the Hmong women and the younger students. However, I felt that a portion of this was due to cultural socialization. I was able to learn a great deal from the more reticent students, but only via the journal writing, when they supplied me with information about their feelings.

One final thing I noticed after having altered the seating arrangement was that space was more flexible and open for student movement. Both the students and I could move quickly from the rear to the front of the room. My interaction patterns were not just left to right in front of the class as they had been, but now I moved left to right and in between among the students. I felt much "closer" to them, since I could easily move from one group to the next. Furthermore, when we wanted to work in small groups—something else that was totally foreign to this class—the students quickly rearranged the desks to get into partner or small group setting.

In sum, I feel that something as minor as seating arrangement can dramatically alter the communicative nature of the classroom. Most importantly, I found that after initial reluctance on the students' part, they began to talk with each other and not just with me. I envisioned Freire's idea of "horizontal relationship between persons" (Freire, 1973). The idea was to establish loving, humble, hopeful, frustrating, critical dialogue among all people in the classroom, resulting in communication.

THE FIRST WRITING ASSIGNMENT

My cooperating teacher had told me that the students would be writing a short essay four weeks after I took over instruction of the class. This was part of a school district graduation policy. She told me that the majority of the students had not written much, so I decided that it would be good for them to begin. I chose the topic for the first essay, thinking that it would be easier to coordinate all the students, and classroom discussions about writing might be easier if we were all talking about one type of essay. I decided on the personal essay because I had been doing a lot of reading about ESL student writing; most of the scholars I had read suggested beginning with personal experiences. I announced the essay topic to the students—Why I Came to America?—and their reactions were mixed. A few of the students (all Russian) complained that they had been asked many times since coming to America why they had come. I told them that they should maybe think about whether or not their opinions had changed, and if so, how. Rather than just writing about why they had come they could write about how their perceptions had changed. The Russian students all had come into the ESL class with previous knowledge of the concept of writing. They were in the course mainly to increase their fluency in English and acquire new vocabulary words.

I introduced the concept of writing drafts of the essay, something which again appeared extremely foreign to most students. I even had a number of students, after they had handed in the second draft of their paper, ask me why they had to continually write about the same topic. So much for my being able to explain the writing process to them! The students who had had previous exposure to writing were the ones who were most receptive to a process approach.

A second writing assignment was to have the students work in pairs, go to the library and research a topic of their choice. Additionally, I made the assignment an introduction to the library by asking the librarian to talk to the class about using the card catalog, the Reader's Guide, and the reference section of the library. Before beginning I told the students that they would have to work with a student from another country, the goals being meeting a new friend and speaking English. They objected vehemently, so we had to spend the next two days before going to the library talking about the importance of intercultural communication. This led to some very interesting discussions as the students really opened up about the problems they had working with each other. Not being able to understand one another due to the accents and different interests and backgrounds were the usual reasons given for not wanting to work with new partners.

I persisted and the students ended up learning much about each other's diverse backgrounds. We had discussions about the Vietnam War, the Khmer Rouge, discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, and discrimination in America. The students were quite surprised to discover that their home countries were so different. Most Asians had come from the jungle, and most Russians had come from large urban areas; yet they had almost all come to America for the same reason—to escape some sort of persecution. The discussions became quite animated at times and I just took a place at the side of the room and listened to the students discuss.

The third writing assignment was to research a topic of interest and then to give an oral report about it to the class. Most of the reports provided the students with new information about the interests of their fellow classmates. I asked them to take notes so that we could discuss the reports. The discussions were usually *quite* brief, the exception being a discussion about plagiarism. One woman had copied out of an encyclopedia that monkeys eat other animals. She was challenged by a classmate, and she could only respond that she had read something in the book; unable to understand it fully, she just wrote it down. The challenging student asked her if she would always just believe and write down something she didn't understand. We expanded the discussion in two ways: (1) the importance of understanding what you read, and (2) not just accepting what someone says without questioning it.

The students all said that giving reports to classes, having to stand in front of the class, and following up with a discussion was something totally new. I found such an activity to have immense value for many reasons: (1) the students learned to work together on a common project—we discussed the need to work with people whom they wouldn't know after leaving school and entering the workplace, (2) they acquired academic skills in using the library, writing the report or drawing accompanying sketches, and note-taking during the report presentations; and (3) they were forced to communicate with one another during all stages of the researching, presenting, and the follow-up discussing. I found the exercise to include all language modalities, and it offered many chances to digress from the immediate topic at hand and treat other important issues in "real-life," i.e., backgrounds of students, racism, speech problems, etc. Such an exercise gives the school a much broader, more effective context in which to treat issues that are frequently buried in a textbook.

DIALOGUE JOURNALS

The idea of writing in journals came about for two reasons: (1) I had read about it in my research at the university and I found the journal writing I was doing at the university to have a lot of value, and (2) I was having trouble bringing a certain segment of the class into the classroom discussions, namely, the younger Asian students and the Hmong women. The entries were very personal, ranging in breadth from a personal account of a male having to watch as his father was executed by the Khmer Rouge, to a woman telling me that the biggest problem with America is that her people have no nation and no king here. She went on to explain how she and her family had been persecuted in Thailand, and that they had hoped America would be different. Unfortunately, she was in a land where her people were dependent on welfare, and most of the Americans didn't care about them. And worse yet, the Blacks would fight with the Hmong, hitting Hmong people and stealing money from them. She went into quite a bit of detail telling me about her uncle being beaten by a group of adolescent Blacks. She just wanted to go back home. All of this came from a woman who did not say ten sentences openly in class in the six weeks I worked with them.

What I discovered from the journals was that the students could write about personal matters and they were actually quite willing to, once they felt that they could trust me, and that the information would be kept anonymous.

I feel that the features of the classroom I experimented with and have just described represent a productive start at changing the classroom. The students were required to enter into a process of finding out on their own the information they needed to complete an assignment. Change in the classroom is not easy—the first major hurdle is to convince the students themselves that there are other ways to learn.

REFLECTIONS ON MY CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

These reflections combine my experiences in the public schools and at the University. The question-answer format in our post-bac seminars has been instrumental in my establishing a more open classroom in the schools. The emphasis on the *process* instead of simply a finished *product* has allowed me to better define what I feel education to be. This *process* is the single most important element I have tried bringing into the secondary school classroom with me this year. It has taken the form of dialogue journals where students have, for example, given me feedback on what they thought we should do differently in class. I have held weekly "Rap Sessions" where we have discussed classroom management, curriculum content, or any other potential problem areas where students have wished to voice their opinions.

I feel that these are some of the more progressive features of my citizenship curriculum. A dialogue has been established, trust has been discovered, and hopefully learning has been enhanced. The most positive feedback I received was from my own students. The majority of them felt that what we did in class was somewhat important. While the classroom management and my different approach to classroom discussions was much different than what the students were accustomed to, they did not renounce what we did. I must bear in mind that many students will not be receptive to a lot of my ideas simply because of the way school has already formed them. For example, I had students constantly telling me that I gave them too much freedom in classes. Many told me that I must be a stricter disciplinarian. Of course, I was trying to do the exact opposite by giving them the opportunity to create their own agenda! . . .

. . . Only by listening to students and their many concerns and interests will we as educators be able to begin tapping into their energies and abilities. In the past year we learned much at the university seminars about involving students in the learning process. This is not a new idea; what is new is that we as educators actually tried to move these ideas from our university classrooms into our elementary and secondary settings. This involved risks. Students will most likely not be initially receptive to drastic changes in the traditional classroom. Students must be given a "voice" in what happens in the schools but they must also be willing to take on more responsibility. Elements such as classroom management should become negotiable, with students creating some of the conditions and then having to bear the consequences. Responsible, involved student-directed action in schools will translate into responsible, citizen-directed action in society. However, **everyone** must enter into this social contract as partners. . . .

. . . Just how teachers act remains to be decided. It is necessary that we sincerely invite and actively involve everyone. In the schools this requires students, educators, administrators and parents working together to understand what the role of education in our society should be. In order to understand where we are today, we must take the time to learn how we have come here. For schools this means rewriting curricula, making them student-educator generated and experience-based. The experiences of everyone must be included in this process. This is the process of writing **our** history and it will require a unique approach to learning; it is not beyond our abilities, but it involves risks.

Many people are adverse to risk and shun such a challenge, waiting for someone else to act or the next day to arrive. Amazingly, every day that we wait for something to happen we must remember we are taking just as large of a risk. We must act and begin writing the next chapter in our history. In order to do this, however, we must reread the previous chapters in hopes of gaining insight. It disturbs me when I think that we might have only become future oriented. Are we so disturbed by the past?

THE AUTHOR

Michael Mullins is working on his M.Ed. at the University of Minnesota and teachers German at Forest Lake Public Schools.

REFERENCES

Aronowitz, S. (1980). *Mass culture and the eclipse of reason: The implications for pedagogy.*

Boggs, C. (1984). *The two revolutions: Antonio Gramsci and the dilemmas of western Marxism.* Boston: South End Press.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education.*

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Seabury Press.

Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness.* New York: Continuum.

Giroux, H. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education* South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Giroux, H. (1988). *Schooling and the struggle for public life.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giroux, H., & Aronowitz, S. (1985). *Education under siege*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.

Hartoonian, M. (1989, February). Perceptions of knowledge and educational reform in a democratic republic. *Social Education*. 93-95.

Kant, I. (1956). *Kritik der reinen vernunft*. Hamburg: F. Meiner.

von Humboldt, W. (1954). *Schriften zur nationalerziehung in Deutschland am Ende des 13 Jdahrhunderts*. Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigner Verlag.

von Humboldt, W. (1981). *Zurt staatslehre Wilhelm von Humboldts*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

MINNETESOL JOURNAL, Vol. 8, 1990

Schemata, Strategies, and Social Construction: Some Implications for Second Language Pedagogy

PAUL PRIOR
University of Minnesota

The desirability of teaching usable knowledge vis-a-vis inert knowledge is presented. A review of the literature discussing knowledge structures, knowledge processes, and the link between knowledge and social interaction concludes with an outline of a tentative model of the knowledge system. Implications for second language instruction are also offered.

This paper raises the issue of inert knowledge in second language education. A Review of recent theory and research on schemata, strategies, and social construction, which discuss how knowledge is represented and processed both cognitively and in social interactions, suggests how second language classes can avoid inert knowledge and facilitate the acquisition of usable knowledge.

I remember well how, when I began teaching, I was surprised at the gap between my students' performance on my fill-in-the-blank tests, which was generally very good, and their performance in conversation and composition, which was generally quite poor. For a while, I rationalized these differences as a natural part of the learning process, as control in a limited domain preceding control in a more complex domain. However, when I began to see students who had 600+ TOEFL scores and who could hardly write a grammatical sentence in an essay, my doubts began to grow. At first I thought of this phenomena as ritual learning or pseudo-language, but recently I have found an existing term in the literature which describes it fairly well, inert knowledge (Whitehead, 1929).

McNeil (1986) tells a story which illustrates inert knowledge quite well. During her ethnographic study of social studies curricula in high schools, she observed a class where knowledge had been reduced to a simple exchange in which minimal cooperation from the students was rewarded by acceptable grades from the teacher. The school was not bad by conventional standards: students scored high on tests. However, after observing a six-week unit on the Great Depression, McNeil interviewed all of the students. One of her questions was: Have you ever studied poverty in this class? Not one student said yes. Whether for McNeil's high school students or the international students with the 600+ TOEFL scores, inert knowledge is knowledge that is isolated, fragmented, and demonstrable only in specific, limited situations. And again in both cases, there appears to be a relationship between the inert knowledge of the students and the educational practices of their teachers and schools.

If we want to avoid inert knowledge and encourage the acquisition of knowledge that can be used for communication, we should first consider the general question of knowledge. By knowledge, I mean to include any kind of mental representation. Knowledge is used here more broadly than is usual to refer to current perceptions and thoughts; memories of people, events, and places; expectations; recalled or constructed imagery; your beliefs and emotional evaluations; procedural knowledge of all kinds; whatever is represented in your mind.

How knowledge is represented in the mind has received a great deal of attention in the last two decades. A number of terms have been proposed to describe knowledge representations: frame (Minsky, 1975); script, plan, theme, and goal (Schank & Abelson, 1977), schemata (Rumelhart, 1975); prototype (Rosch, 1978); mental model (Johnson-Laird, 1983); knowledge structures (Abelson & Black, 1986); person, role, event, self-, and non-content procedural schematas (Fiske and Taylor, 1984); and, propositional and image schematas and idealized cognitive models (Lakoff,1987). This long list is not exhaustive, but the profusion of terms suggests both the amount of work being done in this area and the lack of consensus. The purpose of this paper is to examine some broad trends in the research and theory addressing issues of the representation and use of knowledge and then to reflect on some of the implications of the research for second language education, particularly focusing on what the research may suggest about how to develop usable rather than inert knowledge.

SCHEMATA: THE STRUCTURE OF STORED KNOWLEDGE

The basic idea of a schema and of many other forms of knowledge representations is that memory is structured, organized, not random. A schema, therefore, is a memory structure. The implication of this idea in communication is that schemata (the memories or prior knowledge a person has stored) shape our perception, interpretation and production of texts (whether they be written, spoken, visual, tactile or whatever). Recognizing that we use schemata has led to a radical reappraisal of comprehension as an active process of constructing representations and meanings rather than as a passive process of decoding signals. I will begin with two trends in the study of schemata.

The first trend in the research relates to a theory of memory storage (Tulving, 1972), which posited two memory systems, semantic memory and episodic memory. Semantic memory is for storage of decontextualized information (e.g. Washington is the capital of the U.S.; $E=mc^2$; The Great Depression followed the collapse of the stock market). Episodic memory is for the storage of personally-experienced, contextualized events (e.g., your memory of a meeting you attended this week). In the 1970s research on knowledge representations tended to focus primarily on the kind of abstract, general knowledge (scripts, text schemata, concepts) that would be located in semantic memory. For example, Schank and Abelson's (1977) idea of scripts as abstract decontextualized schemata of typical events in certain settings would probably fit the notion of semantic memory. Their most famous illustration is the restaurant script. For example, read the following sentences:

> *Last night we went to a restaurant that our friends told us was the best in town. However, we were really surprised when the food arrived: it was not what we ordered and, when we complained, the waiter was quite rude.*

When you read this short narrative, you must draw on your prior knowledge of what a visit to a restaurant is like in order to construct a meaningful interpretation. You have almost certainly inferred several things. For example, you have probably inferred that the people sat down to eat (good restaurants usually aren't carry out), that a waiter took the order and then brought it to the table, that the people were surprised because the service was less than they expected. While none of these points is explicitly stated in the text, our knowledge (or schemata) for restaurants leads us to infer these points. In technical terms, the text instantiates a restaurant schema (or script), and the schema then leads to certain inferences being made. A script is an abstract, decontextualized event schema. The restaurant script includes generalized information about typical participants, settings, and events, but not any information about particular restaurants or particular visits to a restaurant. Similarly, text structure knowledge (Mandler, 1978; Meyers, 1975), conceived as abstract, structural outlines of texts resembling tree-diagrams for sentences, would seem to fit into semantic memory.

In the 1980s research began turning more and more to episodic rather than semantic memory structures. This shift can be seen clearly in the changes within researchers. For example, in 1982 Schank revised his and Abelson's 1977 version of scripts as abstract, semantic memory structures to a view of scripts as episodic memory structures, reflecting his perception of the priority of episodic, particular knowledge. Discussing why he changed his views of scripts, Schank (1982) observes:

> *Part of the justification for this modification of our old view of scripts is that it really is not possible to say* exactly *what is and what is not part of any script. Particular experiences invade our attempts to make generalizations. To put this another way, we do not believe in the script as a kind of semantic memory data structure, apart from living breathing episodic memories. What we know of restaurants is compiled from a multitude of experiences with them and these experiences are stored with what we have compiled. (p. 23)*

Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) make much the same point, noting that the notion of fixed, semantic memory structures (like scripts) simply cannot explain the flexible nature of cognitive functioning.

The second noticeable trend in research relates to the range of phenomena studied as schemata rather than to the memory system involved. Research in the 1970s tended to focus on a few abstract concepts (like scripts for restaurants, categorical prototypes for birds, and text structures for stories). In the 1980s, schemata became the focus of other areas of psychology, particularly of social cognition. For example, two social psychologists, Fiske and Taylor (1984), identify five types of social schemata: 1) person schemata, information about the goals, traits, and behaviors of typical and particular people; 2) self-schemata, information about your own goals, emotions, behaviors, etc.; 3) role schemata, information about characteristics, norms, behaviors and so on of groups defined by categories (e.g., age, sex, occupation, class, religion); 4) event schemata, knowledge of what happens in typical or particular social occasions; and 5) procedural social schemata, rules for linking or processing information from the above four (e.g. attribution processes to determine causes of people's behavior). The content of this list also reflects the first trend toward more episodic memory; person schemata, for example, include not just your general models of personality traits, such as shyness, but also your memories of your Uncle Buck and your models (generated from those memories and from other knowledge) of what kinds of behavior you can expect from him.

The two trends together illustrate first that the idea of schemata has changed. Whereas originally a schema seemed to be conceptualized as an abstract, generalized knowledge structure, today it is generally synonymous with memories of any kind. In fact, attitudes, goals, images, beliefs, and affective evaluations are included among the types of knowledge discussed as schemata. Second, these trends illustrate a shift in the relative importance given to abstract knowledge. Today episodic memory is widely viewed as more central to knowledge processing: structures like scripts are now seen not as preexisting structures that direct cognition, but rather as temporary products constructed out of episodic memories.

STRATEGIES: THE PROCESSES WHICH CONSTRUCT KNOWLEDGE

The knowledge structures discussed above are representations of prior knowledge: they are stored information. To be of use, stored knowledge needs to be called up and integrated with current thoughts, perceptions and goals. Thus, several researchers have recognized the need for current, "on-line" representations of knowledge. Johnson-Laird (1983) suggests that such mental models (constructed, analogical representations of the world and/or discourse) are needed to explain reasoning. Mental models are constructed to represent the worlds of our experience or of our hypothetical worlds. For example, your current mental model may include information about your present bodily state and position, perceptions of your physical and social environment, your current understanding of and reaction to this article, some (perhaps conflicting) representations of your needs and desires, and various other thoughts and images. Elements of these mental models will be stored in your memory as new schemata or be used to modify existing schemata. Van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) introduce two types of mental models, situation models and communicative context models, as components in their theory of discourse comprehension. In any case, these cognitive models in the brain arise out of the interaction of prior knowledge, sensory input, and current goals.

Of course, if you are generating models in your mind (of this text for instance), you need to have some rules or strategies internalized to do so. Van Dijk and Kintsch argue that discourse comprehension is a strategic process, highlighting the role of knowledge *processes* (strategies) as well as knowledge *structures*. By strategies, they mean to include all cognitive processes, from the kind of conscious strategies we might employ to get jobs (e.g., dress well) to nonconscious processes you are using to search for schemata relevant to this text as you read it. Van Dijk (1987) explains the strategic view of processing as follows:

> *. . . understanding is gradual, on-line, often makes use of incomplete information, requires data from several discourse levels and from the communicative context, and is controlled by individually variable goals and beliefs. (p.165)*

Schank (1982) made a similar move in his theory. When he reconceptualized scripts as essentially episodic memory structures, he introduced two new terms, memory organization packets (MOPS) and thematic organizations points (TOPS), as more general than scripts. However, he argues that these abstract "structures" are used to access and interrelate episodes. In other words, his high-level knowledge structures (MOPS and TOPS) are actually knowledge processes. In this sense, the distinction between schemata and strategies may be functional. Stored procedural knowledge (schemata) when in use may function as strategies.

Strategy, used in the sense of van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), is a term to describe cognitive processes. While many descriptions of discourse assume, following Chomsky, that language comprehension and production are *rule-governed* phenomena, van Dijk and Kintsch argue that cognitive processes are more open-ended and have more variable results than rules would allow. Thus, they chose the term strategy to contrast with the notion of rule. Their use of strategy, which I follow in this paper, is very different from and much broader than the common usage in the second language literature of the term "strategies", defined as specific behaviors that a person employs to learn a language or to maintain and repair communication.

What is important to understand here and what we will come back to as we talk about instructional implications is that the strategies or processes contemplated in these current models of comprehension are active, not passive, and are not just global cognitive processes that we inherit as members of our species. The strategies represent operations occurring at many different levels of processing with varying degrees of generality. Some might be domain specific, such as how to evaluate a statistical procedure. Others might be quite general, such as assuming that remarks are relevant to the topic (Grice, 1975). To say that strategies are active means that they are involved not just in comprehension processes, but also in production, that they guide not only how we reach a goal, but also what goals we pursue.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION: ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE ON KNOWLEDGE

Prior knowledge structures, mental models and strategic processes remain in the cognitive domain, located within the individual. Studies of the social nature of learning and discourse are beginning to suggest another picture of knowledge. Vygotsky (1962) argues that language and knowledge result from a process whereby social interactions are internalized and that learning occurs through the *zone of proximal development* (the performance that an individual can reach with the help of others). Cazden (1983) discusses how vertical structuring of interaction (e.g., scaffolds) leads to learning. The vertical structures she discusses are ones in which adults provide cues, clues or even some answers to help children communicate a message or solve a problem. Similarly, Daiute and Dalton (1988) in their study of collaborative student writing suggest that cognitive conflict and play during peer interactions may be central to cognitive development. For example, consider the following interaction between two fourth or fifth graders collaborating on writing a story:

> A: And he flew off into the Atlantic Ocean
>
> B: The Atlantic?
>
> A: Yeah, the Atlantic.
>
> B: No, into the Pacific . . . he swam for a couple of hundred miles (Daiute & Dalton, 1988, p. 265).

What happens in this interaction is clearly not the kind of tutoring usually found when the zone of proximal development or scaffolding are discussed. But these kinds of interactions may be the basis for strategies like word play or, more centrally, elaboration. Studies of interactions like scaffolds and of the role of cognitive conflict suggest that knowledge may be formed interpsychologically, that knowledge may be viewed as something accomplished within social interaction. This contrasts with our normal picture of communication in which I have a message that travels through a medium to you who receive it and respond to it. The picture here is one in which significant elements of the message are emerging through the medium of our interaction, more between us than within us.

The notion of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1962) says that learning occurs when you are asked to perform beyond your current level of ability. At first this might sound a lot like Krashen's (1981) *i + 1* formulation of input for second language acquisition. However, the essence of the zone of proximal development is not input, it is interaction. While input is conceived as data to stimulate the emergence of a particular *grammar* out of our genetically-inherited universal grammar, the zone of proximal development conceives of learning as the constructive internalization of social structures and processes. If we return to our discussion of strategies, a Vygotskyan interpretation of much of what van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) label as strategies would be that the strategies are products of internalized sociohistorical interactions.

Current research in composition suggests that you may even internalize the learning-through-interaction process itself. Recent composition theories which view writing as a process of discovery and learning (Knoblauch and Brannon, 1984) imply the notion that externalizing and attempting to communicate thoughts in writing can provide a kind of self-generated scaffolding which leads to the refinement of thought and to the creation of new meaning. McGinley (1989) suggests that the self-directed, recursive reading and writing his subjects employed in a writing task amounted to the individual creating a "vicarious community." In other words, he argued that his subjects, who sat alone in a room reading and writing and then rereading and revising, were creating over time a dialogue within themselves, and between themselves and their texts, as they composed their essays.

Another perspective on the social nature of knowledge can be seen in the notion of intertextuality (Derrida, 1974). Porter (1986) gives as an example of intertextuality the Pepsi commercial which evokes images of rural, Depression-era America and of Spielberg's movie *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. The commercial is constructed out of prior texts. Intertextuality theory argues that all texts are necessarily constructed and interpreted out of bits and pieces taken from previous texts. The pieces may range from the use of individual words to strings of words, from patterns of style and structure to world views. For example, consider the word "text". When I read this, I do not understand it by consulting an internal dictionary definition. The word carries traces of how I have read or heard it used. For example, it first evokes a sense of authorized knowledge, an object of study, through its use in textbooks. It also evokes connections with specific disciplines, English and Linguistics. For a long time, when I saw "text", I thought only of written text. As I began to read more discourse studies, I saw text being used for oral as well as written discourse. More recently, reading

Freire (Freire and Macedo, 1987), I have come into contact with the ideas of the world as text and reading the world. Words do not stand alone; they carry traces of the environments they have been used in. Texts do not stand alone either: they are written and read through relations to previous texts.

What connects intertextuality and the zone of proximal development with the earlier discussion of trends in schema research is that these concepts suggest that knowledge structures and strategies are acquired through cumulative processes of internalizing experience in social environments, which are in turn the products of history. Native speakers of a language have few, if any, scripts without episodes. The meaning and use of words arise out of multiple texts and contexts, not formal dictionary definitions. In this view, the particular and the episodic emerge as the continuing ground of the abstract and the general. And the particular and the episodic are firmly anchored in sociohistoric circumstance.

A TENTATIVE MODEL OF THE KNOWLEDGE SYSTEM

What should be clear from the discussion above is that discourse (comprehension and production, written and spoken) is based on a complex knowledge system. I would like to offer one view of that system, based in large part on my interpretation and extension of van Dijk and Kintsch's (1983) model of discourse comprehension. This adapted system has five components. First is stored, prior knowledge (schemata). Prior knowledge may be viewed from two perspectives, as knowledge structures (the cognitive perspective) or as intertext (the social perspective). Second is what I will call emergent knowledge (mental models). Emergent knowledge refers to the on-line creation of meaning and to the discovery/construction of new meaning. It too may be seen as arising from internal cognitive processes or social interactions. Third is strategies, processes which construct knowledge. Again, strategies may be viewed as cognitive (e.g., patterns for generating scripts out of episodic memories) or social (e.g., scaffolding). Fourth is a control system. The idea of a control system or executive processes is one of the least developed areas. However, a control system seems to be needed to coordinate the selection of goals and strategies. The control system is generally not seen as a "ghost in the machine," but rather as a reflection or product of current cognitive processes. An important part of the control system would be goals, many of which may be schemata or strategies. Fifth is overall arousal and emotion, which have not been mentioned. Arousal and emotion are global states like hunger, tiredness, anxiety, drunkenness, and so on. If I write "Ronald Reagan", you will probably experience some affective reaction. That affective reaction can be seen as a stored memory, as part of a schemata. However, if you have an automobile accident, the resulting adrenaline rush and other physical effects will have global effects on your mental processes.

INERT KNOWLEDGE AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

Most accounts of schema theories in reading comprehension, emphasize prior knowledge. Discussion of the role of strategies (as used here) is not central. The danger of schema theory as it is often presented is that it could be construed as arguing for a passive, banking model of education (Freire, 1970), where our role as teachers is to deposit lots of knowledge in our students' brains. This kind of rationale underlies Hirsch's (1987) concept of cultural literacy, a concept which reduces education to a kind of preparation for trivial pursuits.

One of the problems with theories of knowledge deposit is that they take retrieval and transfer for granted. Schacter (1990) notes that one of the major findings of memory research in the past decade has been that the value of particular activities for encoding depends on the conditions under which information is retrieved: "Encoding operations that lead to high levels of memory performance under one set of conditions may lead to low levels of performance under different retrieval conditions" (p. 690).

The difference between ESL students' performance on discrete-item grammar tests and that in actual conversations provides striking evidence of this. The students I discussed at the beginning of this paper had encoded language knowledge (through exercises) in conditions that replicated the retrieval conditions (the test). However, they could not access and use their language knowledge in other conditions. In other words, it was inert knowledge, knowledge that had been deposited but could not be withdrawn for use outside the bank.

Spiro et al. (1987) make a similar point in their study of transfer (the ability to apply knowledge learned in one context to other situations or tasks). They found that when social studies information was presented within clearly organized frames (i.e., under conceptual titles) it was recalled better than the same information presented in an ill-structured fashion (i.e., without conceptual titles). However, when a given second task requiring the transference of information to new settings, the group that had received the ill-structured presentation did better than the group receiving the well-structured presentation. Spiro,et al. (1987) suggest that if you want knowledge to transfer in natural settings, then the knowledge representations should have the following features: "multiple interconnectedness between different aspects of domain knowledge, multidimensional or multiperspectival representation of examples/cases, and allowance for various forms of naturally occurring complexity and irregularity" (p.178). Thus, they argue, what is needed is "cognitive flexibility." Concluding a discussion of the misconceptions caused by single analogies in learning complex concepts, Spiro et al. (1989) argue:

> *. . . the maladaptive force of single analogies is paralleled by misconception-inducing reductive forces of a single schema, single mode of organization, single line of argument, single precedent example, single prefigurative "world view," and so on. The antidote for these maladaptive forces of simplification is in each case the* systematic assembly of multiple knowledge sources—*integrated multiple analogies, compiled fragments from diverse schemata, re-presentations of the same information under different organizational schemes, multilinear lines of argument, and multiple precedent examples. (pp. 529-30)*

In other words, if you want to prepare your students for job interviews, do not just give them a set of rules, a sample of an application form, and a single dialogue or simulation. Give them multiple examples of interviews or simulations of interviews with different emphases, different tasks and different affective tones. Give them multiple samples of application forms. Have them read or better yet do research on issues like discrimination, drug-testing, the use of lie-detector tests, and the use of psychological tests. Give them different, possibly conflicting, sets of rules. It is important to recognize how far this prescription is from an educational mainstream in which standardized tests are central to research and practice. Good performance on standardized tests basically demonstrates inert knowledge; thus, research on teacher effectiveness, which has generally used standardized tests as criteria, tend to result in models for how to develop inert knowledge. To develop inert knowledge, you reverse all of Spiro et al.'s recommendations and limit instruction to single sources of and contexts for knowledge.

GENERAL IMPLICATIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

I will take it as a given that the primary goal of language education is to produce *usable* knowledge rather than inert knowledge. For most teachers, the goal is probably framed as communicative competence or proficiency. However, Pierce (1989) suggests a critical pedagogy of possibility which challenges the given rather than accepting it. One of the central implications of the research discussed above is something we have supposedly already learned in second language education. If you want students to learn how to do something, they need to do it. The centerpiece of communicative language methodology has been that, if you want students to be able to communicate in a second language, then they must use the language for communication. However, the discussion of knowledge above has several implications for how we understand communication which has been unevenly recognized in second language theory and practice.

There were five terms in the tentative model of the knowledge system given above: prior knowledge, emergent knowledge, strategies, control processes, and arousal. I will focus here primarily on the implications relating to three of those terms: prior knowledge, strategies and control. First, students need prior knowledge. We can no longer conceive of ourselves as just language teachers. Language is only a code; communication requires meaning and meaning arises from our knowledge of the world in the broadest sense. Language is not, as we have learned, a rule-governed phenomena: it is a knowledge-guided one, with all types of knowledge involved. Carrell (1988) has suggested that every second language program needs to have a parallel program for content knowledge acquisition. Prior knowledge includes almost every category of knowledge you can think of. For example, consider a classroom interaction in a university where the professor is talking. Prior knowledge here might include not just knowledge related to the content and structure of the lecture, but social knowledge. For example, what do the professor's dress, jokes, choice of words indicate about her political and social affiliations. Not understanding the political and social affiliations and values of the source of a message is often a serious impediment to understanding the content of the message. Recalling Freire (1970) and Spiro et al. (1989), we need to be careful not to model the content component of our curriculum after the inadequate, but common models found in many subject classrooms. We should encourage students to be active users and pursuers of knowledge, to integrate knowledge both across domains and with their own lived experience. I do not believe that the kind of content knowledge acquisition Carrell (1988) calls for requires every student to study the same material in the same manner.

Second, students need strategies. As discussed above, when we think of strategies in ESL today, we probably think of learning strategies or of repair strategies for communication breakdowns. However, strategies in the sense they are being used here are much broader. They may be conscious or nonconscious (tacit). Many of them may be domain-specific. For example, consider the strategies involved in evaluating a statistical argument. You will have certain visual strategies for scanning tabular information, a variety of linguistic and discourse strategies for reading and making sense of the text. You will have some domain-specific strategies for evaluating statisticsm, depending on your prior knowledge. For example, you may have a map of the statistical landscape, of special topics to consider, such as randomization, size of sample, category of data in relation to statistic used, and so on. You may recall images of a particular class you attended or of pages from a statistics book or from class notes. You will also have strategies (goals) that identify your purposes for doing the evaluation. If you have a tendency for math anxiety or you have not gotten much sleep, you might also have self-regulatory strategies to control your arousal. All of the strategies mentioned here probably barely scratch the surface of the strategies actually used in evaluating the argument. Furthermore, research in social construction suggests that these cognitive strategies are acquired through constructively internalizing elements of social interactions. This view of strategies argues for authenticity in materials and activities, for close simulation of target activities (or the actual activities themselves), so that the specific strategies involved (most of which we will not be aware of) may be acquired.

Third, students need to possess an appropriate control system for the tasks they undertake; they need the appropriate goal strategies/schemata. Communication normally involves self-initiation (our own goal-seeking acts). In addition to strategies of text comprehension, van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) discuss strategies for controlling the discourse comprehension process itself. For example, in discussing the strategies employed in reading a *Newsweek* article, they point out that they assume a general sociocultural strategy (goal) of getting political information. This raises an important point. If students' actions are always initiated by the teacher (are externally motivated), and the activity being taught presumes internal motivation, then the students may end up without this first central component of usable knowledge: a set of goals, the desire to do something. Perhaps an example of this is the statistics courses required of many students in education. They take statistics and leave the program with inert knowledge. Statistics comes out when a test initiates it, but students have not developed goals for using statistics. Schank (1982) talks about the central script being the personal script, a kind of self-schema which tells you what kind of things you do during your day. If statistics is not incorporated into your personal script, then have you learned statistics? Smith (1982) talks about all learning occurring through a process of apprenticeship in what he likens to "clubs". For example, he argues that kids decide that they are members of the "literacy club". You could say here that reading and writing get incorporated into the child's personal script. Smith also notes how "slow" learners, confronted with more and more decontextualized, nonsense worksheets which are supposed to "remedy" their deficits, come to the logical conclusion that reading is not meaningful. In a common social process, rejected by the literacy club, they reject the club and form a social identity in resistance to it. In Schank's terms, we could say they exclude reading from their personal script.

REFLECTIONS ON CLASSROOM PRACTICE

Considering the role of particular episodic knowledge structures of all kinds and the need for strategies of many types and levels, we are faced with a dilemma. How can we know what to teach? Specification of what to teach is still commonly assumed to be the first step in planning language instruction. I would argue that in principle we cannot specify what students need to know because the number of items is practically infinite and because we are not now even close to specifying, for example, all of the strategic processes involved in reading a simple sentence like this one. However, there is another route. We do not know what we know, but we know how we acquire it: experience. A basic principle that should guide our instructional activities is consideration of what experiential base a native would bring to a situation and then inclusion of activities that simulate or actually replicate those experiences as much as possible. Concern with experience requires consideration of how experience is internally perceived and processed, as well as the external circumstances that surround it. If three people go to a movie and one sleeps while the second watches for entertainment and the third carefully studies it for its reflections of popular culture, their experiences of the movie will be very different, as will what they have learned from it.

Let's consider two examples of what simulating target activities might mean, one academic and one non-academic. First, say that you want your secondary ESL students to be prepared for academic work and that you conclude that part of being ready for academic work means knowing how to take short-answer examinations. Since the supposition is that successful students have gone through experiences that have prepared them for taking such exams, your task is to provide contexts for the ESL students to learn similar lessons. The most obvious preparation is prior tests of this type. The most accurate way to simulate such tests is to give content instruction over, at least, several days on some topic and then to give a short-answer test on the material covered. Why should the content lesson last several days and not just 30 minutes? The reasoning behind this is, if you want to simulate actual academic classes, the amount of material and the time factor may well be important, may call on different cognitive resources (more synthesis needed for example) and may call on different study modes. Taking a test immediately after a 30-minute lecture might not contribute to the development of needed strategies and control processes.

What will happen from this kind of exercise? From my experience with university-level ESL, I suggest several kinds of problems that frequently emerge. First, students will often not understand the stated questions, so their answers will not cover the material called for. This may be because they do not understand vocabulary or some element of grammar in the questions or for more complex reasons relating to the content. In any case, students are often unaware that they do not understand the stated questions; this alone is important. Strategies (used now in the ESL sense of the term) for requesting information about the meaning of the question during a test may be useful here. Second, students may not understand the unstated expectations of a question. For isntance, faced with half a page of blank space and the question "Do you think theory x is better than theory y?", a student may respond with a mere "Yes." Or more subtly, when asked a question that calls for personal opinion, a student may give an opinion without making any reference to the material covered in the course. Third, students may have problems due to their way of studying the material. For example, a student may simply read an article over and over again, memorizing the information, and then be confused by a question which assumes the information and asks for its synthesis or application.

The point is that by going through actual or closely simulated experiences, the ESL student will have opportunities to develop the kinds of knowledge and strategies (in van Dijk and Kintsch's sense) that they need to be successful in their academic work. I should add that I would make this activity an actual test in the ESL class and not consider it just as practice. In this case, part of the actual exam context is that it is externally motivated and that feedback comes in the form of a system of rewards or penalties. Actual grading of the test also makes it more likely that the common "arguing-with-the-question" scene will take place after the tests are returned.

A non-academic example might be baseball. If you decide or your students decide that they should learn about baseball, then the simulation of experience principle would suggest that students first should actually play baseball, go to baseball games, and watch baseball on TV. In addition, students could read the sports pages and find out how to interpret the various tables of information given on games or summarizing individual and team statistics. They may also collect baseball cards and watch movies that deal with baseball (e.g., the recent *Field of Dreams*).

Several points need to be brought up here. First, you need to base the instructional experiences roughly on the kind of experiences that native speakers might have in acquiring the knowledge in question. Second, time is an important factor. Obviously you cannot spend as much time on baseball under the auspices of an ESL class as a native speaker interested in baseball would spend. On the other hand, this is clearly not a one-day lesson. Experience takes time. An experiential approach to ESL suggests a thematic organization in which students spend significant amounts of time focused on some topic or task. Third, unlike essay exams, baseball is normally not graded and is followed according to the interest of the individual. As the discussion of the importance of the control system section suggests, this may be a central point. It may suggest that students work on individual or small group projects they have selected with whole class structures related to sharing their findings. This kind of structure is already found in whole language approaches such as Sustained Silent Reading (SSR) programs, where students individually select books to read during a "shared" reading period.

The above examples suggest how classes could be structured once we decide what to teach, but the question of what to teach, as I mentioned above, is more difficult. Imagine a social studies essay exam that looks like the following:

> *Considering the various positions we have discussed, respond to the following argument: Baseball teams should be run democratically.*

The point is that discussions of or tests on specialized academic knowledge often make use of some aspect of general cultural knowledge that the educator assumes is shared. Baseball may no longer be one of those contexts since its male-oriented nature is clear, but some aspects of general culture will carry over into specialized studies. What aspects carry over is not predictable, except that they represent something that someone assumes is a relatively common experience. How can we select content? I would suggest that this phenomenon argues for the broadest possible contact with the culture, for deliberate diversity. This diversity can be achieved both through teacher planning and through students choosing their own content to explore and then sharing some part of it. Since knowledge is multimodal, such experiences should not be limited to the verbal. Images underlie much language. I suspect that if I write "polar bear," your thought is more likely to be an image of a polar bear that you have seen on TV or in a zoo than a verbal definition of polar bear or some discussion of polar bears.

If we acquire knowledge and strategies through experience, what characteristics of experience are important to consider in our classes? First, experience is complex and open. ("Ill-structured" is a term commonly used in the literature, but its negative connotations and even its denotative sense of lack of structure does not seem appropriate. Throughout the remainder of this article, I will use "complex and open" in place of "ill-structured.") The level of complexity is perhaps one of the most serious disjunctions between classroom language teaching and actual communicative situations. Students who have always functioned where there are clear answers and clear directions, where ambiguity and confusion are avoided, are unlikely to develop the strategies (cognitive and social) needed to function in complex, open environments. The need to prepare students to communicate outside of the classroom is obviously not a new point. The importance of negotiation and its connection to repair has been recognized for some time now (Schwartz, 1980; Tarone, 1980). However, highly structured information-gap activities, often seen as the way to facilitate negotiation and repair, while better than drills, still may lack a number of elements of actual communicative situations. They are not self-initiated and they are usually not particularly complex and open.

Complexity and openness either in the classroom or in course-related activities in the wider community should facilitate the development of usable knowledge. Complexity and openness may be achieved intentionally through ambiguous directions that require students to ask for clarification. It could also be achieved to some extent through deliberate variations in class routines. Most simply, it can be achieved by opening the classroom to the students' own experiences and interests. Replacing the univocal teacher-directed and teacher-controlled class with the multicultural polyvocality of ESL students quickly leads to complexities, which challenge teacher and students alike. Students may also encounter complexity and openness outside of the class. A number of current approaches to language teaching are congruent with this point. For example, using the community as a site for student tasks and as a resource for in-class activities is very valuable. Having students attend a public meeting, tour a building, go to a park, can lead to the kind of unanticipated interactions that distinguish complex, open systems from closed ones.

A second characteristic of experience is that it is particular, multimodal, and rich. Our knowledge of restaurants was not acquired through scripts, through abstract discussion of restaurant events. It was acquired through experiences in restaurants, experiences that involved all of our senses, that involved our own physical interactions with the environment. As Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) point out, our bodily experience of the world and our images derived from it play a central role in our thought and language, even in domains like science previously thought to be "logical and rational." Through this multimodal experience, we learn much that rapidly becomes tacit. How many of you get confused, as I do, when someone asks for a verbal explanation of how to react to sliding on the ice when driving? The tacit and physical dimensions of our knowledge struck me in an incident that occurred during a library session with an ESL student at the University of Wisconsin several years ago. After an hour long presentation on how to find books and journals, one of the students set out on an exercise. Staring at his paper, he walked out of the classroom, into the stacks. Staring at a call number on his page, he stopped and looked confused. I asked him what the problem was, and he asked how to find the number. I pointed up at the call numbers on the side of the stacks and he brightened up, "A-ha". Looking up was not one of the points we had discussed in talking about how to find books. Our cognitive map of the activity tacitly assumed much, as I would argue our cognitive maps of many things do. Carefully constructed and controlled activities in less rich environments risk missing many such particulars.

At this point an obvious question arises. If experience is so great, why should students have classes in ESL? Why not just send students directly into the environments that they need to function in? ESL classes can perform a number of valuable functions. First, these classes can encourage students to contact a broader range of experiences, including ones that successful students/competent members of the culture have already had. Part of this encouragement may come from helping students develop the language and background knowledge needed for basic access to an experience. For example, if you spend time with students on newspapers, helping them learn how papers are organized, what kinds of information are found in them, how headlines are written, and so on, it may provide students with enough knowledge (including interest) to get them over the initial barrier, where an activity seems overwhelming. Second, classes can provide an environment where ESL students can process their experiences and have permission to ask questions about both the experience and the language (something that is often not as true in the general environment, for example, in mainstream academic classes). Third, ESL classes can provide an important social and psychological support to facilitate intercultural adaptation. ESL students confronting the English-speaking culture of the school are obviously subject to culture shock. As Weaver (1986) notes, it is important to distinguish between coping mechanisms and defense mechanisms in response to culture shock. ESL classes can be a forum where awareness of culture and intercultural conflict is acknowledged and discussed, points that Weaver argues are central to coping.

Some teachers might feel uncomfortable with this list of functions, wondering how the central function of ESL, language teaching, fits in. But that is precisely the point: we cannot teach language. Language is not an isolated box in your head as many cognitive psychology texts picture it. It is not an independent set of syntactic rules and lexical items that can be developed so that later they can be plugged into another set of boxes called world knowledge, beliefs, emotions, motor programs, and finally personality. Acquiring usable knowledge for functioning in this culture, the kind of competence or proficiency we envision our students having and using in pursuit of their own goals, is something the whole person does, something that changes the whole person, and, finally, something that arises out of experiences and the processing of experience. Competent, compassionate teachers can facilitate and accelerate the learning process, can welcome students into the English-speaking club, by dealing with the concerns of the whole student in her social milieu, by opening up the classroom to the complexity of life as it is experienced.

ABSENCE, INACCESSIBILITY, AND APATHY

Based on the above discussion, inert knowledge in second language instruction can be linked to at least three sources. First is absence. Classes that do not present students with or direct them to a wide range of authentic experiences with the target language and culture may result in students with gaping holes in their competence. Second is inaccessibility. If the conditions under which the encoding of knowledge occur are too different from the conditions of retrieval, the knowledge may be inert, unavailable knowledge. One of the central factors is complexity. Since most actual communicative situations are complex and open, well-structured (i.e., oversimplified) classes, even when they are "communicative", may leave the students with inaccessible knowledge. Clearly, having students fill in the blanks with the correct forms of the following verbs will rarely result in usable knowledge. Finally, there is what I will call apathy (apathy in the sense of a lack of self-initiated goals and controls arising from instructional practices that do not facilitate self-initiation). If students do not experience self-initiated and self-directed searches for knowledge and attempts at communication, the knowledge acquired might not find its way into their personal scripts. They might not develop the strategies needed for self-initiated and self-controlled use of the knowledge and, therefore, not use it outside of the classroom. Or returning to Smith's formulation, they might develop self/social identities which exclude them from participation in some "clubs" of the culture (e.g., literacy, schooling, political affairs).

To help students develop usable knowledge, we need to have classes that are complex and open, and that direct students to other complex, open experiences. We need classes that emphasize the broadest, most varied contact with language, content, and culture that is possible. We need classes that encourage learners to be active and empowered rather than passive, by permitting them to assume active, empowered roles in the ESL classroom itself. Most fundamentally, we need to heed Spiro et al.'s (1989) warning of the dangers of oversimplification, an oversimplification that arises in our field from overemphasizing the role of syntax in language, the role of language in communication and the role of rules in both. The knowledge we use to produce and understand discourse is all of the knowledge we acquire through experience, not just a few reified products of that experience. Our task as teachers is not to teach students the rules of our language, but rather to facilitate their learning through experience of our cultures and to create the conditions in which together we will most fully realize our human potential.

THE AUTHOR

Paul Prior, a doctoral student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota, has taught EAP in the U.S. and EFL in Saudi Arabia.

REFERENCES

Abelson, R., & Black, J. (1986). Introduction. In J. Galambos, R. Abelson, & J. Black (Eds.), *Knowledge structures* (pp.1-18). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Carrell, P. (1988). Interactive text processing: Implications for ESL/second language reading classrooms. In P. Carrell, J. Devine, & D. Eskey (Eds.), *Interactive Approaches to second language reading* (pp. 239-259). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cazden, C. (1983). Peekaboo as an instructional model: Discourse development at home and school. In B. Bain (Ed.), *The sociogenesis of language and human conduct* (pp.33-58). New York: Plenum Press.

Daiute, C., & B. Dalton (1988). "Let's brighten it up a bit": Collaboration and cognition in writing. In B. A. Raforth & D. L. Rubin (Eds.), *The social construction of written communication* (pp. 249-269). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Derrida, J. (1974). Trans. *Gayatri Spival. Of grammatology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins.

Fiske, S. & Taylor, S. (1984). *Social cognition*. New York: Random House.

Freire, P. (1970). Trans. M. Ramos. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.

Freire, P., & Macedo, D. (1987). *Literacy: Reading the world and the word.* South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics 3: Speech acts*. New York: Academic.

Hirsch, E.D., Jr. (1987). *Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnson-Laird, P. (1983). Mental models: *Toward a cognitive science of language, inference, and consciousness.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Knoblauch, C. H. & Brannon, L. (1984). *Rhetorical traditions and the teaching of writing.* Upper Montclair, NJ: Boynton/Cook.

Krashen, S. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning.* New York: Pergamon.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mandler, J. (1978). A code in the node: The use of a story schema in retrieval. *Discourse Processes, 1,* 14-35.

McGinley, W. (1989). *The role of reading and writing in the acquisition of knowledge: A study of college students' self-directed engagements in reading and writing.* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

McNeil, L. (1986). *Contradictions of control: School structure and knowledge.* New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Meyers, B. J. (1975). *The organization of prose and its effects on memory.* Amsterdam: North Holland.

Minsky, M. (1975). A framework for representing knowledge. In P. H. Winston (Ed.), *The psychology of computer vision.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Pierce, B. P. (1989). Toward a pedagogy of possibility in the teaching of English internationally: People's English in South Africa. *TESOL Quarterly, 23,* 1989

Porter, J. (1986). Intertextuality and the discourse community. *Rhetoric Review, 5,* 34-47.

Rosch, E. (1978). Principles of categorization. In E. Rosch & B .B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Cognition and categorization* (pp. 27-48). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rumelhart, D. (1975). Notes on a schema for stories. In D. G. Bobrow & A. Collins (Eds.), *Representation and understanding: Studies in cognitive science* (pp. 211-236). New York: Academic Press.

Schacter, D. (1990). Memory. In M. Posner (Ed.), *Foundations of cognitive science,* (pp. 683-725). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Schank, R. (1982). *Dynamic memory.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Schank, R., & Abelson, R. (1977). *Scripts, plans, goals and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schwartz, J. (1980). The negotiation for meaning: Repair in conversations between second language learners of English. In D. Larsen-Freeman (Ed.), *Discourse analysis in second language research* (138-153). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Smith, F. (1982). *Insult to intelligence: The bureaucratic invasion of our classrooms*. New York: Arbor House.

Spiro, R., Feltovich, P., Coulson, R., & Anderson, D. (1989). Multiple analogies for complex concepts: antidotes for analogy-induced misconception in advanced knowledge acquisition. In S. Vosniadou & A. Ortony (Eds.), *Similarity and analogical reasoning* (pp.438-531). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spiro, R., Vispoel, W., Schmitz, J., Samarapungavan, A., & Boerger, A. E. (1987). Knowledge acquisition for application: Cognitive flexibility and transfer in complex content domains. In B. Britton & S. Glynn (Eds.), *Executive control processes in reading* (pp. 177-194). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Tarone, E. (1980). Communication strategies, foreigner talk and repair. *Language Learning, 30,* 417-431.

Tulving, E. (1972). Episodic and semantic memory. In E. Tulving & W. Donaldson (Ed.), *Organization of Memory*. New York, Academic.

van Dijk, T. & Kintsch, W. (1983). *Strategies of Discourse Comprehension*. New York: Academic Press.

van Dijk, T. (1987). Episodic models in discourse processing. In R. Horowitz & S. J. Samuels (Eds.), *Comprehending oral and written language*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Vygotsky, L.. (1962). Trans. Eugenia Hanfman & Gertrude Vakar. *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (Originally published in 1934).

Weaver, G. (1987). Understanding and coping with cross-cultural adjustment stress. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation: New conceptualizations and applications* (pp. 111-145). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Whitehead, A. N. (1929). *The aims of education*. New York: MacMillan.

56

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL, Vol. 8, 1990

Some Effects of Culture in the ESL Classrozom and their Implications for Teaching

LAURA BUCHANAN
Minnesota English Center

The influence of culture on the ESL teacher, student, and curriculum is examined. The assumption is that if we acknowledge the influence that culture has on us and make the effort to understand how the cultural assumptions of teachers and students differ, we can make adjustments that permit a more rewarding and enjoyable classroom atmosphere. American cultural values and their classroom implications are addressed. A brief discussion on how to facilitate the cultural adjustment of ESL students is also presented.

Teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) agree that one can not teach English without teaching culture. Since language is part of culture, teaching the language itself teaches something of the culture. And since the teacher as a native speaker is a product of the culture, she is teaching about her culture unconsciously through her language, her demeanor, and her non-verbal behavior as well as through the methods she may choose for teaching.* In these ways the students are being exposed to the culture covertly. The teacher may not be aware of the cultural teaching that is going on in the classroom.

On the other hand, it is also possible to discuss culture overtly and to consciously teach students about the culture in which they are now immersed. Wilga Rivers recommends, in fact, that the language teacher choose to do this. She feels that in order for a student to have a complete understanding of the meaning of language a strong bond between culture and language must be maintained. She also considers that the differences in values and attitudes between cultures may be one of the main sources of problems in language learning (Rivers, 1968).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the effects of culture in the ESL classroom. The teacher, as a cultural being in the classroom, has an effect on her students and if she is unaware of this effect, she will have no control over what influence this has on the class. Understanding the cultural values and assumptions teachers have as products of their culture will enable the teacher to make conscious decisions as to how, to a certain extent, culture is affecting the classroom.

---

* In order to avoid confusion in the use of pronouns, throughout this paper the pronoun *she* will be used to refer to the teacher and the pronoun *he* will be used to refer to the student.

Students in an ESL class are also cultural beings, and as such, exhibit behaviors and express values that the teacher might not understand. This also could cause difficulties for the teacher and the students. Knowing some of the ways students' behavior may differ from teachers' expectations will also be beneficial to the teacher and may enable her teaching to be more effective.

As these students experience the new culture in which they must now function they go through different phases of adjustment. One phase, a period of frustration caused by having to deal with all the unfamiliar cues of the new culture, has been termed culture shock. During the time students are experiencing culture shock they may not be open to learning about the new culture and may for various reasons resist acquiring the target language. Culture shock is usually followed by a period of cultural adjustment. Helping students to make the transition from culture shock to cultural adjustment may be facilitated through discussions about cross-cultural differences and specific discussions about different aspects of American culture.

Teachers have noticed that some second language learners seem to acquire the language more easily than others. When good language learners have been studied to discover the characteristics responsible for the ease with which they acquire the language, the results have suggested that these learners have a positive attitude toward the new culture and want to participate in it in order to use the second language as soon as possible. By facilitating a student's understanding of the target culture, the teacher may be decreasing the student's feeling of frustration with the new culture and increasing his confidence in dealing with it. This new confidence then encourages participation in the new culture and, therefore, helps him improve his English more quickly.

Although there are many ways to define culture, the definition of culture that best conveys the meaning of the concept as discussed in this paper is from L. Robert Kohls (1979):

> *Culture = an integrated system of learned behavior patterns that are characteristic of the members of any given society. Culture refers to the total way of life of particular groups of people. It includes everything that a group of people thinks, says, does, and makes - its customs, language, material artifacts and shared systems of attitudes and feelings. Culture is learned and transmitted from generation to generation.*

One particularly good thing about this definition of culture is that culture is conceptualized as a system, a total way of life. This concept is important because in order to understand the significance of culture in the classroom, it is necessary to understand that culture is extremely complex and underlies everything we do or say, even in a setting that some would normally think of as devoid of culture: a classroom.

THE TEACHER AS A CULTURAL BEING

The definition of culture used in this paper indicates that everything a person says, does, or thinks is dependent upon that person's culture. Culture can be seen, then, as a giant bubble surrounding an individual who sees and evaluates and acts according to how reality is perceived through this bubble. Every social being has been raised in a culture that filters reality and helps guide the individual through life.

When an ESL teacher enters the classroom, this cultural filter enters with her and affects not only how she perceives the actions of the students in the class but also how she herself behaves in the class: her language, her actions, and even the subtleties of non-verbal behavior of which she is most likely unaware.

For a person who has never had experiences outside of her own culture, it would be particularly difficult to be aware of the cultural filter which is such an integral part of her life. It would just appear to the person that this is the way the world works. A saying that expresses this idea quite well is: "The fish is the last to discover the water." You do not know you are in water if it totally surrounds you and it is all you have ever known. In particular, the ESL teacher who has never had a cross-cultural experience, who has never travelled and lived in another country, may be unaware of herself as a cultural being and be unaware of how her demeanor and actions are culture-bound. Even an ESL teacher who has had some experience in dealing with other cultures may not be aware of the values and assumptions she holds as a product of American culture. It is valuable for a teacher to learn about her own culture and to discover as much as possible about how her cultural filter affects her teaching.

It has been said that the best way to learn about your culture is by being immersed in another, but unfortunately not all people who are teaching ESL have had the opportunity to live in another country before they begin teaching here in the U.S. So what can a teacher do to become more aware of her cultural "baggage" without leaving the country? L. Robert Kohls, in his book *Survival Kit for Overseas Living* (1979) gives exercises that help people become more aware of the values held by most Americans.

Kohls has developed an interesting way for an American to discover the common values that are held by most Americans. Rather than sitting down and trying to list them, which might be a difficult and not very fruitful task, Kohls suggests making a list of common American proverbs and then writing down in one or two words which value each one conveys. Some examples he gives are "Time is money," which teaches time thriftiness; "A penny saved is a penny earned," which teaches thriftiness, and "Waste not, want not," which teaches frugality (Kohls, 1979).

When trying to discover American values, two proverbs may be found that seem to be contradictory, such as "Might makes right" and "It's not whether you win or lose, but how you play the game." The first values power over morality and the other emphasizes sportsmanship over victory. Apparent paradoxes like these should not cause the teacher too much concern because culture is such a complex system that often times some values will contradict each other. In his book *American Cultural Patterns* (1972), Edward C. Stewart examines the cultural values and assumptions that we, as Americans, hold. Stewart gives the examples of "equality" seeming to be in conflict with "achievement" and also with "freedom." He claims it is the overall integration of all values that form a culture that is particularly American.

It is also interesting to compare American proverbs with those of other countries. In the United States there is a proverb "The squeaky wheel gets the grease." It could be said that the value underlying this proverb is assertiveness. But in Japan there is a proverb that says, "The nail that sticks up gets hit." This shows the value of conformity and the security found in not standing out. An ESL teacher interested in discovering more about her own cultural values as well as those of others could collect proverbs from students and then compare them with American sayings to reveal the similarities and differences between her values and those of her students.

Another way to begin thinking about American values is to read what others have to say about them and see if one agrees. Stewart, in his examination of many American values and assumptions, discusses some that might be particularly important for an ESL teacher (Stewart, 1972). A teacher who is not conscious of differences in cultural values may assume that such things as cooperation, sources of motivation, and even the sense of competition are similar across cultures, and therefore she would design classes based on these assumptions. Furthermore, cultural values vary in degree of importance across cultures. In order to understand the implications of value-laden classroom settings and instructional lessons, one must examine the particular dimensions of the culture in order to identify areas of potential culture conflict. Certain values will have strong influence on the nature of the classroom experience and must be examined carefully.

AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES—CLASSROOM IMPLICATIONS

Below is a discussion of some major American cultural values that may have an effect on the ESL classroom. Each value will be related to the general context of American culture and then specifically to the ESL instructional setting. While cultural values vary from individual to individual within a culture, the values presented below are discussed as culture-wide traits in contrast to traits exhibited by any given individual.

56

Competition.

Competition is seen in the U.S. as a very powerful method of motivating people. Some even see competition as the basic emphasis of American society. Americans, who are quite achievement-oriented and independent, seem to respond well to it (Stewart, 1972). Students who have been raised in the American educational system have learned how to compete academically and have been raised playing competitive sports and competitive games, both at home and in school.

In some cultures, though, the desire to allow someone to save face is stronger than the desire to compete. For example, in Laotian and Vietnamese culture, the strong sense of affiliation with family and community can outweigh the desire to win at another's expense (Stewart, 1972).

With this understanding, the ESL teacher would be wise to consider her students before she develops a competitive game to test some part of the material presented in the class, a strategy which works well with Americans. Latin American students, for example, are not used to being singled out for praise, so a competitive task where there was one winner may make the Latin American student feel uncomfortable and may cause the student to be unwilling to participate in the exercise (Jaramillo, 1973). In some classes I have taught, the students in an otherwise relatively well-behaved class, have had a difficult time obeying the rules of a competitive game. It may have been that some of them were not familiar with the use of competition in the classroom and did not know how to behave in this new learning situation. Although it would not be beneficial for the students if the teacher avoided exercises that used competition, since the students would lose an opportunity to experience a part of the American educational system, the teacher should be aware that the idea of competition in class may be new for some, and she should prepare her lessons accordingly. One suggestion might be to begin with some mildly competitive tasks, such as information sorting exercises done against the clock, and build to more competitive ones, such as modified game shows like Jeopardy, as students become more familiar with the concept.

Confrontation.

When Americans are faced with a problem, they often like to confront it directly. If the problem is with another person, the American will often choose to confront that person directly. For example, in American classrooms, it is not uncommon for students to approach a teacher to express dissatisfaction with the class. In some other cultures an individual who has a problem with someone might prefer to have a third party intervene and act as a go-between. Direct confrontation is avoided as much as possible. (Stewart, 1972).

In the ESL classroom a student who is having trouble in a class may elect to have a relative or close friend speak to the teacher instead of doing it himself. This may be the explanation of why a student who thought she was placed too low in an ESL class brought a spokesperson with her when she went to see the director to request a class change. The director was curious about the value of the spokesperson because her English was not as good as the student who wanted to be moved up. Perhaps she brought her not as an interpreter but rather as the go-between who could prevent the need to confront the administrator directly. If a student brings a family member or friend to the teacher's office to discuss problems the student may be having in class, it may be because the student is trying to behave in a socially appropriate way. The teacher should not judge the student as being cowardly or timid.

Cooperation.

It may appear at first that due to an emphasis on competition, cooperation would not be highly valued in our culture. But in fact the strong sense of competition also tends to encourage the American to be a highly cooperative individual. The reason is that if an individual has a goal he wants to achieve and if he sees that cooperating with a group will help him achieve his goal, he can become very cooperative. Deadlines and the importance of getting things done reinforce the will to cooperate with others (Stewart, 1972).

As with the other cultural values, it can not be assumed that other cultures feel the same way about the benefits of cooperation. For instance, Latin Americans would not compromise their principles in order to cooperate on a task and achieve some group goal (Stewart, 1972). It has been noticed that Saudi students react similarly and will not cooperate on a group problem-solving project if they see the task as one which involves things that are considered negative in their society (using a deck of cards, for example). Many times in the ESL classroom, students are put into groups and are expected to cooperate on a project. Not everyone in the group may dive into the work, define the problem and begin working toward the solution—not because they are unable to or are unwilling to learn, but because the teacher may unknowingly ask them to compromise an important value, be it political, moral, or religious.

All this may make the teacher quite frustrated. It seems that no matter how we structure the lessons, someone will be uncomfortable and unhappy. Our students need to adjust to the types of learning situations they will face when they begin studying at the university. Avoiding certain tasks, whether they be cooperative, competitive, group or individual, will not be helping the students prepare for academic life in our universities in the long run. The best solution is care in choosing a variety of different types of tasks so that at times students will be challenged with unfamiliar and maybe unnerving teaching methods, and at other times students will be dealing with circumstances that are more familiar and reassuring.

In the classroom the teacher may expect to see certain behaviors from her students because of her own cultural values and assumptions, including values instilled in her during her training as a teacher within the American educational system. She may feel that some behaviors will facilitate language learning and other behaviors will not and, therefore, the undesirable behaviors should not be encouraged in class. Due to the fact that the international students in an ESL classroom have studied in educational systems different from the one in which the ESL teacher was trained, culture conflict might be likely to occur.

VALUED BEHAVIOR IN THE ESL CLASSROOM

Certain behaviors are valued by American teachers for pedagogical reasons. The sections that follow include an explanation of why this might be so and an explanation of why that behavior may not be exhibited by some members of the class.

Independence and individual work.

American teachers value individual work in order to be able to assess each student's progress. If students always work together on assignments and tests, the teacher can not evaluate the skills of individual members of the class. Collaborating during quizzes and tests is considered cheating and is generally forbidden by teachers in classes in the U.S. It is not necessarily unacceptable because it is morally wrong but because it limits the teacher in collecting information about the progress being made by individual class members.

On the other hand, students from some other cultures may have a stronger sense of affiliation to friends than a sense of competition, which is the value that encourages American students to refrain from cheating. Discussions with Moroccan students studying in the U.S. have revealed that students from Morocco feel that duty to friends must come before the desire for individual success, and they consider it socially unacceptable *not* to share information, even on exams. The same value is held by students from Saudi Arabia (Levine, 1982). For this reason, the ESL teacher must be very explicit about the behavior she expects from students during tests and quizzes. Students should be told they are expected to keep their eyes on their own papers and they are not supposed to share information with each other.

Turn-Taking.

The American teacher feels that if she is talking to the class, the students should be quiet and listen to her. In ESL practicum classes, often one concern of a new teacher is how to keep students from talking when the instructor has the floor. The pedagogical basis for this is that when the teacher is talking she is giving important information or explanations; the students will learn best if they are paying attention to her. If they are talking to someone else while she is talking, they obviously are not paying attention and are not absorbing the information.

On the other hand, some of the students in an ESL class may not be accustomed to this practice. Students in Germany are encouraged to talk among themselves even in classes that might be considered best taught through lecture, such as math and natural science. During a teacher-training session that a group of experienced American teachers were required to take before being allowed to teach in the German schools, one teacher was told not to expect her students to be quiet and listen to her during class (Pines, 1981). A student from Germany and an American ESL teacher could have very different expectations of appropriate behavior during presentations of material by the teacher.

Turn-taking between students and participation in the class is also an important consideration for teachers. In ESL classes the teacher often wants to get information orally from individual class members. In speaking classes, for instance, a teacher needs to hear from all the members of the class in order to evaluate each student's language production. In other cases, during class discussions for example, the teacher wants to give each student a chance to speak so she does not want all the students speaking at once.

In the classroom the teacher can encounter two different types of problems with participation. One problem is that certain students will not participate unless called on directly. These students will not necessarily raise their hands when they have an answer they want to contribute. They may sit still and wait to be called on. It has often been noticed that people from Japan and Korea do not volunteer answers. The other problem with participation is when several students talk at once. In some educational systems in other countries, students are encouraged to be more assertive than students in the U.S. For instance, students from the Middle East sometimes behave in ways which Americans interpret as aggressive (Silverson, 1979). In class it is not uncommon for these students to try to answer every question, seemingly unaware of the value of giving other students a chance to speak.

The teacher would do well to consider how she would manage a class that contains students who may have very different expectations about appropriate ways to participate in class. Some activities that would give quieter students an opportunity to speak should be incorporated into the class. On the other hand, the teacher will need to develop ways to allow the more assertive students to contribute to the class without dominating it or preventing quieter students from participating. One example of how this could be done would be to design a task in which one student needs to speak and one student needs to write. Put students in pairs matching a quiet student with an assertive one and have the quiet student do the speaking and the assertive student do the writing.

Group Work.

In many ESL classes students are asked to work in groups. Teachers value group work for many reasons. Some of the reasons are that it allows students to share information, it decreases students' reliance on the teacher and increases the amount of time each student gets to talk. To encourage communication, group work often involves problem-solving activities.

Some educational systems overseas present material in a lecture format and students are expected to take notes and memorize the information. In some

Eastern and Middle Eastern cultures there is a strong emphasis on memorization and students have difficulty dealing with the creative activities that group work often involves (Silverson, 1979). Making the directions and the goals of group work tasks very explicit may increase the success of these activities by students who are unfamiliar with them.

Deadlines.

Deadlines are very commonly assigned for homework or longer projects in classrooms in the U.S. The value of a due date might be that it gives students motivation to get the project done. In many courses students are asked to write papers which are done independently and require time outside of class. The due date ensures that the teacher receives the paper in time to evaluate it before the course ends.

In countries in which the content of the course is mostly from teacher's lectures, students study their lecture notes, memorize the material, and give it back in relatively the same form on exams. In Morocco students are not usually given homework. If they are, it is not considered very important to complete it and return it. If students have a long-term project to work on, there is a due date but it is considered extendable. Even exam dates are flexible and the students determine by vote when the exams will be held.

The ESL teacher, when assigning homework or long term projects, must be very definite about the day by which she wants the work completed. She should tell students the consequences of not handing in work when it is due, consequences such as a lower grade or possibly no credit for work handed in after the deadline is past.

Asking questions.

Our educational system emphasizes operational thinking based on inductive reasoning which starts with facts and proceeds by means of inferences to test hypotheses. Students are encouraged to learn by doing and it is acceptable for more than the teacher's point of view to be expressed (Grove, 1978). As a result of this perspective students are expected to ask questions during discussions or during lectures that demonstrate that they are trying to follow the material. Those who ask provocative questions are considered good students.

In many other countries, however, the teacher is seen as the keeper of wisdom which is imparted to the students through lectures. Students are not expected to question the teacher. In Portugal, for example, students are treated as if they were ignorant. The teacher has the knowledge students need and students are not expected to be able to contribute anything to the lesson, but rather are expected to sit quietly taking down in their notes the wisdom of the teacher (Grove, 1978). In Saudi Arabia personal opinions are not sought and students are not expected to question what is being taught (Levine, 1982). The ESL teacher who is aware of this difference should never assume everyone understands or agrees just because no one is asking questions. She should build into the lesson a way for soliciting feed-back from the students to check their comprehension, such as asking questions frequently during a task or giving the students opportunities to participate during the class period.

CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF STUDENTS

The ESL teacher teaching several hours a day in a classroom filled with people from many different cultural backgrounds may quickly become aware of the differences in cultural values between herself and her students and begin to understand the special difficulties she will face in teaching students who have different values from her own. The student, on the other hand, immersed in a new culture, is having to deal with difficulties brought on by the differences between his culture and the new one 24 hours a day. In the classroom there are limited opportunities for interaction, the rules and sets of behavior are more circumscribed than in the culture at large. The student has an overwhelming number of possibilities for discovering that his set of value and rules for behavior do not necessarily work in this new environment. The experience the student is going through has been termed "culture shock."

Some researchers see culture shock as a disease in that it has symptoms and an eventual cure, something you "get over" (Oberg, 1979). Another view, one held by Peter Adler, is that culture is a cross-cultural learning experience, it is not something to be avoided like a disease, and it is not something to be gotten over or recovered from as quickly as possible. He claims that two types of learning occur. One is cultural awareness, an understanding that

> *each culture has its own internal coherence and logic. Each culture and its accompanying structures of norms, values, attitudes and beliefs are intertwined fabric and design that has an internal cohesion. No culture, therefore, is inherently better or worse than another, since every culture is its own understandable system. Every culture is acceptable to itself on its own terms, since it works.*
>
> (Adler, 1975)

The second type of learning is an increased self awareness, the realization that "all persons are, to some extent, products of the cultural frame of reference in which they have lived." Every culture provides a sense of identity with regulations on the individual's behavior. And every culture is a frame of reference and orientation for the individual (Adler, 1975). He feels that once an individual realizes that he himself is a cultural being, influenced by his own culture, he will be more accepting of the culturally influenced behaviors, attitudes, and customs of others (Adler, 1975).

There seems to be definite symptoms to culture shock, including negative feelings toward the hosts, a decline in flexibility and spontaneity, and a refusal to learn the local language, yet there are also benefits to the culture shock experience. The anxiety created by "the accumulated stresses and strains which stem from being forced to meet one's everyday needs . . . in unfamiliar ways" can motivate a person to learn about not only the new culture but, through comparison, his own (Brislin, 1981).

H. Douglas Brown in his article, "The Optimal Distance Model of Second Language Acquisition" (1980), makes finer distinctions in the process of acculturation and feels that there are four stages one passes through when adjusting to a new culture, and culture shock is only one of these stages. The initial stage is one of excitement when everything is new and interesting. The second is culture shock, in which the sojourner feels frustration, anxiety, loss of self-confidence, and alienation due to the fact that familiar cues and supports have been removed. In the third stage, gradual recovery, some of the problems encountered during culture shock are solved but there are still some problems that continue. The final stage is near or full recovery. The sojourner now feels accepting of the new culture, has regained his self-confidence and has made the adaptation necessary to function in his new environment (Brown, 1980).

According to Brown, the third stage of acculturation, gradual recovery, is the stage where most language learning takes place. The anxiety felt by the language learner is no longer so great as to prevent him from acquiring the target language, but since he still encounters problems in dealing with the new culture, the motivation is there to improve the language already acquired (Brown, 1980).

Teachers and administrators in the ESL program at the University of Minnesota have reported that the students who make the least progress in the program tend to be the ones experiencing severe problems in cultural adjustment. For example, one student, after making minimal progress during nine months of full-time English, was enrolled in a seven-week intensive English course during the summer. The last week of the course the student gave a speech comparing family life in Saudi Arabia, his native country, with family life in the United States. He claimed that the divorce rate was high in the U.S. because everyone spent all their time drinking in bars. At the end of his speech he stated that "life in America is next to animal life." His total rejection of American culture indicated that he was in the throes of culture shock and his Michigan test score, as an indication of language acquisition, was the same at the end of the seven weeks as it was at the beginning. This example appears to support Brown's hypothesis that culture shock, or lack of cultural adjustment, can prevent students from acquiring the target language. This illustrates the need for teachers to be concerned about how students are adjusting to the local culture. This implies developing activities that help students to understand and adjust to major cultural differences. This will be discussed further in the next section.

WHAT MAKES A GOOD LANGUAGE LEARNER

In order to know how to help students succeed at acquiring a second language, it is important to know what factors are associated with the *good* language learner. Once the teacher knows what makes a good learner, she can encourage the development of skills that would increase the student's chance of success. Some factors that have been recognized as increasing a student's success in second language acquisition may be outside the influence of a teacher: intelligence, prior bilingualism, and skill in mimicry. One motivating factor the teacher can encourage is the student's curiosity about the new culture (Nida, 1956). Many of the characteristics that are associated with the good learner are ones that indicate that the learner is accepting of and adjusting to the second culture, therefore helping a student adjust culturally should help his language acquisition.

According to John B. Carroll, the most successful language learners are usually ones who look forward to communicating with native speakers of the target language and who expect to find the ideas, experiences, attitudes, and customs of the target language interesting. He further states that people who are outgoing and friendly are more likely to have this enthusiasm than people who tend to be closed-minded and believe that their own way of doing things is the best (Carroll, 1977).

A student's genuine interest in the new culture should increase his motivation in finding out about the new culture, making the student interested in listening, not just speaking. A person with a talkative personality is not necessarily a good learner, since listening to the new language is as important as speaking it. A student who is sensitive to the people of the new culture will not only be interested in what they have to say, but he will also be sensitive to how language is perceived by them, and he will be motivated to correct his grammar and pronunciation because of this sensitivity (Nida, 1956).

For these reasons, ESL classes which are designed to help students become more aware of their new cultural environment and which encourage the students to learn more about the new culture will also facilitate the students' acquisition of the new language. Students who are developing this cultural sensitivity should be less closed-minded since they will have an increased ability to decipher the unfamiliar behavior around them and therefore a better understanding and acceptance of it. The teacher who specifically addresses the issue of culture in the classroom and provides the students an opportunity to discuss these issues is going a long way to increase her students' ease of adjusting.

One important way of improving competence in a second language is through practicing the language at every possible opportunity. Stern states that there are two aspects to learning a language, the formal and the functional (1975). He feels that attention must be paid to each, one at a time. The good learner attends to the formal, but he also searches out every opportunity to put the language to use. Stern further states that the good learner is willing to use the language in real communication. This information suggests that in order to increase the number of students wanting or willing to use the language functionally, the teacher should raise the students' awareness of the culture around them. The more they understand about the culture, the less mysterious and less threatening it will be. Curiosity may be aroused and certainly confidence in dealing with social situations will increase as understanding of intercultural situations increases.

Another characteristic important to second language learning is risk-taking: not being afraid to make errors. Successful learners make more mistakes than the less successful because they are more willing to try, even when they know they are wrong. One student, considered by many ESL teachers as a very successful learner of English and who also had successfully learned three other foreign languages, claims that he likes to begin speaking his new language as soon as possible, even when in order to express himself he has to use sentences he knows are ungrammatical.

An ESL teacher aware of this fact will try to create an atmosphere in which the student will feel comfortable enough to be willing to make errors. There are many ways this can be accomplished. One way is to avoid correcting every error a student makes. If the student thinks each error will be pointed out, he may avoid speaking unless he knows that his utterance will be error-free. Another way to encourage people to speak more readily is to develop activities in which the student's attention is focused more on the content of what is being said than on the form of how it is being said. Some ways to accomplish this are to use discussion topics that the students find engrossing, or by allowing them to share information that only they have. Talking about their own life experiences and their own cultures could accomplish this, as could designing problem-solving activities in which each student has different information but all the information is necessary to complete the task.

Of course, sometimes the teacher will want to correct the student, but how can this be done in a non-threatening way so as to avoid stifling the willingness of the student to speak? One way that seems to have quite a few benefits is paraphrasing the student's incorrect utterance. In this way the student can hear a correct way of expressing his idea, and other students who may have been aware of the mistake hear the correction and are reassured that they did indeed hear the error and knew the correct form. Another benefit to this type of correction is that the student gets credit for giving the correct response; the content of the answer or statement is not changed in the teacher's paraphrasing of it, only the form.

A good second language learner "cultivates positive attitudes towards the self as a language learner, towards the language and language learning in general, and towards the target language and its society and culture" (Stern, 1983). Helping the student to understand and begin to enjoy his second culture is one way to help him achieve his goal of acquiring a second language.

CONCLUSIONS

One major difference noted in first and second language acquisition is the variation in the degree of proficiency that is attained by learners. It seems that, although normal human beings can learn their first language satisfactorily, there is a great degree of variation in the levels of proficiency that students of second languages attain (Spolsky, 1969). In order to account for this difference many factors must be examined; one of the contributing factors, though, appears to be the attitude of the student toward the speakers of the target language. In fact, a study of international students studying English in the U.S. indicates that this factor has a significant effect on how well the student will learn the new language (Spolsky, 1969). Therefore, helping students deal with the problems that cause culture shock and negative attitudes should improve the students' attitudes and increase the likelihood of their being successful at learning the target language. The ESL teacher aware of this will want to facilitate the rapid cultural adjustment of her international students.

One way to help students learn about the new culture would be to teach about American culture explicitly in the language classroom. But, according to Wilga Rivers (1983), since cultural values were not learned in this way, but rather were learned unconsciously, merely presenting interesting cultural facts will not be enough to enable the student to adjust to or accept the new culture. Rather, she suggests that the teacher and the students investigate and analyze each other's cultures together. In this way students are learning about the values of both cultures and the viewpoints of others as well as their own (Rivers, 1983).

One of the things a student needs to know in order to make a smooth adjustment is *how* things are different. And since the international student spends a great deal of time in classrooms, it would be very beneficial to help the student discover the expectations and values commonly held by American teachers and students.

THE AUTHOR

Laura Buchanan is a teaching specialist in ESL at the Minnesota English Center.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Human Psychology, 15*(4), 13-23.

Brislin, R. W. (1981). Corss-cultural encounters: Face-to-face interaction. New York: Pergamon Press.

Brown, H. D. (1980). The optimal distance model of second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly, 14*(2), 157-164.

Carroll, J. B. (1977). Characteristics of successful second language learners. In M. Burt, H. Dulay, & M. Finocchiaro (Eds.), *Viewpoints on English as a second language*. New York: Regents.

Grove, C. L. (1978). The culture and the classroom in Portugal and the U. S. *The Bridge*, Summer.

Jaramillo, M. (1973, March). Cultural differences in the ESOL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 7*(1), 51-60.

Kohls, R. L. (1979). *Survival kit for overseas living*. Chicago: International Press.

Levine, D. (1982). The educational backgrounds of Saudi Arabian and Algerian students In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication* (100-107). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Nida, E. (1956-57). Motivation in second language learning. *Language Learning, 7*(3-4), 11-15.

Oberg, K. (1958). *Culture shock and the problem of adjustment to new culture environments*. Washington, DC: Dept. of State, Foreign Service Institute.

Pines, M. (1981, May). Unlearning blind obedience in German schools. *Psychology Today*, pp. 57-65.

Rivers, W. (1968). *Teaching foreign language skills*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rivers, W. (1983). *Speaking in many tongues*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverson, S. (1979). *Contrastive language and culture: Aids for the teacher of ESL*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Spolsky, B. (1969, December). Attitudinal aspects of second language learning. *Language Learning, 19*, 272-283.

Stern, H. H. (1975, March). What can we learn from the good language learner? *Canadian Modern Language Review, 31*(4), 304-318.

Stern, H. H. (1983). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stewart, E. C. (1972). *American Cultural Patterns: A cross-cultural perspective*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

MINNE*TESOL* JOURNAL, Vol. 8, 1990

The Role of Error Correction in the Process-Oriented ESL Composition Classroom

SUSAN BOSHER
University of Minnesota

How can editing for errors be made a part of the writing process without interfering with the larger, more important issues of writing to discover and communicate meaning? How should feedback on errors be given and what should students do with that feedback? Although no one procedure has been shown conclusively to be the most effective, research does point to the need for selectivity, systematicity, and consistency in error analysis and correction. A list of guidelines for error correction is presented, as well as a specific classroom application of a correction code and error analysis chart. Although developed for Southeast Asian students, the code could be modified and applied to any target population. The procedure for using the code provides students with practice gaining control over the language, within the context of their own writing, as the final stage in the writing process.

BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Composition theory in recent years has focused on writing as a process of discovering and making meaning (Berthoff, 1981). Through the act of writing, ideas are discovered and explored. As the writer writes, ideas clarify and reformulate themselves as new ideas suggest themselves and are assimilated into the developing pattern of thought.

Research on the composing processes of unskilled writers has shown that the discovery of meaning is cut short by preoccupation with error (Shaughnessey, 1977; Perl, 1979). Basic writers begin editing their writing as soon as they begin to compose and consequently lose track of their ideas. They also have difficulty breaking away from whatever they have written on the page. They lack flexibility towards their writing and are unable to revise in chunks at the level of content. "The students are prematurely concerned with the 'look' of their writing . . . as soon as a few words are written on the paper, detection and correction of errors replaces writing and revising" (Perl, 1979). A composition class that focuses on correctness only reinforces habits that prevent students from developing meaning in their writing. Students will continue to perceive writing as "a 'cosmetic' process where concern for correct form supersedes development of ideas" (Perl, 1979).

The process orientation of most composition classes today has appropriately relegated surface-level error to the back burner. Techniques for freeing the basic writer from a debilitating preoccupation with error include freewriting; keeping a journal which is not graded or corrected; conferencing with peers; and writing multiple drafts of papers. With a heavy emphasis on the quantity of writing, it is assumed that accuracy-based problems will work themselves out as the writer develops confidence and fluency. "The obvious sophistication of so many of these students as speakers and the general understanding we have from linguists about language acquisition suggest that many of their syntactic problems will disappear simply with more writing" (Shaughnessey, 1977).

Can it be assumed, however, that writing in a second-language is the same as writing in a first language? Do second language factors affect the composing process? If so, how should we address those factors in the classroom? Zamel's study of the composing process of six advanced ESL students found that, in fact, advanced ESL writers do understand and experience writing as a process of discovering and creating meaning. Their writing, like that of experienced L1 writers, was consistently recursive and generative, and the changes they made were most often global. While all the writers attended to surface-level features and changes, "the skilled writers seemed to be much less concerned with these features at the outset and addressed them primarily at the end of the process. The least skilled writer, however, was distracted by local problems from the very beginning, changing words or phrases but rarely making changes that affected meaning" (Zamel, 1983).

In general, linguistic problems of composing in a second language did not seem to interfere with the students' writing process. The more skilled writers pursued the development of their ideas first, returning later to lexical and syntactic problems. There were particular language and editing skills that some individuals handled better than others, suggesting that "perhaps too much attention to meaning alone kept these students from carefully examining certain surface features of writing" (Zamel, 1983). With respect to error, Zamel states that it is important to find out why students are making certain errors before prescribing corrective measures. Instructors can then determine which errors are the result of carelessness and can be dealt with by closer proofreading and editing, and which are the result of incorrectly formed rules about the target language. In any case, "issues of content and meaning must be addressed first . . . language is of concern only when the ideas to be communicated have been delineated" (Zamel, 1983).

In contrast to Zamel's study, which found similarities between the composing processes of experienced L1 and L2 writers, Raimes (1985) points to interesting and important differences between unskilled ESL writers and basic L1 writers and cautions that these differences must be taken into consideration in the classroom. Unlike basic L1 writers, the ESL students in her study showed a commitment to getting their ideas down on paper, although they revised mostly at the sentence level; did not seem preoccupied with error and editing; and, in fact, edited much less than expected. They frequently reread, but to clarify an idea as it emerged, not to correct for grammar. When they did edit, however, it was at the stage of working out an idea, not as a clean-up operation.

Raimes suggests that unskilled ESL writers are so used to error and to the teacher's correcting errors that they concentrate instead on finding the right words and sentences to express their meaning. "They know that they are language learners, that they use the language imperfectly . . . . Since they expect errors and do not see them as stigmatizing in the way that L1 errors are, they are not preoccupied with them" (Raimes, 1985).

Although it is significant that ESL students at any level of proficiency can be engaged in the discovery of meaning, it is also important that attention may need to be given to surface features of writing. Some kind of middle ground is needed, where issues of both meaning and accuracy are addressed. "If in fact our students are focusing on meaning anyway, we should consider the need to attend to product as well as process. Our students should be taught not only heuristic devices to focus on meaning, but also heuristic devices to focus on rhetorical and linguistic features after the ideas have found some form. . . . Attention to process is . . . necessary but not sufficient" (Raimes, 1985).

The question for ESL composition instructors, then, is how to incorporate editing strategies into the process of writing without interfering with the larger, more important issues of writing to discover and communicate meaning. The assumption, of course, is that ESL instructors *are* focusing on the process of writing, which unfortunately is not always the case. Cumming (1983) found that error identification and correction remains the most frequently employed technique of responding to ESL student writing. Despite the impact of process-centered studies on first-language composition, "ESL writing continues to be taught as if form preceded content, as if composing were a matter of adopting preconceived rhetorical frameworks, as if correct language usage took priority over the purposes for which language is used" (Zamel, 1983).

Students, too, before they are initiated into process-oriented writing, are very much concerned with the correctness of their writing and perceive good writing as correct writing, whether or not they actually edit for error. In a survey of attitudes toward writing, Samuels (1986) reported that 84% of ESL students consider getting the grammar correct to be the most important aspect of their writing in English, 52% getting the punctuation correct, and a meager 20% communicating their ideas. (Students could check more than one item in a question, so the percentages do not add up to 100%.)

Because the paradigm shift in ESL composition instruction from the product to the process of writing is still very recent and incomplete, it is especially important that editing skills be understood within the overall context of writing, as the final, clean-up stage in that process. We must be careful that students not become overly concerned with correctness. Samuels' survey (1986) also found that 85% of ESL writers in their first year of college thought about grammar, spelling, and punctuation as they were writing the words of a paper, and only

15% after they had finished writing the whole paper. This supports Raimes' finding that inexperienced L2 writers edit as they are working out an idea, not afterwards as a clean-up operation. Such a preoccupation with error can only interfere with, if not prevent, the writer's ability to discover and make meaning.

We must also consider that if students become overly concerned with error, they may stop experimenting and taking risks in the target language. First- and second-language acquisition and error analysis studies have convincingly shown the importance of making errors in language learning as a necessary stage in the trial-and-error process through which proficiency and syntactic complexity are achieved (Corder, 1967; Corder, 1973; Allwright, 1975). Errors are evidence that the learner is testing hypotheses about the target language. They are a sign of growth.

A distinction needs to be made, however, between errors which are performance-based—that is, errors which are due to the physical or conceptual demands of writing as opposed to speaking, or errors which are accidental slips of the pen—and errors which are due to L1 transfer, or which represent the writer's "interlanguage" (Bartholomae, 1980). Performance-based errors are easily detected by having students read their papers aloud. While reading the text, the writer will frequently miscue and complete or correct the text that he or she has written. In such cases the student's errors are not a problem of linguistic competence, but one of performance, for which the writer simply needs more practice in using written conventions of the language and perceiving mistakes in his or her writing.

Errors which reflect incorrect hypotheses about the target language are usually systematic. By analyzing those errors and talking with students about them, it is possible to identify the cognitive strategies that learners are using to process information. Error analysis allows us to see errors as "windows into the mind" (Kroll and Schafer, 1978) and to plan instruction according to the needs of the individual language learner. "When students can make sense of their errors, coming to terms with them as the result of consistent and understandable strategies, they are more likely to try and change" (Kroll and Schafer, 1978).

Not all errors, however, are necessarily a sign of transition or growth; some may represent stagnation or fossilization. "A writer will stick with some intermediate system if he is convinced that the language he uses 'works', or if he is unable to see errors as errors and form alternate hypotheses in response" (Bartholomae, 1980). When students are not able to recognize their own errors, they need the assistance of someone more proficient in the language than they are, so they can modify their hypotheses about the target language.

Rather than assume that mastery of the forms will somehow take care of itself, we need to find ways of teaching form and use together. Eskey (1983) argues that the recent emphasis in second-language learning on communicative competence may actually encourage the fossilization of errors by providing students with "positive affective and cognitive feedback for language which is not correctly formed but still communicates enough of the message to make sense.

In other words, rewarding a learner's fluency may, in some cases, actually impede his or her achievement of accuracy" (Eskey, 1983).

Assuming there is agreement that learner errors should be corrected, many questions still remain. It would obviously be counter-productive to correct all errors all the time. Henderson (1978), for example, suggests that in a speaking class, when the focus is on communicating meaning, attention to errors is inappropriate. Likewise, in a composition class, it would be inappropriate to attend to errors until *after* the process of discovering meaning is complete, after students have written several drafts of a paper, have conferenced in groups or with the instructor, and are satisfied with the content and organization of their papers. In addition, for practical reasons there is no point in having students edit for errors at the local level if revision at the global level is still needed; " . . . if the content of a student text is lacking in substance and meaning, if the order of the parts must be rearranged significantly in the next draft, if paragraphs must be restructured for logic and clarity, then many sentences are likely to be changed or deleted anyway" (Sommers, 1986).

With respect to which errors should be corrected, Henderson (1978) cites several competing theories: errors that interfere with the intelligibility of a message (Burt, 1975; Hanzeli, 1975); errors that stigmatize the learner from the perspective of native speakers (Richards, 1973; Corder, 1975; Hanzeli, 1975); errors that have become fossilized, which are no longer transitional (Richards, 1973; Valdner, 1975); and errors that occur at the greatest levels of frequency (Holly and King, 1971; George, 1972; Allwright, 1975). In addition, it is important to consider the proficiency level of the individual student, as intermediate and advanced students are more likely to benefit from and be more tolerant of error correction than students at the beginning level.

Although many teachers simply provide students with the correct form for written errors and require students to rewrite their papers incorporating the corrections, a discovery approach to error correction that requires students to make inferences and formulate concepts about the target language, simulates the language acquisition process and would thus help students fix this information in their long-term memories (Corder, 1967; Valdman, 1975). An error correction code, for example, provides students with the means to correct themselves (the code can be more or less detailed depending on the level of the students), but requires that the students take responsibility for making the actual corrections.

In addition, there should be ways of keeping track of what students are doing and of providing follow-up. Teachers need to concern themselves with progress over the long term, since significant improvement over the short term is not always a realistic expectation. Error charts which classify and chart students' errors from one paper to the next are one way of doing this. (Hendrickson, 1978)

PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATION OF ERROR CORRECTION IN A PROCESS-ORIENTED ESL CLASSROOM

Although the literature on second language teaching contains suggestions for correcting written errors, there has only been a limited number of studies on the effect of error correction on second-language proficiency, and they either provide mixed results, or are of limited application to a process-oriented composition class for college-bound students (Robb, Ross, and Shortreed, 1986; Cardelle and Corno, 1981; Stiff, 1967; and Lalande, 1982). Nevertheless, the following implications can be drawn from the existing literature for dealing with error and form the basis of the pedagogical application which the rest of this paper will describe:

- students need to attend to error in order to facilitate accuracy as well as fluency in their writing;
- students need to attend *first* and most importantly to the making of meaning and the communication of that meaning to an audience;
- editing should be viewed as the clean-up stage at the *end* of the writing process;
- error correction must be accomplished in an atmosphere of support, where students do not feel stigmatized by or punished for making errors;
- students should be made aware of the complexity, yet systematicity of errors. Error analysis techniques, such as reading papers aloud and talking with students about their errors, are possible ways to accomplish this;
- students should be encouraged to experiment with language and be rewarded for taking risks; yet at the same time they should begin practicing *control* over the structure of the language;
- error correction should be systematic and consistent;
- teachers should select types of errors to be targeted for each individual student, depending on the student's level of proficiency and tolerance for correction;
- students should make their own corrections, but be give enough feedback from the teacher to locate errors and know how to proceed; the degree of saliency necessary to accomplish this will depend on the students' level of proficiency;

- students should keep track of their errors and monitor their own progress.

The Correction Code and Error Analysis Chart (see Appendix) were designed in response to the language errors of college-bound Southeast Asian students with MELAB (Michigan English Language Proficiency Test) scores between 65 and 75. The examples of errors have been taken from students' own papers, and are intended as models to help current students in the correction of their errors. The Code focuses on errors which appear most regularly in the writing of Southeast Asians and which are more easily teachable than others in the sense that they adhere to consistent rules of grammar (verb tenses, word forms, and sentence structure, as opposed to prepositions, articles, and punctuation).

Directions for the use of the Correction Code and Error Analysis Chart are as follows:

1) Once students are satisfied with the content and organization of their paper, the final draft is written. *Three* copies of the final draft are handed in, along with everything else students have written in connection with the paper (freewriting, rough drafts, peer reaction sheets, etc.)

2) The instructor responds to the content and organization of the paper on *one* copy of the final draft and grades accordingly.

3) The instructor targets certain types of errors for correction (based on level and needs of individual students) and, using the Correction Code, marks for those errors on the *second* copy of the final draft. The instructor indicates where the error is by circling it, and in the margin provides the appropriate reference from the Code.

4) When the students' papers are returned, they also receive the copy marked for corrections. They use the Correction Code to correct their errors, and then return the second copy of their paper to the instructor.

5) The instructor checks the corrections and returns that copy to the students. The students are asked to study their errors and corrections for the next class.

6) At the beginning of the next class, students are handed the *third* copy of their final draft and are asked to correct a second time for their errors, only this time their errors have not been marked or the references of the Correction Code provided for assistance.

7) Students keep a record of their errors by filling in an Error Analysis Chart for each paper and at the end, tallying their errors and choosing 3-

5 errors to focus on when editing the final draft of their next paper.

8) When students hand in the first set of corrections of their next paper, they are asked to hand in the Error Analysis Chart for the previous paper, so the instructor can make relevant comments about progress.

When students first receive their copy of the Code, they are asked to correct the errors in all of the examples. This process of correction engages them in a problem-solving approach to error and familiarizes them with the content and organization of the Code. The Code has not been designed to replace a grammar book, but rather to be used as a reference manual to aid in the quick identification and correction of specific, localized errors in a sentence. It does presuppose, however, that students have had some formal instruction in English grammar, or at least can work from the examples provided, accompanied by their corrections.

Formal instruction of grammar in the class is limited to error types which appear frequently in the students' writing. These errors are gathered from current students' papers and are grouped in like-categories such as verb forms, word forms, and parallelism, and provide the basis for classwork on language errors. As in the correction cycle, students practice editing for errors within the context of their own writing, while concentrating on a limited number of error types.

The most important aspect of the correction procedure is the second time students correct their errors, without any assistance from the teacher or the Correction Code. This reinforces what they have already done once, as well as responds to any perceptual problems students may have with regard to their errors. Laurence (1975) wrote of the necessity to combine perceptual and cognitive approaches to error:

[Remedial] students have problems with words: they do not focus on words in a structural way so there is little generalization about form and function; they have basic sound confusions because of second language/dialect interference or poor early training in phonics; they do not have strategies for approaching unfamiliar words which they must spell or read; they have limited visual word storage—some of the reasons why they have difficulty finding errors in their own essays . . . A student's word perception, his ability to see, hear and structurally analyze words as they are, determines his ability to grasp a grammatical rule or to apply grammatical knowledge to his own writing.

The challenge of correcting errors a second time is to be able to find the errors, to see them as errors, and to know how to correct them. Whether students actually stop making certain errors altogether, they will at least have become consciously aware of them and be able to edit for them at the end of the writing process.

Furthermore, having students hand in three copies of their final draft facilitates a separation, both in the student's mind and in the instructor's, between writing-based issues and language-based issues. Students are graded on the basis of the content and organization of their papers—on the development and communication of their ideas—and comments on the first copy of their final draft are limited to those concerns. Students are not graded for their corrections, but 10% of their final grade is based on satisfactory completion of the correction cycle on all papers—except the first paper (which is diagnostic) and the final paper (which is handed in the last day of class).

Finally, the Error Analysis Chart requires students to keep track of their errors and offers a strategy for focusing on a limited amount of material. Students are more likely to feel that progress can be made if expectations are reasonable and will, therefore, be more motivated and consistent in the effort they do make.

This procedure of having students correct their own errors, once in response to the instructor's direction and a second time on their own, engages students in a problem-solving approach to error, and makes them responsible for their own learning; this procedure deals with error systematically and consistently, providing students with practice at gaining conscious control over the language, but without forgetting the complexity of the language and the need for taking risks to develop syntactically. Most importantly, by focusing on errors from the students' own writing, a meaningful context for grammar instruction is provided without losing sight of the most important aspect of writing—to communicate meaning. And, by placing editing for error at the *final* stage in the writing process, students will not become preoccupied with error or inhibited in their discovery of meaning.

THE AUTHOR

Susan Bosher is curriculum coordinator of the Commanding English program in the General College of the University of Minnesota. She is also a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University.

REFERENCES

Allwright, R. L. (1975). Problems in the study of the language teacher's treatment of learner error. In M. K. Burt and H. C. Dulay (Eds.), *New directions in second language learning, teaching, and bilingual education* (pp. 96-109). Washington D.C.: TESOL.

Bartholomae, D. (1980). The study of error. *College Composition and Communication, 13*, 253-269.

Berthoff, A. E. (1981). *The making of meaning: Metaphors, models and maxims for writing teachers*. Montclair, N.J.:Boynton/Cook.

Burt, M. K. (1975). Error analysis in the adult EFL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 9*, 53-63.

Cardelle, M., & Corno, L. (1981). Effects on second language learning of variations in written feedback on homework assignments. *TESOL Quarterly, 15*, 251-261.

Chaudron, C. (1984). The effects of feedback on students' composition revisions. *RELC Journal, 15*, 1-14.

Chaudron, C. (1986).*The role of error correction in second language teaching*. Paper presented at RELC Regional Seminar, University of Hawaii at Manoa, April 1986.

Chaudron, C. (1987). Introduction. Analysis of products and instructional approaches in writing: Two articles on the state of the art. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 673-675.

Cohen, A. D., & Robbins, M. (1976). Toward assessing interlanguage performance: The relationship between selected errors, learners' characteristics, and learners' explanations. *Language Learning, 26*, 45-66.

Conner, U. (1987). Research frontiers in writing analysis. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 677-696.

Corder, S. P. (1967). The significance of learner's errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 5*, 161-170.

Corder, S. P. (1973). *Introducing applied linguistics*. Harmondsworth, Great Britain: Penguin.

Cumming, A. (1983). *Responding to the writing of ESL students*. Revision of paper presented at the 16th Annual Canadian Council of Teachers of English Convention, Montreal, May 1983.

Eskey, D. E. (1983). Meanwhile back in the real world . . . : Accuracy and fluency in second language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 17*, 315-323.

George, H.V. (1972). *Common errors in language learning*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Hanzeli, V. E. (1975). Learner's language: Implications of recent research for foreign language instruction. *The Modern Language Journal, 59*, 426-432.

Hendrickson, J. M. (1978). Error correction in foreign language teaching: Recent theory, research, and practice. *The Modern Language Journal, 62*, 387-398.

Hendrickson, J. M. ((1984). The treatment of error in written work. In Sandra McKay (Ed.), *Composing in a second language*, (pp. 145-159). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Holly, F. M., & King, J. K. (1971). Imitation and correction in foreign language teaching. *The Modern Language Journal, 55*, 494-498.

Hull, G. (1985). Research on error and correction. In B. W. McClelland & T. R. Donovan (Eds.), *Perspectives on research and scholarship in composition*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.

Hull, G., & Wall, S. (1989). The semantics of error: What do teachers know? In C. Anson (Ed.), *Writing and response: Theory, practice, and research*, (pp. 261-292). Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Kroll, B. M., & Schafer, J. C. (1978). Error analysis and the teaching of composition. *College Composition and Communication, 29*, 243-248.

Lalande, J. F. (1982). Reducing composition errors: An experiment. *The Modern Language Journal, 66*, 140-149.

Lawrence, P. (1975). Error's endless train: Why students don't perceive errors. *Journal of Basic Writing, 1*, 23-42.

Perl, S. (1979). The composing process of unskilled college writers. *Research Teaching of English, 13*, 317-336.

Raimes, A. (1985). What unskilled ESL students do as they write: A classroom study of composing. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 229-258.

Richards, J. C. (1973). Error analysis and second language strategies. In J. W. Oller, Jr. and J. C. Richards (Eds.), *Focus on the learner: Pragmatic perspectives for the language teacher*, (pp. 114-135). New York: Newbury House.

Robb, T., Ross, S., & Shortreed, I. (1986). Salience of feedback on error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly, 20*, 83-95.

Samuels, S. (1985). *English language program writing lab questionnaire*. Paper presented at the 5th Annual TESOL Regional Conference, Milwaukee, October, 1985.

Semke, H. (1984). Effects of the red pen. *Foreign Language Annals, 17*, 195-202.

Shaughnessey, M. (1977). *Errors and expectations*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sommers, N. (1984). Responding to student writing. In S. McKay (Ed.), *Composing in a second language*, (pp. 160-169). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Stiff, R. (1967). The effect upon student composition of particular correction techniques. *Research in the Teaching of English, 1*, 54-75.

Valdman, A. (1975). Learner systems and error analysis. In Gilbert A. Jarvis (Ed.), *Perspective: A new freedom* (pp. 219-258). Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Company.

Walz, J. C. (1982). *Error correction techniques for the FL classroom*. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Applied Linguistics and Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Wingfield, R. J. (1975). Five ways of dealing with errors in written composition. *English Language Teaching Journal, 29*, 311-313.

Zamel, V. (1983). The composing processes of advanced ESL students: Six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly, 17*, 165-187.

Zamel, V. (1985). Responding to student writing. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 79-101.

Zamel, V. (1987). Recent research on writing pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 697-715.21

APPENDIX
SAMPLE PAGE OF THE CORRECTION CODE

1. SUBJECT/VERB AGREEMENT	Ex:	• The food *are* excellent. • My father always *speak* Lao to us.
2. NOUNS/PRONOUNS		
a. Singular/Plural of nouns and pronouns	Ex:	• She glanced at me with *a* curious *eyes*. • They told me to go to different places to get *informations*. (*Note*: count nouns can be pluralized, but not non-count nouns.) • I put a, an, and the in sentences where *it doesn't* belong.
b. Possessive form of nouns and pronouns	Ex:	• We spend a lot of time studying each *other* language. • I think a writing class is good to improve *me* reading and writing.
c. Other forms of pronouns	Ex:	• *Him and me* are good friends.
d. Double pronoun—do not substitute noun twice with a pronoun.	Ex:	• From that day on I always buy only things *that* I can afford *them*.
e. Ambiguous reference—not clear what the pronoun refers to.	Ex:	• I did not know where to go and was afraid to ask. • *They* are so tall.

SAMPLE PAGE OF THE ERROR ANALYSIS CHART

Directions: For each paper, add up the number of times you made each error. At the end, you will be asked to choose 3-5 errors to focus on when editing your next paper.

Theme # ______________

Error Types	Number of Occurrences	Total
1. Subject/Verb Agreement		
2. Nouns/Pronouns		
a. Singular/Plural		
b. Possessive forms		
c. Other forms of pronouns		
d. Double pronoun		
e. Ambiguous reference		
3. Articles		
a. Need definite article		
b. Need indefinite article		
c. No article needed		
4. Adjectives		
a. Ing/ed		
b. Not pluralized/No possessive		
c. Comparative/ Superlative		
1. Comparative		
2. Superlative		

POETRY

TO ALL THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE THE CIRCLE

AMY EGENBERGER
University of Minnesota

"A circle?! Again? O teacher, but why?!"
From a student or two each day came the cry.
"We'd rather just sit here, facing blackboard and chalk
Than sit face to face 'round a circle and talk."

"But students," I'd say, "Don't you agree?
That much, much better than looking at me,
Is seeing your neighbor across the way
Looking at you when you've something to say?"

Many, many shapes our desks could make
Moving lines and rows into forms that take
Three sides, four sides, five sides or more
To create any ol' polygon you might adore.

But the circle, my friends, is special indeed
For no other shape quite meets our need
To find a center, some common ground
Equidistant from all as we gather 'round.

Our viewpoints are different, most opinions worth saying
As we're talking and working and laughing and playing
We learn through the center that centers us 'round
The space shared by people where learning is found.

EXPLAINING MIRACLES

JENNIFER JESSEPH
University of Minnesota

When my Hmong students
approach me for help, they
open their biology books
to the chapter on Reproduction.
I would rather tell them creation
myths about a giant egg
that breaks into two
parts, silver and gold.
Silver becomes earth, and gold
becomes sky.

I tell them the mating
call of a cricket is like a Hmong
jaw harp men use for courting.
At night the man sings his
song for the woman, and the harp
buzzes like an insect to disguise his
voice.

My students laugh and I
laugh too. Nothing more
needs saying

until we come to words
like sperm, egg, and menstrual
cycle. Then I explain
how the uterus grows thick
like an orange rind, and the egg
waits for the sperm to catch
it. If the sperm misses the egg,
blood begins leaving
the woman's body. Sometimes
the blood flows and spurts
like rain beads
gather on a window. They swell
then break, and water
trickles down the pane.

After explaining this mystery of
blood and the slow
thickening of woman's body
as a baby ripens inside it,
I wonder how Hmong people
teach reproduction. My descriptions
and charts in a book
cannot replace stories
their elders tell.

I know that these men
sitting before me, speaking
English and understanding a text
they have lived far beyond,
is no less a miracle
than the sperm
piercing the egg.

The creating of new life
is everyone's story. Perhaps
that is all we need.

REVIEWS

The *MINNETESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Teaching and Learning Vocabulary

I.S.P. Nation. Newbury House, 1990.

How many vocabulary words are necessary to know to be successful in academic life? What does it mean to "know" a word? These are two of many questions which I.S.P. Nation poses in the text, *Teaching and Learning Vocabulary*. Designed for ESL teachers, the text answers those questions by presenting a vast amount of information concerning research in the teaching of vocabulary, while also including a wealth of suggestions for ways to teach and practice vocabulary in the classroom. It is well-organized and clearly written. Each chapter begins with a summary of chapter contents and ends with a series of "application" questions for the reader, The prose is very direct and uncomplicated, making it a useful reference for non-native English speaking teachers. It is a most comprehensive text and an important addition to a teacher's reference shelf.

As early as the mid-seventies, ESL educators were realizing that teaching vocabulary as an adjunct to a reading or listening course was doing a disservice to the language learner (Judd, 1978, Richards, 1984). Yet with the emphasis on communicative competence, vocabulary teaching continues to be relegated to a secondary role. Common complaints of former ESL students often focus on the frustration they feel once being set free of the controlled language ESL classroom. They complain of difficulties understanding and using English in their daily non-academic activities and complain about the time it takes to complete long academic reading assignments. Many of their complaints center on their perception that they have inadequate vocabulary for their daily life. Nation begins with the premise that "a systematic, principled approach to vocabulary development results in better learning" (ix). Citing research to show that there is considerable knowledge about what to do about vocabulary and how to identify the vocabulary to work on, Nation then presents a variety of teaching approaches aimed at encouraging vocabulary enrichment.

In the text introduction, Nation mentions that while there is a place for both direct and indirect vocabulary teaching in language curricula, as an adherent of Krashen's input theory of language learning, he would want to emphasize the latter type of vocabulary teaching. "Contact with the language in use should be given more time than decontextualized activities" (p. 3). Nation goes on to identify three points to consider before implementing any vocabulary teaching: What vocabulary do students need to know? How will they learn the vocabulary? and How can a teacher test to find out what they need to know and how much they know?.

The first point focuses on needs assessment. Summarizing research in vocabulary learning, Nation states that first language learners add from 1,000 - 2,000 words per year to their vocabulary while EFL learners have a 1,000-2,000 range of vocabulary after five years of four or five English classes a week. Research in ESL has shown that ESL children's vocabulary levels tend to lag two years behind that of their native speaking peers. Such statistics make it clear that vocabulary learning should be a major emphasis of any language class. But the question remains: what to teach?

To answer that question, Nation looks at information gained from frequency counts of academic texts. Synthesizing the information from many different frequency counts, Nation identifies four types of vocabulary: high-frequency words, academic vocabulary, technical vocabulary and low frequency words. He then analyzes each type. He concludes that EFL students need a productive vocabulary of around 2,000 high frequency words plus strategies for dealing with low-frequency words. Learners with more specialized goals such as academic study at a university need at least 1,000 more high-frequency words. Readers are encouraged to use this information to work out vocabulary goals for their own students. Nation thoughtfully includes two word lists in the appendix of the text: the first, based on EFL research, lists some of the lesser-known words from West's General Service List of English Words (1953), the most famous list of high-frequency words; the second, the University Word List (Xue and Nation, 1984), provides 1,000 additional items shown to appear in academic texts.

The second point centers on the task of vocabulary learning. Here Nation includes information about learning strategies as well as useful tips for teachers. The second language learner benefits from first language learning and cognitive development. Words with similar sounds and arrangement of sounds as the native language present an easier learning burden than words with more unfamiliar sounds. Nation advises teachers of beginning students to introduce difficult sounds and consonant clusters gradually. In the same way, learning is easier for students whose native language uses a Roman script. Nation suggests that teachers choose words with regular spellings wherever possible, to point out spelling patterns, and to show learners how the spelling of new words is similar to the spelling of known words.

Nation also emphasizes teaching collocation of words and advises giving students this helpful hint: "Words which begin with a Latin prefix are sometimes followed by a preposition which has a meaning similar to the meaning of the prefix" (p. 38). While this is not a rigid rule, it does provide some help to students faced with learning innumerable verb plus preposition lists. Nation also consuls teachers to recognize that the relationships between words can sometimes make learning difficult. For example, opposites are usually presented at the same time, yet research has shown that such words tend to be confused in the learners' minds. The author advises, "It is best not to teach the second item of a pair until the first item has been learned thoroughly" and then to teach it using different contexts (p. 46). Nation advocates teaching the underlying concepts of words rather than precise definitions. He advises using several examples, both positive and negative, and to allow time for testing.

The bulk of the text focuses on ways to teach and assess vocabulary learning in relation to each language skill. The text presents numerous vocabulary-related teaching activities which may be completed by an individual working alone, in pairs, or in small groups. All of the activities require students to use their new vocabulary and make an effort to find the underlying meanings of words. For example, pairs of students may be given different worksheets containing sentences such as

A	B
A door *is made of wood.*	A door ____________
____________ live in houses.	*Tigers* live in houses.

Students are instructed to read the sentences to each other and together decide if the sentence is sensible. If they concur, the student with the incomplete sentence fills in the missing words on his worksheet.

Not all of the techniques require reading. In a technique Nation calls *What is it?*, learners are given information from a context and are asked to find the meaning. They may see an object, hear or touch something and then be directed to make a guess as to the meaning. Nation feels that the strength of this technique is that the learners must give their attention to the new material and make an effort to learn it (p. 69).

Other activities require students to organize their existing vocabulary around meaning. Grids, clines and clusters can be used as vocabulary expansion and establishment activities. Ideas for these activities are culled from many sources and presented with clear explanations and accompanying examples.

Nation also presents information on vocabulary learning strategies which can be used to deal with the large number of low-frequency words which cannot be presented in the classroom. Descriptions of guessing from context, using prefixes, roots and stems, and various mnemonic techniques are given. A teacher can describe each technique, practice it, and let the students decide which techniques they prefer.

Nation concludes with a chapter on directions for further vocabulary studies. The text has an extensive bibliography which will be of interest to any researcher.

Teaching and Learning Vocabulary is indeed a remarkable resource. Nation has gathered an abundance of material and presented it in a very readable style. Teachers can find a variety of teaching suggestions and activities and select those which fit their teaching situation and suit their teaching style. In addition to the word lists, the text appendix contains samples of tests which will measure vocabulary knowledge, examples of some of the vocabulary exercises noted in the text, and a sample of a vocabulary achievement test. This text is a valuable asset to language teachers.

THE AUTHOR

Adele Hansen teaches ESL at the Minnesota English Center at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Judd, Elliot L. 1978. "Vocabulary Teaching and TESOL: A Need for Reevaluation of Existing Assumptions," TESOL Quarterly 12(1) 71-76.

Richards, Tom. 1984. "Some Neglected Vocabulary Needs of ESL Students,"*MinneTESOL Journal* 4, 43-51.

When They Don't All Speak English: Integrating the ESL Student into the Regular Classroom

Edited by P. Rigg and V. G. Allen. National Council of Teachers of English, 1989.

After skimming through the introduction and table of contents of Rigg and Allen's new book at the Publisher's Exhibit in San Francisco last spring, I realized that I had to have this up-to-date, down-to-earth, and very useful anthology. It would be helpful for teachers at all levels, though it is especially aimed at K-12 teachers, both ESL and "regular." I still feel this way six months later, and as I reread portions of it I continue to discover other aspects of the book that attract me to it now as much as before.

The introduction begins with some general principles that quickly remind the teacher of REAL students (Readers/writers of English as Another Language) of five important facts:

> *1) People who are learning another language are, first of all, people.*

2) *Learning a language means learning to do the things you want to do with people who speak that language.*

3) *A person's second language, like the first, develops globally, not linearly.*

4) *Language develops best in a variety of rich contexts.*

5) *Literacy is part of language, so writing and reading develop alongside speaking and listening.*

These principles are echoed throughout the volume, a treasure chest of well-written articles covering a wide range of topics. Included are articles about teaching language through literature (Allen), using the language experience approach (Rigg), using visual works of children (Franklin), teaching through content area activities (Hudelson), making the classroom environment an authentic place for using/learning a new language (Lindfors), having students study and appreciate their peers' home and community native language varieties (Edelsky), incorporating learning strategies with language development and content in high school—the CALLA approach (Chamot & O'Malley), and planning a quality ESL program (Handscombe).

Virtually all of the ten articles give concrete examples of students and teachers using whole language in the classroom and show how this contextualized language supports ESL students' growth in English. The chapters all address key issues and practical techniques in the education of students learning English as a second language. A few examples follow.

One chapter, "A Road to Success for Language-minority High School Students" by David and Yvonne Freeman, reports on successful summer school classes in U.S. history and biology for students who had been "at risk" for dropping out (pp. 126-138). The success was not only in academics but also in improved self-concept and feelings toward learning and school gained by students. Through four learning principles, teachers of these students helped them "reach their potential and discover that learning can be worthwhile." These principles are "a) Learning occurs most easily when language is kept whole; b) Classes should be learner-centered and include activities that are meaningful and functional; c) Learning takes place in social interaction that employs all four modes of language; and d) Learning requires that teachers have faith in learners" (p. 129). The authors then present applications of these principles with examples from history and biology for regular classroom teachers teaching ESL students.

Sarah Hudelson, in "Teaching English Through Content-area Activities," presents five principles of first and second language development and then devotes the majority of her paper to illustrating several applications of them. Although not exactly the same as the principles in the Freeman & Freeman article, the issues are similar and include active student participation, interaction with others, whole authentic texts, integration of oral and written language, and activation and development of background knowledge for reading comprehension. Applications include a) what to use instead of and in addition to a textbook, b) how to make a text readable, and c) examples from the areas of math, science/health, and social studies. In each area, she begins with objectives and works her way through concepts, specific activities, and variations of the examples. This chapter is very useful for both ESL and regular classroom teachers.

In "The Classroom: A Good Environment for Language Learning," Judith Lindfors discusses the diversity in children's environments for language learning and yet the one common ingredient: an authentic environment (pp. 39-54). That is, language is learned ("creatively constructed") when real, purposeful communication takes place, each child in her/his own way. With this in mind, Lindfors gives examples of creative language learning and of authentic everyday communication, oral and written. Finally, she gives concrete, detailed, and practical tips on how to make the classroom an authentic place for children to learn language, through "show and tell," "story time," and dialogue journals. All of her examples have in common the students' ownership of the language the use in the classroom: it is purposeful, creative language for them and the audiences to whom they choose to communicate.

A fourth chapter, Rigg's "Language Experience Approach: Reading Naturally," echoes the theme of children using language holistically, purposively, and creatively, and is one of the best articles on LEA available. After presenting her rationale for LEA—it is appropriate because it is interesting and readable (i.e., predictable)—Rigg goes on to discuss the five steps of LEA: discussing, dictating, accepting without correction, revising, and following-up. Finally, she deals with potential problems and their solutions. These include being sure students write enough, keeping groups small enough, and integrating commercially produced materials into an LEA classroom. Reading this article, like others in the volume, I feel that I am in the classroom, hearing children and teachers interacting, discussing, and having fun with English.

These are only a few of the papers in the volume by Rigg and Allen, but all hold equally stimulating and useful information for both ESL and regular classroom teachers of students who listen, speak, read, and write English as another language.

THE AUTHOR

Betty Leone has a Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics, pursues research in child and adult bilingualism and literacy, and teachers as Inver Hills Community College and Metropolitan State University.

THE FORUM

The *MinneTESOL Journal* invites commentary on current trends or practices in the TESOL profession It also welcomes responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published here in The Forum or elsewhere in the *Journal*.

COMMENTS ON "CHINESE STUDENTS, AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND CULTURAL CONFRONTATION"

KRISTINE TORKELSON
University of Minnesota

This is in response to the journal article (Vol. 7) entitled "Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation" by Thomas Upton. Because China and its culture has captured my interest and curiosity, I pursued a similar study of the Chinese students' cultural adjustment in the U.S.

In my own research on learning styles of Chinese students in the American university setting, eight students were interviewed for eight different fields of study. The outcome from these interviews was to describe predominant perceptions and opinions about their adjustments to the U.S. educational system. This cross-section representing diverse disciplines of study was from computer science,,English literature, biochemistry, philosophy, theater arts, law school, mechanical engineering, and cell biology.

Most of my observations and conclusions corresponded with Upton's article. In particular, I would like to highlight the following points. First, two out of the eight students that I interviewed bemoaned the fact that American teachers appear not to care for their students. Upton's quote of "Nothing is better than establishing rapport with the teacher; nothing keeps progress better than intimacy with one's teacher . . . "(Shi, 1984) shows that Chinese students come with the expectation that a close bonding relationship with the teacher will happen. However, they are discouraged when the teachers in the U.S. seem to "teach and go," leaving them with the feeling that their studies are being hindered due to a lack of commitment on the American teacher's part. Several Chinese students explained that their teachers in China help with student study groups after class. Also, the teachers drop everything for their students if they stop by their apartments with questions day or night.

Second, since respect for the teacher runs so high for the Chinese student, the ideal teacher is considered all-knowledgeable. The result is that the students passively sit back to take it all in. Several of my interviewees reported this as analogous to the "duck-feeding method." This refers to the preparation of the

Peking Duck and how it is fed so that it will become a tasty dish in a month or two. The duck is fattened up by putting it in a cage and feeding it through a pipe every day. The Chinese students are fed by their teacher in a similar manner: they are given morsels through strictly controlled means in order to make them more knowledgeable. When the Chinese students arrive in the U.S. the teaching methods is entirely different; they are expected to actively participate in the classroom and *not* passively sit back.

Third, my investigation of the differences in teaching and learning styles partly agrees with Upton's statement that "most Chinese students are completely handicapped in classes where discussion is the main mode of instruction, and few feel comfortable participating . . ." (p. 25). However, the eight students that I interviewed did *not* have a "negative reaction toward student behavior at American universities" (p. 24). Most thought that the active mode of learning in the U.S. was beneficial to the student and wished they had the ability to express themselves as the Americans were able to do. The Chinese students believe their greatest weakness is not being able to actively participate in the student-centered classroom out of tradition, fear, modesty, slower reaction time, and a lack of background knowledge.

Perhaps it depends at what point in the cultural adjustment period the Chinese student is asked to assess his perceptions of the differences of his learning environment of China as compared to that of the U.S. Most of my subjects had been in the American university setting for an average of three years. The majority of them favored the American system of education over their own traditional system in China. Though they admitted it was difficult to participate in the student-centered classroom, they far preferred it over the teacher-centered environment.

Based on my study of learning styles and teaching styles, Chinese students are convinced they are acquiring a great deal of knowledge here in the U.S. compared to what they would in China. Upton's article casts too dark a shadow on the positive aspects of this cultural interchange for the Chinese student studying in the U.S. After at least one year of initial adjustment to the different American culture, I believe that the majority of Chinese students want to continue their study because of the better system of education that they perceive exists in the U.S.

I would also like to briefly comment on the second article by Lynne Ackerberg, "Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? Focus on adjustments in China's overseas policies." I believe calling China "Third-World" is a misnomer. I find it difficult to classify Chinese students as coming from a Third-World country. The reason I make this claim is that if one studies China's rich culture and its heritage of thousands of years of history it does not have the typical qualities that other Third-World nations have. Trying to identify China with Western cultural concepts may run the risk of offending the Chinese in this journal's reading audience. I admit that I cannot suggest a better term that might replace *Third-World*, but I believe it would be advisable that it be left unsaid.

Back Issues of the *MinneTESOL Journal*

Volume 1, 1981 (60 pages)

Being with students: some good advice for teachers	Joan Hildenbrand
Current events for advanced conversation	Leisa C. Huddleston
Cultural test bias: how does it relate to the LEP student?	Marge Kaplan
Listening comprehension in the oral tradition	Lise Lunge-Larsen
You have to reach 'em to teach 'em: the beginnings of a bibliography in ESL for children	Pat Wilcox Peterson

Volume 2, 1982 (50 pages)

What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language?	Elaine Tarone
Hmong refugees in an American city: a case study in language contact	Bruce T. Downing and Sharon Dwyer
Designing an ESL program for preliterate adults: an account of one program's development	Ellen Vaut
A selected bibliography of work in discourse analysis and English as a second language	Jeanette K. Gundel

Volume 3, 1983 (73 pages)

Current events for ESL students: a course description for the teacher	Terry L. Frederickson
Cultivating the cabbages: an ESP program for refugee students	Adele G. Hansen
Hmong bilinguals: how did *they* learn English?	Lois Malcolm
Facilitating teacher growth: an approach to training and evaluation	Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, and William Perry
An evaluation of a course for foreign teaching assistants: a case study approach	Mark Landa

Volume 4, 1984 (79 pages)

Montessori language lessons: the almost silent way	Ann Eljenholm Nichols
The excommunicative approach (and how to avoid it)	George Yule
Some neglected vocabulary needs of ESL students	Tom Richards
The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: thoughts on teaching relative clauses and other structures	Eric Nelson

Volume 5, 1985 (83 pages)

- Preparing LEP students for on-the-job training.......... Catherine Robinson
- Clinically speaking: ESP for refugee nursing students.......... John Marston and Adele G. Hansen
- Modifying an ESP course syllabus through a teacher-planned needs assessment.......... Karen Sorensen
- Using a sensitive topic in teaching lecture comprehension.......... Colleen Meyers

Volume 6, 1986 (74 pages)

- A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades.......... Vivian Mann
- Teaching paraphrasing to ESL students.......... Patricia M. Odean
- Self-monitoring of articles and verbs in ESL written production.......... Barbara Schwarte and Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Volume 7, 1987-1989 (72 pages)

- Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation.......... Thomas A. Upton
- Why aren't Third-World scholars going home?.......... Lynne Ackerberg
- Teacher-executed needs assessment: some suggestions for teachers and program administrators.......... Elaine Tarone
- Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction.......... Irene K. Prendergast
- Fossilizatin and learning strategies in second language acquisition.......... William R. Sims

ORDERING INFORMATION

- Individual volumes cost $5.00 each.
- Identify your selection by volume and year.
- A set of Volumes 1-6 costs $25.00.
- Postage and handling is included.
- Please make checks payable to MinneTESOL
- Order from:

Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*
c/o Minnesota English Program
102 Klaeber Court
University of Minnesota
320 16th Avenue Southeast
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

The Minne*TESOL* Journal
P.O. Box 14694
Minneapolis, MN 55414

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
St. Paul, MN
Permit No. 8037

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL Journal

Celebrating Ten Years

Volume 9 1991

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 9, 1991

A Journal for Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
MinneTESOL is the Minnesota affiliate of TESOL.

PROPERTY OF:
THOMAS A. UPTON

Co-Editors
Diane J. Tedick, University of Minnesota
Adele G. Hansen, University of Minnesota

Editorial Advisory Board

Doris Heisig
University of Minnesota
Beti Leone
Metro State University
Kim Koffolt
University of Minnesota
Judith Strohl
Minneapolis Public Schools
Kimberly Taylor Townsend
University of Minnesota
Thomas A. Upton
University of Minnesota

Grateful thanks is given to our typesetter, Cathy Zemke, and to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD 1991-92

President
Janet Dixon
Metro North A.B.E
First Vice President
Thomas A. Upton
University of Minnesota
Second Vice President
Jenise Rowekamp
University of Minnesota
Membership Secretary
Lois Olson
St. Paul Public Schools
Treasurer
John Neumann
Robbinsdale Area Schools
Past President
Yolanda Dewar
University of Minnesota

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE

Bette Dean
Xochitl Dennis
Gene Ronning
Martha Kieffer
Mary Musielewicz
Judith Stoutland

Membership in MinneTESOL

Membership in Minne*TESOL* is $12.00 and includes a subscription to the **MinneTESOL Journal** and **MinneTESOL Newsletter**. Contact the Membership Secretary, Minne*TESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 9, 1991

Contents

ARTICLES

Film as a Teaching Medium
Diane F. Johnson 1

Culture Day: Emotional Support for ESL Students
Marge Kaplan 13

Southeast Asian Literature for the ESL Classroom
Carol Quest 21

Your Textbook is in the Library—Or You Could Make Your Own
Robyn Peterson 31

WORK IN PROGRESS

Recall Protocols and L2 Reading Research
Thomas A. Upton 41

STUDENTS' WORK

Poetry 47

Illustrated Essays 50

REVIEWS

Second Language Teacher Education
Jack C. Richards and David Nunan, Eds.
Reviewed by Doris Heisig 53

Breaking the Language Barrier: Creating Your Own Pathway to Success
H. Douglas Brown
Reviewed by Ellen Mamer 57

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 9, 1991

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

The *MinneTESOL Journal* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the State of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal*.

- **Manuscripts**

Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an abstract of not more than 200 words. **Submission of a computer diskette (labeled with system and software used) is STRONGLY encouraged.**

Contributions to Volume 10 should be submitted to the editors:

Diane J. Tedick
125 Peik Hall
159 Pillsbury Drive SE
Curriculum & Instruction
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455-0208

Adele G. Hansen
102 Klaeber Court
320 – 16th Avenue SE
Minnesota English Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455

- **Advertising**

Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 9, 1991

Introduction

As the new co-editors of the *MinneTESOL Journal*, Adele Hansen and I are very excited about our first volume. We believe that it represents the variety of work that is taking place in ESL across the state and that it offers something for everyone. We hope that you will find the contributions to this volume of the *Journal* as inspirational and thought-provoking as we do.

The first section contains articles of interest to teachers at all levels. Diane Johnson's article, "Film as a Teaching Medium," although specifically geared toward teaching ESL at the university level, focuses on ideas that can be adapted for all levels of students. Johnson argues that film provides an excellent means for the ESL teacher to incorporate contextualized authentic language in the classroom. She begins her piece with a detailed rationale for choosing film as a teaching medium, and goes on to describe the criteria to keep in mind when selecting films for instructional use. Finally, using *Broadcast News* as an example, she provides a thorough description of how to build an ESL class around film.

In "Culture Day: Emotional Support for ESL Students," Marge Kaplan describes an innovative approach for providing emotional support for the ESL students she teaches. She discusses the challenges and frustrations she and the school social worker and a psychologist faced in developing their ideas, and also explains how they met those challenges. Her examples of what both the students and facilitators have gained as a result of this experience are enlightening. Although this article is geared toward teaching at the high school level, it contains many ideas and thoughts that are relevant for ESL teaching at any level.

Also geared specifically toward ESL teachers of adolescent students, Carol Quest's article, "Southeast Asian Literature for the ESL Classroom," provides a rationale for incorporating literature written by Southeast Asian writers and literature about Southeast Asia and the refugee experience. She suggests that not only does this literature provide familiar and culturally relevant material for literacy development, but that it also affirms the students' cultural heritages and provides support for their individual concepts of self worth. Quest discusses eight works in detail, including ideas for using them in the classroom. This article should be shared with mainstream teachers in your schools!

The last paper in this section focuses on teaching ESL at the elementary level. Robyn Peterson, in "Your Textbook is in the Library—Or You Could Make Your Own," explains an alternative approach to teaching children. She describes how her students study stories or themes and then write and illustrate their own books about them while using additional resources, drama, and art. Peterson's article is enhanced by vivid descriptions of the projects her students do at different grade levels as well as by actual samples of excerpts from their books.

The next section, "Work in Progress," is new to the *Journal* this year. We encourage you to submit short reports or updates on work that you are doing in any areas of interest to our readers so that we can include this section in each volume. In this volume, Thomas Upton reports on research he is doing that focuses on recall protocols, which are used as tools in reading research. He explains the concerns that have been voiced regarding the use of this tool in second language research and describes a pilot study that he conducted last summer, which involved having ESL students do recall protocols in both their native and second languages.

Another section that has been added to the *Journal* this year is entitled "Students' Work." We are thrilled to be able to include poetry and illustrated essays by ESL students in Minnesota, and hope that teachers will help us to continue to publish their students' work in upcoming volumes.

The last section contains book reviews. Doris Heisig reviews *Second Language Teacher Education* by Richards and Nunan. In addition, H. Douglas Brown's recent *Breaking the Language Barrier* is reviewed by Ellen Mamer.

Adele and I were rather disappointed not to have responses to Volume 8 to include in "The Forum" this year. We invite you to submit responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in this year's volume of the *Journal* so that we can include it in next year's. We also strongly encourage readers to volunteer to act as members on our Editorial Advisory Board. Please contact either of us should you be interested in joining us or should you wish to have further information. We look forward to hearing from you.

Diane J. Tedick

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Film as a Teaching Medium

DIANE F. JOHNSON
University of Minnesota

In second language (L2) instruction there is a need for exposure to an abundance of contextualized authentic target language (TL) as spoken by many different people in many different situations. Furthermore, there is a need for teaching materials that are both vivid and relevant to the students. Commercial feature-length film[1] is one way of effectively satisfying these needs in L2 teaching. Although the use of film will be discussed here in the context of an advanced level university ESL film course focusing on the integrated skills of listening and speaking, much of the discussion can also be applied to the use of film as only one component of a single skill ESL course (listening, speaking, reading, or writing).

Through visual cues, film, when compared to other instructional media, provides a more complete context for the language learners, as well as supplying a greater diversity of linguistic and cultural input through the different film genres.[2] Although film is not authentic speech, the redundancy and speed of the speech in film closely replicate authentic speech. Possibly the most significant result of using film, a medium enjoyed by most students, is the enhancement of learner motivation.

Henry A. Garrity (1987) in his book, *Film in the French Classroom*, produced a credible model for using film as the instructional medium in teaching French. While Garrity offers a great deal of practical information on teaching French through film, he does not elaborate on what role images play in language comprehension, nor does he explain in much detail the specific criteria used in selecting films.

---

[1] Hereafter, "commercial feature-length film" will be referred to as "film."

[2] Genres in film are familiar standardized forms, such as westerns, detective stories, love stories, etc.

61[illegible]

In this article, there will be (1) a discussion of the relationship between images and language in film followed by (2) an enumeration and explanation of some criteria for selecting films. Last, (3) *Broadcast News* is used as a model, first to demonstrate the application of the criteria for selecting a film, and then to demonstrate the types of supplementary activities that can accompany a film and the principles that guide their development. To illustrate the points discussed, films used in the ESL Film class[3] at the University of Minnesota, as well as several other films, serve as examples.

BACKGROUND

The use of film in language teaching is not a new concept; documentaries have long been used to bring the L2 culture as well as the language to students. In addition, there are carefully scripted films using adapted speech produced to be used in conjunction with language textbooks (*e.g.*, *Guten Tag, wie geht's*, Schneider, 1974).

These types of materials have a valid place in language teaching, but they also have shortcomings. First, in the case of documentaries, the speech is authentic (if the documentaries are produced for an audience which speaks the TL natively) and the content is often inherently interesting to L2 learners. However, documentaries are limited in that they have a uniform speech style, generally didactic, with little or no conversation. The L2 learners do not encounter enough variety of input to adequately reflect the great variety in the spoken TL. Second, in the case of the films prepared to go with textbooks, while they offer conversation, it is not authentic and often stilted and flat. In addition, the topics of these films often do little to excite students' interest, which can lead to waning motivation for learning the L2.

In the past, commercial film has been used much less often for ESL instruction.[4] Probably the greatest factors in the underuse of film are the lack of prepared teaching materials for them and the length (viewing time) of films. There are few published ESL materials for films and those that are published are often quite expensive. In addition, when confronted with a two to three hour film, instructors who would wish to create their own materials might easily be overwhelmed in trying to decide what to do with the film, what points to teach, and how to do it. Printed film scripts are difficult to acquire, if not impossible for many films. Therefore, the instructor is required to spend a great deal of time viewing and reviewing the film in order first to make decisions about what to teach and then to transcribe the language that has been targeted.

---

[3] *Witness*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and *Broadcast News* were the core films used in the film class.

[4] While, in the past, film seems to have played a wider role in foreign language teaching, recently there seems to be a blossoming interest in film as a pedagogical tool in ESL instruction. This is evidenced by the inclusion of sections on commercial film in recent publications about the use of video in ESL instruction.

RELATIONSHIP OF VISUAL IMAGES TO THE LANGUAGE IN FILM

The unique advantage of film is the visual images, which are an invaluable aid in language comprehension. What the students see may clarify and/or elaborate on the script, the language they hear. In fact, students may be able to understand a good deal of the message from a given scene in a film without understanding all, or for that matter any, of the specific language. For this reason the action film *Witness* is a particularly good film; much of the dialogue is accompanied by explicit actions that help reveal the linguistic message to the students.[5] For L2 learners with inadequate aural comprehension, this visual understanding can enhance the L2 learners' confidence, and give them a basis for hypothesizing about the language, which will ultimately create comprehensible input for them.

Accompanying images can explicate the intent of speech even though individual lexical items may not be easily understood by students. For example, in a scene from *To Kill a Mockingbird*, one of the characters, Bob Ewell, insults the main character, Atticus Finch, by calling him a "nigger-lover." When these words are presented alone out of context without any particular intonation, students do not usually interpret the words "nigger-lover" as an insult, nor can students really define their meaning. However, they have no difficulty understanding that when Ewell curls his lips into a grimace and growls "you nigger-lover" to Atticus Finch, these words are intended as an insult.

Films are also effective in activating students' prior knowledge of situations which are already familiar to them in the context of their own culture and language, thus creating linguistic expectations of the film being viewed. These stereotypic situations, identified as scripts or schemata by Shank and Abelson (1977), are framed in scenes of a film and depict in the target culture and language: what the location looks like, the typical objects found there, the people involved, what they normally do in that situation, what clothes they wear, how they behave towards each other, the language suitable to the situation, and appropriate non-verbal communication of the speakers. For L2 students, film serves to help establish schemata in the TL.

---

[5] Student questionnaires confirmed that the supporting action in *Witness* was indeed an aid to comprehension; virtually all the students found this film to be the easiest to understand of all the films shown in class.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING A FILM

The first and most crucial step in the use of film in language teaching is choosing the appropriate film(s); and this decision must be guided by the target audience, their needs, and interests. Garrity's model for a language class based on film made use of only one film for an entire semester. Although such a course may be feasible in some cases, there is the danger that such a course would be too slow paced for many students (especially at the college level). For this reason and others which will be discussed later, it may be advisable to consider making use of several (two to four) different films in an ESL film class. Indeed, the instructor's task of choosing a film is made easier. Instead of searching for a single ideal film, several different good films can be used.

1. *Student Appeal:*

It will seldom be the case that a university class is homogenous; it is more likely that there will be a wide range of ages and educational levels,[6] not to mention a variety of cultures. The students are likely to have dissimilar tastes in regard to films, which highlights the necessity of using a variety of films in order to appeal to the different constituents of the class (at least some of the time).

Not only is it important to have a variety of films, but also to choose films from different genres. The films chosen for the University of Minnesota Film class represent the following genres: action film (*Witness)*, literary adaptation (*To Kill a Mockingbird)*, historical film (*Amadeus)*. Although not yet a clearly defined genre, contemporary profession is in the process of being defined by such films as *Broadcast News*, which was used in class, and *Wallstreet*, which was not. In most cases a film will probably reflect a layering of two or three genres.[7] Again, a diversity of genres will have a broader appeal to a heterogeneous group of students.

---

[6] The ESL Film classes have had both undergraduate and graduate students ranging in age from 18 to mid 40's.

In *The Video Connection* (1989), Rick Altman makes an assertion with which many language instructors might be persuaded to agree:

> One principle must be emphasized from the outset: if video is to be used in support of language or culture teaching, materials must be chosen *not for their inherent artistic value* but for their ability to fulfill a particular function in a particular course. ...its [artistic value] place should be appropriately subordinate. We are not choosing films for an Oscar...; we are selecting educational tools (p. 25).

I would like to disagree, however, with Altman's position. Students today are products of late 20th century society; and they are not only literate in regard to film, but also quite sophisticated. They have been viewing films—domestic and foreign[8]—in theaters, on television, via the VCR all their lives. A mediocre film selected primarily on the basis of its being a "good educational tool" will not be sufficient to engage these students' interest; they are not so easily impressed with moving images. If a film does not have an esthetic value that appeals to them, students will not become fully immersed in viewing the film, or worse, will not attend class regularly, and the linguistic input, stimulating cultural topics, and creative activities will be of diminished value without the students' full engagement. Moreover, there is an abundance of high quality films among which "good educational tools" can surely be found; and, when using a cultural medium such as film for teaching, the examples chosen should represent some of the finest American efforts in that medium. Finally, the creation of materials and activities is more enjoyable and facile when the artistic quality of the film is also satisfying to the instructor. Consequently, in the selection process, the artistic merit of a film ought to be a coordinate, not subordinate, factor with the film's pedagogical merits.

---

[7] For example, *Witness* is both an action film and a love story.

[8] There have always been several students in each of the ESL Film classes who had already seen—in their own language—one, or even two, of the films that were scheduled to be shown in the Film class.

2. *Diversity of Linguistic and Cultural Input:*

There are also important pedagogical reasons for using different genres of films. These films will reflect the diversity of the English language. In doing so, they will also demonstrate the different levels of formality, and how these different levels are used between individuals or classes of people. In addition, within American English there is a wealth of dialects—Southern, urban black, and various East coast dialects, to mention a few. It seems worthwhile to introduce some of these dialects through film since they are vehicles for displaying the diverse aspects of American culture. A better understanding of the dialects and the culture the films are associated with will enhance the students' acquisition of English. With a variety of films, it is also possible to capture a larger amount of situation-specific language and a broader spectrum of vocabulary and idioms.

3. *Linguistic Difficulty:*

One of the most important considerations when selecting films is the linguistic difficulty of the film in relation to the proficiency level of the students. Films can be graded on their complexity of language. Some of the elements that increase the difficulty of understanding for students are: slang, dialect, topic-specific technical vocabulary, and fast-paced conversation with sparse accompanying action.

To Kill a Mockingbird can be difficult for students because it contains both rural Southern dialect and children's speech (fast-paced slang); and in *Amadeus*, there is an extraordinary amount of moderately technical musical terminology, which can baffle students. Although a film might have one or more of these features that make comprehension difficult, it may still be viable for classroom use. When students are properly prepared for the difficulties with pre- and post-viewing activities, such films can be made accessible to them. Both *To kill a Mockingbird* and *Amadeus* were used successfully in the University of Minnesota ESL Film class.

On the other hand, a film such as My *Dinner with Andre* (virtually one extended conversation) would never be considered for use because of its dense language based on abstract ideas without supporting visual cues. In contrast, *Witness* is fairly simple for most students to understand. It has fewer and shorter conversations than many other films, and vivid action that conveys a great deal of information.

In addition to pre- and post-viewing activities, segmentation is also useful in minimizing the difficulty of a film. In the University of Minnesota Film class, the students view a film in approximately 30-minute segments, which gives them a broad context. However, for more difficult films (or difficult parts of a film), smaller segments (as short as 2–3 minutes) are repeated afterwards to facilitate comprehension.

4. *Culturally Loaded Films:*

It is also necessary to consider whether a film is too culturally loaded, meaning that the film intertwines many uniquely-American cultural themes which are both difficult to extricate from each other and difficult to explain to foreign students, but are crucial to understanding the film. Comedies in particular exemplify this.[9] Although a film might be rejected on the basis of being too culturally loaded, a good choice must necessarily contain some themes intrinsic to the culture of the TL.

John Fisk (1987) in *Television Culture* describes the interconnectedness of the themes of a film and society's cultural history with his theory of *intertextuality*: "The theory of intertextuality proposes that any one text is necessarily read [heard or seen] in relationship to others and that a range of textual knowledge is brought to bear upon it."[10] Native speaker instructors have at their disposal a whole range of texts from their native culture based on what they have read, seen/heard, and experienced during their lives. However, non-native learners lack many of these texts, because they do not have as much experience with the target culture.

An L2 learner's cultural understanding, therefore, can be enhanced when a film offers several clear cultural themes that can be exploited through linking these themes to the "texts" of the native instructor. For example, *To Kill a Mockingbird* has several such themes that can easily by separated out from each other and from the film: racism, the court system, and children's fantasy.

5. *Offensive Material:*

Another consideration in the selection of films is the presence of objectionable subject matter that might cause the students embarrassment or discomfort. Because the students come from diverse cultures, it is necessary to try to view the films from their perspective. Basic guidelines should exclude gratuitous violence, nudity, and obscene language. In addition, an instructor needs to carefully consider how to handle material that is culturally insensitive and insulting to any particular nationality.

---

[9] For example, most of the Woody Allen films are too culturally loaded.

[10] "Text" is used broadly here to include any discourse—written, electronically recorded, or spoken live.

This is not to say that all the films must be scrupulously censored and rejected on these bases. For example, in *Witness* and *Broadcast News* there is some nudity and profane language. However, when it is minimal and well integrated into the story-line, as with these two films, it is less likely to be offensive to most students.

6. *The Instructor's needs:*

A final consideration, of no small importance, is the appeal of the film to the instructor. The instructor must not only be able to tolerate repeated viewings of the film, necessary in creating materials, but also view the film again with the class and generate enthusiasm for the activities before and after the film. Thus, whether the instructor finds the film truly worthwhile is a significant criterion.

BROADCAST NEWS: A MODEL

As one of the core films, *Broadcast News* is used for all the ESL Film classes at the University of Minnesota. It is viewed in four segments of approximately 30 minutes each over a three-week period. While viewing a segment in the language lab with stereo headphones, students make audio tapes of the sound track which they use for homework, personal study, and preparation for tests. Some time before showing the film segment, as well as the second part of each class, is used for language learning activities.

1. *Application of criteria for selection:*

Broadcast News is a good film, entertaining and appealing to a broad audience. The captivating story elicits an unforced attention from students, drawing them along in their listening/viewing to find out "what happens next." It is also an accurate reflection of a certain aspect of American society, namely, middle-class professional working life.

The setting/general topic makes this film a particularly attractive choice; television news broadcasting is a topic most people find interesting, are somewhat familiar with from their own culture, and would probably like to know more about. Moreover, *Broadcast News* is not culturally loaded. One of the main themes, which is fairly easy to grasp, is a love triangle. The other theme is an ethical question regarding news broadcasting—whether the news should be treated as entertainment or only factually reported—which provides a real issue for the students to discuss/debate. The setting of *Broadcast News* is unusually ripe with possibilities for materials development and activities.

Broadcast News makes use of contemporary conversational English filled with the usual idiomatic speech spoken at a normal rate of speed, which is exactly the kind of speech that ESL students often find so elusive in comprehending. The film is a good instructional tool, because the conversation is simulated authentic (although not produced for pedagogical purposes) and not authentic.[11] It is well scripted, clear and understandable to the listener, and does not have some of the facets found in authentic conversation that inhibit comprehension: there is little extraneous noise interference, interruptions and more than one person talking at a time are minimal, and the speakers' lines follow the topic without wandering from the theme. In short, the life-like conversation of the film is, in reality, very controlled and serves as an aid for comprehension by non-native listeners.

2. *Supplementary activities and the principles guiding their development:*

In creating supplementary activities to use with a film, there are some guiding principles to be considered:

1) Whenever possible, relate fundamental themes from films to their real-life counterparts in the target society. This provides L2 learners with a more complete cultural context, a model of authentic language. In addition, schemata from the films are reinforced, broadened, and anchored in reality.

2) Give the students opportunities to practice production of the TL in a communicative manner, in addition to listening to the TL.

In preparation for viewing a film, students' existing schema (from their own country in their L1) for the general topic of that film must be activated, or if none exists, a schema must be developed. The schema provides the framework around which the L2 learners can organize all the information they receive from the film. The following activities were developed as pre- and post-viewing activities for *Broadcast News* in order to help develop/activate a schema about television news broadcasting for the students. The activities serve to highlight vocabulary, speaking style and non-verbal communication, as well as the appearance of the people involved and the appearance of the location. The final videotaped student news broadcast gives students the opportunity to apply the schema they have been acquiring to their own oral production.

---

[11] cf. Geddes & White, 1978

1. There is a field trip to WCCO television station in Minneapolis preceding the showing of the first segment of the film. This is helpful in initially introducing specialized vocabulary, both for television and the news, which would be heard in the film. The vocabulary is studied again as it comes up in the film. Also during the trip, the students are able to see the offices, equipment, and the people who are participants in real news production. This helps to concretize the meaning of the different jobs (news producer, editor, reporter) of the characters in the film. In addition, the students can get a broader perspective of a television news studio (all the different rooms, their sizes, what it's like behind the cameras) than the film affords, and they can make interesting comparisons between the studio in the film and a real one.

2. During the three weeks that the film is being shown, the students watch videotapes of authentic news broadcasts, both in class and on their own at home. These broadcasts serve as models for their own news broadcasts, which are videotaped at the end of the *Broadcast News* unit, and also give more depth to their schemas. The students analyze the format of the various broadcasts (*Nightline* vs. *MacNeil Lehrer News Hour* vs. local evening news), as well as, the types of news stories/reports (international news, human interest stories, sports, weather) found in the different programs. The students also analyze the various broadcasters' use of specific language, gestures, and visual aids (maps, graphs, pictures, films).

3. Near the end of the *Broadcast News* unit, the class watches videotapes of news broadcasts produced by other ESL classes and discusses what is good about them (what makes them interesting and understandable) and what is not (what makes them boring and unclear).

4. The students, in pairs or individually, prepare a five-minute news piece or some other kind of report (sports, weather, culture), which is videotaped later.[12] They are given time in class to choose a partner and to do some planning. However, most of the work for the videotaping is done

---

[12] The students are given the videotaping assignment at the beginning of the *Broadcast News* unit, which allows them about three weeks to prepare their news pieces.

outside of class. Since partners do not have the same native language, use of English in the preparation stage is greatly increased. After the student news broadcast is videotaped, the instructor watches the tape and evaluates each student individually. On the last day of classes, these evaluations are given to the students to look at while the whole class watches the videotape.

5. In addition to the above activities, there are written exercises used throughout the showing of the film. These consist of: paraphrasing brief quotes from speakers; answering comprehension questions about facts in the film; making inferences about the characters (why they did/said something); paraphrasing idioms; defining vocabulary.

CONCLUSION

In real world language, the listener most often sees the speaker and/or the context of the speech. However, in language classrooms where audiotapes and printed materials are mainly used, a great deal of information is missing, which is normally conveyed through a native speaking partner and the surrounding environment. The use of films provides this extralinguistic information, which is an invaluable aid in comprehension for L2 learners. Films also supply a contemporary, as well as contextualized, model of spoken English. Moreover, films are both relevant and intrinsically interesting to students, offering them a window on the American culture, and thus stimulating responses in students which lead to a more natural desire to use spoken English.

THE AUTHOR

Diane Johnson is a teaching specialist in ESL with the Department of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota. She created the ESL Film course, which she teaches each quarter, and she is involved with the preparation of international Teaching Assistants.

REFERENCES

Altman, R. (1989). *The video connection: Integrating video into language teaching*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Fisk, J. (1987). *Television culture*. NY: Routledge, Chapman, & Hall.

Garrity, H. (1987). *Film in ihe French classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Polyglot Productions.

Geddes, M., & White, R. (1978). The use of semi-scripted simulated authentic speech in listening comprehension. *Audiovisual Language Journal*, *16*(3), 137-45.

Schank, R., & Abelson, R. (1977). *Scripts, plans, goals, and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Schneider, R. (1974). *Guten tag, wie geht's*. Germany: Schönhof.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Culture Day: Emotional Support for ESL Students

Marge Kaplan
Roseville High School, Roseville Public Schools

Learning when one is feeling depressed or alienated is difficult at best, and next to impossible for most ESL students. ESL teachers have been told that their main job is to help their students become academically functional. Even if one agrees that emotional support could serve a useful purpose, when is there time to do this? Furthermore, who is trained to deliver this type of service? This article explores and resolves some of these questions.

If you believe that it is not possible to learn effectively unless you are psychologically ready, where does that leave many of our ESL students? Traumatized by departures from their native countries with or without their families, entering a culture that they perceive as having few or no similarities to the ones they have left, and ignored or received with hostility by their peers, high school ESL students new to the U.S. are seldom psychologically ready to learn, yet alone excel. Where then in the curriculum of teaching English is there time to meet these emotional needs? Furthermore, are teachers licensed in K-12 ESL qualified to undertake this task? Even if time and qualifications can be established, mental health issues for many cultures can be a taboo subject.

Given these questions and these parameters, it has taken several years to develop the knowledge and creativity to start an experimental class where mental health issues could be addressed. The class was conceived because a school social worker and a school nurse announced at a faculty meeting the possibility of starting additional support groups at Roseville High School. After further investigation and discussion with the school social worker, the principal, and the ESL supervisor, a pilot program for ESL students was established. The school social worker, a psychologist on loan to the school district, and the ESL teacher became the leaders of the group.

INITIAL QUESTIONS

Several challenges faced the leaders of the group. One of the most significant issues was what to name the group. If the students were told it was a mental health group, they may not have understood the meaning of the title and would not participate. Clearly, they were not "crazy" and mental health support in their cultures was both stigmatizing and reserved for those with only the most desperate psychological problems. Besides, it was not the intent of the leaders of this group to give therapy. The objectives of the group were to use discussions and reading and writing assignments to identify issues newcomers to the U.S. confront. Hopefully, this would make the students aware that others in their class were dealing with similar problems. Since some students were already depressed, it would be important not to make a bad situation more difficult. However, at the same time, it was crucial to talk about things that were of emotional significance, or the purpose of the group would be defeated. Another challenge that was presented was the school social worker's and the psychologist's lack of experience in leading a group of ESL students. A final challenge was the restriction given by the LEP section of the State Department of Education that mental health services could not be delivered as a substitute for ESL instruction.

INITIAL ANSWERS AND MORE QUESTIONS

How, then, were these issues addressed? First of all, after investigating possibilities for titles for the group and topics to be discussed, it was clear that ESL texts provided a wonderful resource. Fortunately, several excellent books concentrated on acculturation, glossed significant vocabulary, and provided suggestions for group activities. Only a few additions and modifications were needed. It would also be possible to give written homework before and following the oral sessions. By doing this, the State requirements for teaching listening, reading, and writing would be met. After looking at several possibilities, the leaders decided to call third hour each Wednesday "Culture Day."

In order to provide the co-leaders who were not ESL instructors a better picture of who the students were and what they could expect in an ESL classroom, the ESL teacher invited them to come and observe an ESL class. The ESL teacher also familiarized them with some of the individual experiences the students had faced as they left their countries, and supplied some background information about the cultural differences of the specific group. Further, the leaders learned to simplify their vocabulary and syntax, and discussion topics were broken down into bite-size portions.

Since some of the students had pronunciation problems, it was occasionally difficult for the social worker and psychologist to understand what they were saying. When this happened, a Vietnamese peer tutor would translate, or the ESL teacher would paraphrase the information. Because of these communication problems, the psychologist and social worker had to spend more time understanding the words being expressed and had less time to focus on processing the information. This also took time away from listening to other group members, and deciding how to pace group discussion. As the leaders became more familiar with the students, comprehending what they were saying became easier. Although the psychologist and social worker were experienced in dealing with American students, the approaches needed to lead an ESL group were somewhat different. Unlike groups of American students who volunteer for chemical dependency or grief groups, these students were not familiar with the process of sharing feelings in a classroom setting. Furthermore, they could not be expected to participate unless the leaders of the group modeled the behavior they wanted to elicit from the students. For example, the day the group discussed prejudice, one leader initiated the discussion by talking about his own family's value system regarding his dating someone outside his religious faith.

While in the process of formatting the group, other questions surfaced. What group of ESL students should be involved—intermediate or advanced? What was the optimal size for the group? How many hours of this type of service could be provided? Should scheduling be during an ESL class? Since this was an experimental project, no one knew whether discussions in small groups or large ones would be more effective. How many professionals should be involved in these groups? Additionally, other questions were unanswered. What topics should be discussed? In the beginning sessions, what would be relevant but not too emotionally taxing? How could personal issues be explored without the participants feeling "at risk"? Were there activities that would be more effective than others that could coalesce the group?

Although it would have been nice to have enough time to wrestle with these issues and problems, this was not possible. Instead, the leaders started the group hoping for the best, and relying on previous experience in their respective fields. Furthermore, follow-up evaluations of each session were used as a guide for planning for future groups.

FORMAT

The designated time and place for "Culture Day" was second semester, third hour, one time a week during regular ESL time. Intermediate level ESL students from Vietnam, Liberia, Japan, Nepal, and China, ranging in age from 14 to 23 years old, were the participants. Culture Day began with a session on "Proverbs" taken from the ESL text *Face to Face*,(Zanger, 1985). This topic was chosen because it seemed unthreatening. Further, because of its interview format, the students could talk to people outside the classroom and get additional information about the topic. Two days before Culture Day, the ESL teacher talked to the office staff about the proverbs they used and liked, and asked them if they would like to participate. This initial contact was made so that the students' interviews would be more successful. In order to ease communication problems, the staff was given a preview of questions the students would be asking them. This also provided the staff with an opportunity to decide which proverbs they wanted to share with the students. The day before Culture Day, the students interviewed these adults and wrote down the information they discovered. During the first Culture Day session, the students were encouraged to share what they had found out the day before and were asked to write down proverbs in their own languages and in English. The results of the interviews and the ensuing discussion showed the students that the cultural values of the U.S. and their countries were more similar than they had previously believed. This type of response was what the leaders of the group had hoped would occur. Subsequently, the professionals discussed the first session in more detail and concurred that it was a huge success. "Culture Day" was official.

Due to the success of this format, subsequent sessions were modeled after it. A day before Culture Day the ESL teacher introduced the topic. During that time, new vocabulary and missing schema were explored, interviews could be conducted, and students were given a written assignment. They were expected to bring this along the following day. Essentially, Culture Day was a discussion day using materials students had written the day before.

TOPICS

After this format was established, the leaders chose topics for subsequent sessions. Many different subjects were explored. Some topics that were included were: men's and women's roles, parental responsibilities, perceptions of the American teenager, culture shock, and prejudice. Reasons for leaving one's country, successes and failures of first generation Americans, and survival issues when one is faced with political exile, were later added to the agenda.

GROUP INTERACTION

Once the topics were chosen, the professionals had to decide how many people were going to lead the group at one time and how large the groups should be. Sometimes, the discussion leaders shared the job of leading, whereas at other times, one person was in charge. As professionals with expertise in different areas, the leaders realized that the key for success depended on watching and listening carefully to each other, and allowing one person to proceed without interruption if the discussion was proceeding well. Initially, a large group format was chosen where everyone was asked to contribute as people were sitting around in a large circle. Occasionally, small group discussions ensued for half the hour, and large group reporting filled the rest of the hour. Four to six students were considered an optimal number for small group discussion, ten to twelve students for large group interaction.

REFLECTIONS

Some of the sessions which were most exciting for the students were the ones on male/female roles, culture shock, and specific problems of immigration. They were very curious about American dating and marital customs, and wanted to compare them to those of their own cultures. Since the group leaders were men and women with a range in age, it was possible to give the students ideas about women's and men's roles based on their own experiences, which provided the students with a broader perspective.

The students were relieved and pleased to learn about culture shock, because they did not know that there was such a thing. Furthermore, it was very supportive for them to find out that everyone in the group had experienced culture shock in the form of initial excitement, followed by various forms of depression as they adjusted and adapted to their new surroundings. One of their biggest surprises was that so many people in the U.S. had been immigrants, and had experienced some of the same hardships—physical, emotional, and financial—that they were facing.

The professionals discovered that small group interaction allowed more people to talk, but that the large group was more fun. It also gave the shy or less expressive members more time to listen and put less pressure on them to speak if they chose not to. Even those who didn't always participate verbally wrote down their feelings about the group as part of ongoing journal entries or homework assignments. Both the social worker and psychologist changed their perceptions of students who were "at risk" since they had not previously considered ESL students to be in this category.

Dealing with the feelings expressed by the students was tricky. The ESL teacher always let the social worker and the psychologist handle issues of grief, separation, and depression. To acknowledge their pain, and, at the same time, not become too personal or make the student feel worse rather than better after sharing, was a difficult balance to achieve. The skills and experience of the psychologist and social worker made it possible to achieve this balance.

As people in the group developed a trust level with one another and a familiarity with the process, more sensitive and personal problems surfaced. The psychologist and the social worker deftly guided the group's members, helping them to talk about their trauma and teaching the other students to be accepting and respectful. The social worker, in a low-key way, said that he would be available to talk more about individual issues if someone wanted to discuss them. The students were told they could also do this by talking to him directly or by communicating in their daily journals.

Time to plan and to evaluate was always a problem for the group leaders. Because everyone was so busy, the professionals learned to discuss problems and make lesson plans very quickly. The ESL teacher was always the anchor-person, and telephone and post office boxes were used extensively when in-person discussions were not possible.

As the sessions drew to a close, the students were asked to evaluate their experience with Culture Day, first in writing and then in group discussion. All of them considered it a good use of time and had suggestions for next year's Culture Day sessions. Some wanted to discuss topics that had not been included, such as war. Others wanted to take a field trip. They liked having three different group leaders since it provided a change of pace and a difference in style.

FUTURE PLANS

The group leaders are also excited about the prospect of another semester of Culture Day. They now have a better idea of what topics should be addressed, and how long it will take for these students to learn to work together. This year's students will have a chance to request their own topics and the leaders hope to expand Culture day to include units and video tapes provided by the program called "A World of Difference" (sponsored by KSTP, St. Paul Pioneer Press, and the Anti-defamation League of Minneapolis) which focus on prejudice in Minnesota. Additional issues that will be covered will include: treatment of the elderly, concepts of time, friendship across cultures, nonverbal communication, and past and present immigrant experiences.

CONCLUSIONS

ESL students need to see others share feelings before they themselves can open up. However, once they are familiar with the process the students are willing to participate at the level they find comfortable. The group sessions provide an outlet for ESL students that was, until now, not addressed by the school, but is crucial for emotional adjustments in and outside of the school milieu.

THE AUTHOR

Marge Kaplan teaches ESL at both the elementary and secondary levels in the Roseville Public Schools. She is a long-time member of MinneTESOL and has been very active on program committees.

REFERENCES

Zanger, V. (1985). *Face to face*. New York: Newbury House.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Southeast Asian Literature for the ESL Classroom

CAROL QUEST
University of Minnesota

Southeast Asian refugees who come to the United States during adolescence experience the additional stress of searching for their personal identity at the same time they are making a radical cultural adjustment. Schools and teachers can facilitate this search and adjustment by providing a secure environment which affirms and supports the values of the native culture while introducing opportunities to explore the new culture. Using literature written by Southeast Asian writers and literature about Southeast Asia and the refugee experience can foster such an environment while providing the opportunity to build English literacy skills. The eight works discussed here are divided into three groups—legends and folktales, autobiographical narratives of Southeast Asian refugees, and novels about Southeast Asian adolescents. All of these work can be used to affirm the cultural background and to support the personal identity search of adolescent Southeast Asian refugees with limited English proficiency

Literature set in Southeast Asia or written by Southeast Asian writers can be a valuable resource for teaching English to Southeast Asian ESL (English as a Second Language) students. This literature can empower the students by affirming their cultural heritage, supporting their individual concepts of self worth, and providing familiar and culturally relevant material for literacy development.

Cummins (1986) asserts the importance of affirming the value of students' native cultures by using materials based on those cultures. Because most literature taught in American schools represents middle class white America (Beach & Marshall, 1990), it takes a special effort to find literature which represents other ethnic groups. The following quote from Dr. Mai Van Trang provides insight on how different Southeast Asian culture can be from middle class American culture:

AN ASIAN VIEW OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

We live in time.	*You live in space.*
We are always at rest.	*You are always on the move.*
We are passive.	*You are aggressive.*
We like to contemplate.	*You like to act.*
We accept the world as it is.	*You try to change it according to your blueprint.*
We live in peace with nature.	*You try to impose your will on her.*
Religion is our first love.	*Technology is your passion.*
We delight to think about the meaning of life.	*You delight in physics*
We believe in freedom of silence.	*You believe in freedom of speech.*
We lapse into meditation.	*You strive for articulation.*
We marry first, then love.	*You love first, then marry.*
Our marriage is the beginning of a love affair.	*Your marriage is the happy end of a romance.*
It is an indissoluble bond.	*It is a contract.*
Our love is mute.	*Your love is vocal.*
We try to conceal it from the world.	*You delight in showing it to others.*
Self-denial is a secret to our survival.	*Self-assertiveness is the key to your success.*
We are taught from the cradle to want less and less.	*You are urged every day to want more and more.*
We glorify austerity and renunciation.	*You emphasize gracious living and enjoyment.*
Poverty is to us a badge of spiritual elevation.	*It is to you a sign of degradation.*
In the sunset years of life we renounce the world and prepare for the hereafter.	*You retire to enjoy the fruits of your labor.*

(Mai Van Trang, 1989, p. 64.)

In order to affirm the value of the cultural heritage of Southeast Asian students, it is important to include literature relevant to their culture and written by Southeast Asian writers.

Besides validating the culture of Southeast Asian students, using literature based on their culture supports their own self image at a time when adolescent students are searching for their personal identities. Refugees who come to the United States during adolescence experience the additional stress of searching for their personal identity at the same time they are making a radical cultural adjustment (Ascher, 1989). Schools and teachers can facilitate this search and adjustment by providing a secure environment which affirms and supports the values of the native culture while introducing opportunities to explore the new culture. Using literature written by Southeast Asian writers and literature about Southeast Asia and the refugee experience is one way to provide such an environment in the classroom.

The eight works I have selected to discuss here can all be used in a variety of ways to affirm the cultural background and support the adolescent Southeast Asian refugees with limited English proficiency. These works can be divided into three groups: legends and folktales, autobiographical narratives of Southeast Asian refugees, and novels about Southeast Asian adolescents. I will discuss each group separately, pointing out how the works in that group can be used to develop English language proficiency while affirming ethnic background and promoting a strong personal identity.

LEGENDS AND FOLKTALES

The two works in the legend and folktales category are *Living Tapestries* and *The Brocaded Slipper and Other Vietnamese Tales*. Both of these works are written in simple English prose by native English speakers based on stories passed on through an oral tradition. *Living Tapestries* recounts 21 very short legends and folktales based on themes of trickery, jealousy, and honor in interpersonal relationships. One cultural notion that weaves its way through all the tales is the unity within nature. This unity is strikingly portrayed by the absence of boundaries between the animal, human, and spirit domains. Individuals in the legends and tales move back and forth within these domains as easily as if they were going to another village. A bird becomes a human by taking off her wings; a dragon becomes an old man; and a baby chick becomes the special guardian of an orphan without any explanation or expectation of surprise. Even though this element is also found in Western folktales, it seems far more pervasive and ordinary in these Hmong tales.

The five Vietnamese tales in *The Brocaded Slipper* are longer and more complex than the Hmong tales. Some of stories are reminiscent of Western folktales like *Cinderella* and *Rip Van Winkle*. The settings and values, however, are unmistakenly Asian. Reverence for ancestors expressed by honoring the anniversary of their death and respect for learning expressed by diligence and memorization of ancient wisdom are two recurring themes expressed in these tales.

Because both of these books are written in simple English, they would be good reading material for students whose English is extremely limited. Using the Donelson and Nilson (1989) model for reading development, teachers can introduce these tales at the very beginning of literacy and use them to practice simple decoding. As students increase their language competency, they can read the tales at a more sophisticated level, applying the morals to their own lives. Then, as students are able to read and think more abstractly, they can use the tales to discuss social issues and make application to the society they live in today.

Because the stories are based on familiar cultural themes, the students would have the necessary background knowledge for understanding them. Still, because they are based on universal themes, the stories can provide the starting point for multilevel responses. An initial activity could be to simply read for information. For example, students could be asked to read a tale and then to list all the plants and animals described in that tale that cannot be found here in Minnesota. The list could then serve as the basis for discussion, contrasting environments or contrasting the real with the imaginary or mythical. Further, the discussion could focus on dragons. In many Southeast Asian cultures, dragons represent wealth, prosperity, and royalty. Discussing the place and meaning of dragons is one way to build upon and affirm the students' cultural heritage.

Identifying the moral of a particular tale is another way to open a discussion on cultural values. Discussing how one of the morals or values implicit in a tale applies or does not apply to life in America can increase the relevance of the tales. Dramatizing or illustrating the plot sequence gives students with limited English skills the opportunity to explore and expand the meanings of the legends in a way that is similar to how other students learn through writing (for example, by writing tales of their own). All of these activities can be expanded or limited depending on the language skills of the students. One important focus, however, will be using familiar background knowledge and cultural values as the means for building communication skills. Using folktales and legends as an introduction to literacy and literature is one way to link the students' culture to the learning and academic process of their school experience.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES

The next group of literature I have selected is Southeast Asian refugee autobiographical narratives. This group includes three works: *The Land I Lost*; *Dark Land, Dark Sky*; and *Voices From Southeast Asia*. All three of these works describe life in Southeast Asia and the last two describe the perils of escape to a new land. Again, the English narrative of these works is very simple and straightforward. Considering students will have ample background knowledge, even those with very limited English can complete an assignment based on some of the shorter selections.

Some of the ways this literature could be used in an ESL class are:

- Summarize one experience you read about.
- Compare everyday life in Laos or Vietnam to life here in terms of climate, food, work, community, danger.
- Tell your story (or part of your story): describe your birthplace; tell an incident from your life; write a poem to express a memory; draw a picture of something you hold dear.
- How is life different (for example, for the Hmong in Minneapolis)?

Reading these selections could stir sensitive or protected memories. Nevertheless, a flexible and careful introduction of the literature could provide the opportunity to discuss and find new meaning in past experiences. Often the freedom of discussing someone else's experience, which happens to be similar to ours, provides a safer environment in which to consider our own. These stories can illustrate the relevance of literature and the power of literacy as a means of both expanding and unifying our experiences. Discussing a common experience of loss, courage, endurance, or love of a homeland could help to build a common vision for the future.

Reading this literature as a group will give the students the chance to talk about what is happening to them with others who are facing the same challenges. Reading about how other people succeeded in meeting these challenges can be inspiring. Sharing concerns and questions about the future and considering together how the treasures of one culture can be integrated into another may help to resolve some conflicts and clarify difficult questions. These are questions that help the students examine and choose an identity they can live with. Elkind (1984) points out that the stresses of the adolescent identity search don't have to be negative—they can be the basis for building a stronger self image. Reading and discussing literature that validates the students' cultures and experiences is one way to help them build this strong sense of personal identity.

Students who are more proficient in English may want to investigate other autobiographical literature. Finding out who the other people are who have come as immigrants to the United States, what hardships they have faced and how they have built a life for themselves in this new country may give them a sense of being part of a bigger people.

Many of those who have come to the United States still have strong ties in the country they left. *Voices of the Dragon Children*, presented by the ESL students of Southwest High School, was a program of dance and drama which eloquently proclaimed a love for the mountainous jungles of

Vietnam and Laos and a longing for friends and relatives left behind. Reading and writing about the desire and dream to be reunited with loved ones or to visit again the beloved land of their birth is fertile ground for moving from literacy to poetic expression. As I watched the dancing and listened to the stories of these young students, I was moved by their love and longing for their homeland. Much of the writing of *Voices from Southeast Asia* echoes this love and longing. On page 20, Quan Tran tenderly describes the joy her own letter brings her grandfather in far away Viet Nam:

> ...on the other side of the earth, there lies an old man sleeping in his salon. Except from the fragrant flowers fluttering under the sun's rays...the house seems to be extremely quiet and lonely. But look at the joyful face of the old man; we can tell he's smiling in his dream. On the table nearby a letter lies rustling with the cool, fresh wind...

This quote shows how literacy and literature can connect these adolescents with their past. It enables them to read about the experiences of other people, to write about their own experiences, and to write to those they have left behind.

ADOLESCENT NOVELS

The last category I am considering here is the adolescent novel represented by *A Long Way from Home*, *Rice Without Rain*, and *Jason's Women*. *A Long Way from Home* is the simplest of the three. The story begins with Kien in a refugee camp in Hong Kong and follows him to his new home in the United States. Kien is wordly-wise. Not only did he escape by boat from Vietnam to survive the desolate life of a disease-filled refugee camp, but he also became the older brother and protector of two younger children. After so much responsibility and independence, the controlled routine of high school in the U.S. doesn't seem like a reasonable option. When bullying and prejudice compound the problem, no one is surprised that Kien strikes out on his own—leaving his sponsor and looking for a new home. Prejudice follows him, however, and Kien finds himself in the middle of a town battle: the Vietnamese fishermen against the white fishermen.

The problems Kien faces are the same problems most Southeast Asian refugees face trying to build a new life in a country that wants to forget about the war that brought them here. That Kien becomes a hero by helping to end the conflict between the white and Vietnamese fisherman may not be realistic. However, the frustration and pain of finding a new life in America are very realistic and relevant. Along with Kien, many Southeast Asian students must overcome:

- being orphaned and separated from all those adults who share their values and customs;
- feeling stranded and isolated in a culture they don't understand: the language feels slippery, all of the food tastes sweet, and they just don't fit anywhere;
- experiencing hatred and persecution in a land proclaimed to be the home of the free.

These are real issues—issues that need to be addressed.

Rice Without Rain is different because it does not deal with refugees and immigration. The story takes place in Thailand—where many Southeast Asians escaped to and lived for extended periods of time in refugee camps. But this story isn't about refugees at all. The story revolves around the unjust ownership of land and the cost of changing this unjust system. The story is told through the eyes of Rinda who watches idealistic university students come to her village during their summer vacation to rally the peasants into a land reform movement. The plight of the peasants has been exacerbated by several years of drought. When Rinda's father, the village leader, decides to resist the normal rent collection, the established power kills him as brutally as it later massacres the university students when they return to Bangkok to resume their classes. Rinda sees the price that has been paid to fight injustice and must reconcile her suffering and confusion with the need to go on living.

Injustice and suffering are familiar themes to refugees. They are also contemporary themes everywhere in the world today. *Rice Without Rain* is a painful book because it describes the plight of so many people in so many places. Still, the book presents a hope that somehow the ancient wisdom and cultural values will provide the strength to begin again to search for an answer. It is not an American hope with our reliance on technology for new, all-encompassing answers. Rather, it is the hope which lives in an older, more patient culture. Some of the characters in *Rice Without Rain* may be stereotypical but the poignant theme and the careful description of life in Thailand give the book real value.

Jason's Women is really an American book about an American teenager's search for himself. The author—Jean Davies Okimoto—who is also a psychotherapist, uses an 80-year-old eccentric named Bertha Jane to counsel Jason. Although at times Okimoto becomes a little too obvious and preachy, Jason's struggle is a real struggle, and Bertha Jane helps him identify what is important and what is illusion. So does Thao, a Vietnamese refugee girl who lives with Bertha Jane. By introducing Thao into the story, the values and customs of American society come face to face with those of Vietnamese society. In this book, however, the person feeling the stress is the American. That means the book gives those who are new to American society a chance to see and understand some of the insecurities and anxieties all teenagers face—not just those who have been uprooted from their homelands and brought to a strange new country. Thao becomes Jason's first real friend and the success of that friendship gives him the courage to let go of fantasy and invest his efforts in others. It is a story of hope that friendships made across cultures can be empowering.

In all three of these books the teenage protagonist suffers because of real and universal problems. How these problems relate to the lives of teenagers living in Minnesota—whether they were born here or came here as refugees—is fertile ground for writing. This writing will reflect the language skill, interest and openness of each particular student. Identifying the conflicts, drawing parallels between the stories and actual life, and extending the stories by telling what happens to one of the characters after the book ends are all ways to build literacy and personal understanding.

Moving from the legends and the autobiographical sketches to the full length novels is a leap. It is still another big leap to move on to a full length adult novel. But the eight books discussed here are not intended to be a self-contained curriculum. Building fluency and automaticity in a second language is only the beginning. Students need to continue developing their literary competency so that they move from the level of simply enjoying a story to finding themselves in the story and then to going beyond to look at society and ask questions about justice, freedom, and personal rights (Donelson and Nilson, 1989). This development happens one step at a time. Because the students in an ESL class are usually extremely diverse in educational background and cultural heritage, an ESL teacher has to be familiar with a broad range of literature. Any of these eight books can be a starting point to develop language skills, affirm the cultural heritage of Southeast Asian refugees, and provide encouragement to adolescents as they strive for a strong sense of personal identity

THE AUTHOR

Carol Quest is a graduate student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota. She also teaches ESL composition to immigrant students in the Commanding English program in General College at the University of Minnesota.

SELECTED LITERATURE RELATED TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

Folktales and Legends

Numrich, C. H. (1989). *Living Tapestries*. Lima, Ohio: Fairway Press. Twenty-one Hmong legends and folktales retold in a simple English narrative. Illustrations are line drawings adapted from Hmong needlework (79 pages).

Vuong, L. D. (1982). *The brocaded Slipper and Other Vietnamese Tales*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. Five Vietnamese fairy tales retold in simple English. Exquisite drawings by Vo-Dinh Mai (111 pages).

Autobiographical Narratives

Moore, Dave,(Ed.). (1989). *Dark Sky, Dark Land: Stories of the Hmong Boy Scouts of Troop 100*. Minneapolis, MN: Tessera Publishing. Sixteen stories of beginning life in war-torn Laos, then escaping to desolate refugee camps and, finally, adjusting as an adolescent to a new life in a new country (191 pages).

Nhuong, Huynh Quang. (1982). *The Land I Lost: Adventures of a Boy in Vietnam*. New York: Harper & Row. Sixteen memories of growing up in a peaceful Vietnam. Very easy to read narration with exquisite drawings by Vo-Dinh Mai (115 pages).

Risser, Larry, and Kathy Suzuki, (Eds.). (1982). *Voices from Southeast Asia: A Collection of Art and Writings by Students in the Minneapolis Public Schools*. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Public Schools. Episodes, drawings and poems by 28 students of Vietnamese, Hmong, Cambodian, Lao, Thai, Chinese and Korean backgrounds (57 pages).

Adolescent Novels

Ho, Minfong. (1990). *Rice Without Rain*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books. Teenage village girl witnesses the death of her father and the massacre of university students as resistance to institutional injustice is forcibly squelched (236 pages).

Okimoto, Jean Davies. (1986). *Jason's Women*. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. A 15-year-old American boy overcomes his self image as a "wimp" with the help of an 80-year-old mentor and a young Vietnamese refugee (210 pages).

Wartski, Maureen Crane. (1980). *A Long Way from Home*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Kien, a 15-year-old Vietnamese refugee, comes to the U.S. to face prejudice in school. Kien runs away to a California fishing village where he becomes a hero by successfully confronting the racially motivated discrimination of the townspeople (154 pages).

REFERENCES

Ascher, C. (1989). Southeast Asian adolescents: Identity and adjustment. *ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education: Digest No. 51*, (ISSN 0889 8049).

Beach, R. W., & Marshall, J. D. (1990). Teaching literature of different cultures. In R. W. Beach & J. D. Marshall (Eds.), *Teaching literature in the secondary school* (pp. 439-483). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review 76*(1), 18-35.

Donelson, K. L., & Nilson, A. P. (1989). *Literature for today's young adults*. Glenville, IL: Scott Foresman.

Elkind, D. (1984). *All grown up and no place to go: Teenagers in crisis*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Ho, M. (1990). *Rice without rain*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books.

Moore, D. (Ed.). (1989). *Dark sky, dark land: Stories of the Hmong Boy Scouts of Troop 100*. Minneapolis, MN: Tessera Publishing.

Okimoto, J. D. (1986). *Jason's women*. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press.

Nhuong, H. Q. (1982). *The land I lost: Adventures of a boy in Vietnam*. New York: Harper & Row.

Numrich, C. H. (1989). *Living tapestries*. Lima, OH: Fairway Press.

Risser, L., & Suzuki, K. (Eds.). (1982). *Voices from Southeast Asia: A collection of art and writings by students in the Minneapolis Public Schools*. Minneapolis, MN: Minneapolis Public Schools.

Trang, M. V. (1989). *Reasons for living and hoping: The spiritual and psychosocial needs of Southeast Asian refugee children and youth resettled in the United States*. New York: The International Catholic Child Bureau.

Vuong, L. D. (1982). *The brocaded slipper and other Vietnamese tales*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Wartski, M. C. (1980). *A long way from home*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Your Textbook is in the Library— Or You Could Make Your Own

Robyn Peterson
Webster Magnet Elementary School, St. Paul Public Schools

Elementary level ESL students come with a great variety of needs and abilities, and traditional second-language teaching methods don't seem to work very well with them. This article discusses an alternative method, where the students study stories or subjects and then write and illustrate their own books about them, using outside resources and various artistic and dramatic methods on the way. Projects at different grade levels are discussed in detail.

I am an ESL teacher in a public school. My students are immigrants from war-damaged areas of the world, mostly from Laos and Cambodia. At home the students speak languages other than English and they practice the traditional cultures of their parents' homelands. At school they attend class with their English-only age-mates. My job is to instruct them in English and in the culture of the U.S. Their job is to find a way to live in both worlds at once.

There is Bao,* a Hmong girl from Laos. New to the school, she has spoken English only about three years and is confused much of the time. Bao is good at laughing at her predicaments and laughs a great deal, but sometimes frustration overwhelms her. She is sensitive and feels hurt when others are impatient with her, but she always tries again.

There is Vanh, a boy from Cambodia. Vanh knows many things, and he can sometimes explain them well orally and in writing, but he makes many grammatical errors. He seldom seems to hear directions or know exactly what's going on. Vanh finishes everything quickly and wants more work, but he is not interested in improving the old work.

---

*All the student names have been changed.

There is Souyaa, a Cambodian girl. Mostly silent, she sometimes knows the answer, but will not be drawn out. She seemed very capable when younger, but others are now passing her by. She seems to be very dependent on her friends.

There is Foua, a boy from Laos. Full of noise, he would rather draw monsters than do almost anything else. Foua loves adventure and drama; he gives eager attention and wants to answer all questions when the topic is exciting, but otherwise, he would rather tease around with his neighbors.

There is Lia, a Hmong girl born in Minnesota. Lia is never quick, never the first to finish, or even to start. When others were writing their first two-sentence stories, she listed random words she knew how to spell. When others wrote adventures, she did short sentences. But little by little, year by year, she makes progress. Lia has opinions and knows how to make decisions, silently asserting, "I am here, too."

> I, to the classroom teacher: "How is Souyaa doing?"
>
> "She gets her work done. She never asks any questions. I wish she would talk to me."
>
> I, to the science teacher: "Is Vanh understanding your class?"
>
> "Yes, I guess so. He never says a word."

Bao, Vanh, Souyaa, Foua, Lia, and six others like/unlike them, are together with me in a class for 45 minutes daily. During the day, there are five other groups like/unlike this one. Most groups have a mix of two grade levels; each has at least two ethnic groups; each has a range of abilities. I must teach them English so that they will be able to succeed with their English-only peers in the mainstream classroom. Where do we start? What is their common need? How will they progress? What test could I give them that would sort it all out?

HOW I BEGAN

When I began as an ESL teacher 12 years ago, I went through some years of a kind of search, trying to find what would work, what would motivate, what would cause progress to occur.

Let's try grammar drills. Let's practice a piece of language such as the question-answer sequence, "What is this?" "It's a ___." We glue pictures, practice orally, write the sentences. They like the cutting and pasting; they wish to continue that for more days. Some learn the sentence patterns and some do not. Oral drills tire us all out very quickly and don't seem to help much. Most students can use grammar patterns correctly in tests but they continue to make all the same errors in daily speech.

Okay, let's learn vocabulary. Here's a packet of pictures of animals. Let's learn the names. We practice. We play games with the cards. They like this. They know when they are right and when they are wrong. If anyone ever shows them a picture of a lion and asks what it is, they will be ready. But the words they need to know in their mainstream classes are so much more complicated, so much more abstract.

How about workbooks? We read a conversation page together and we do the practice exercises. We try to make up conversations about similar situations. We are able to do it. It's dull. It doesn't lead us anywhere.

Let's try the ESL book science pages. Here's information about elephants. We read it and each student answers the questions. They are quiet and work hard. Some get the answers right and some don't. Should we do it together next time, so everyone will be right? Would small groups have worked better? They don't seem all that interested in elephants.

Among the things I tried was telling/reading a story and having the students retell it in pictures and in their own sentences. This was so much more interesting and so much less frustrating than most other exercises, that it began to take up more and more of our time. Projects tended to expand; an Aesop's fable about a fox and a crow would lead to the song "The Fox Went Out on a Chilly Night," and then we needed to study how to draw foxes, and the books that we copied from had some interesting facts about how foxes live. . . . Student participation increased dramatically because each student could follow up her own particular interests and contribute according to her own ability.

It seems to me that the thing my students need to do most in order to learn to speak English, is to *speak English*. And in order to get them to do that, I have to arrange the environment so they need to speak in order to accomplish something *else* that interests them, and so that they feel comfortable doing so. If we are going to learn grammar, or vocabulary, or science facts, it needs to be in the context of some project we are trying to do. And the project we have come to love to do is making our own books.

MAKING BOOKS BASED ON A STORY

Bao, Vanh and the other students I have described are in the fourth grade, approximately 9–10 years old—a very lively age. By this age my students have usually been in school for a few years; they can understand a great deal in English, they can write, and they *love* stories. So this year I found a story for them that was full of adventure, kings and queens, robbers and giants and smart women who could trick their way around them. We built several months' worth of activity around this story. It was called "Three Golden Hairs" (Denan, 1980), and it's the story of a boy who was born lucky, and the king who tried to get rid of him.

This story is very long, and the language is not excessively easy for children to understand. We got a number of books out of the library, all about castles and the people who lived in and near them. Each day we would gather together and I would read a few pages of the story to the students; we would discuss vocabulary and plot and make predictions, and then the students would look at the books and draw castles, royalty, rooms in houses and whatever else was in the story. It took a number of days to complete this first stage.

After that, each student chose an episode from the story, made an illustration, and wrote sentences about it. This provided an initial check on comprehension. I found that the pictures were good but the students hadn't understood the story well enough to write their scenes very well. So I gathered their sentences together and we worked on them as a group, clarifying the meanings and filling in what was missing. After that, I typed up the final product and this became the narrator's script for a puppet play.

We divided up the story's characters (there are many) and each student made one or two stick puppets, again using books as resources. They then drew large backdrops for our puppet stage. We divided up the narrative among those who wished to read it, and we were ready to rehearse.

A student would read one or two sentences from the narrative and then the characters in that scene would speak the dialogue, which was not memorized and therefore varied slightly each time we did it. After a few rehearsals, we videotaped the play. The students really had to concentrate in order to come in at the right times and do their dialogues correctly. They did very well.

Naturally, the students chose to make the stick puppets that expressed their own personalities. Foua, the boy full of noise, played the loud, nasty giant. Bao, the confused girl, played the ferryman who tricked the evil king, and Lia, the slow quiet one, was the mother who argues against giving up her baby to a rich man for adoption. They all succeeded admirably; we have the tape to prove it.

For the culminating part of the project, I cut up the narrative sheet and allowed the students to choose the sentences they wished to illustrate. They made large pencil drawings of their scenes, and I laid their stick puppets on these and made photo-copies. The students then added conversation balloons on their own or other students' pages (see Figure 1); I made final copies which we bound into books, and the students took them home.

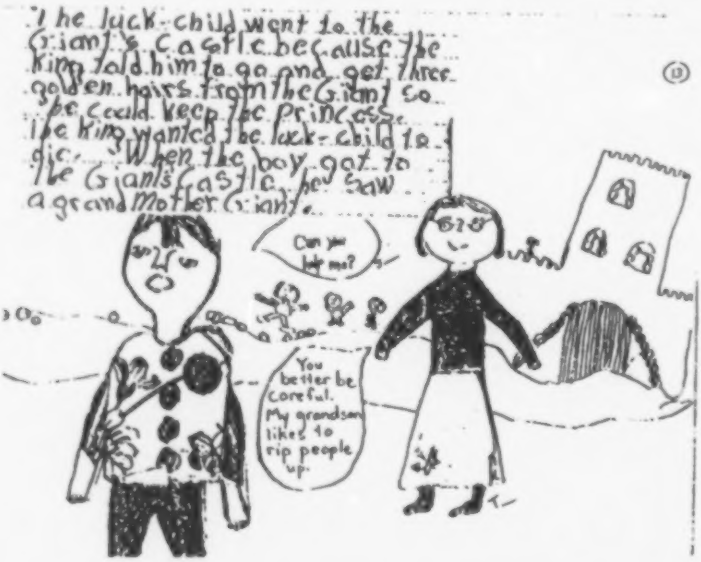

The luck-child went to the Giant's castle because the King told him to go and get three golden hairs from the Giant so he could keep the princess. The king wanted the luck-child to die. When the boy got to the Giant's castle he saw a grandmother Giant.
⑬
Can you help me?
You better be careful. My grandson likes to rip people up.

Figure 1. A Student Page from "Three Golden Hairs"

MAKING BOOKS WITH KINDERGARTNERS: STORIES TOLD IN PICTURES

Even five-year-olds who don't speak English love to present stories to others, and they also love to make their own books. So we combine these activities. I read them a good repetitive story such as "The Three Little Pigs," pantomiming, dramatizing, and showing pictures (and when possible, having an interpreter translate it). Then little by little, day by day, we learn the vocabulary for it by assembling the characters ("Please give me a head" . . . "Is this a foot?" . . .) (see Figure 2). They also paint, glue and draw the background scenes (from library books) on pages in their individual tagboard books. When all scenes and props are complete, we practice as though it were a play. I read the story, the students chime in on the repetitive parts, and at the same time, they show the action by moving their characters about on their pages. When it is learned, we perform it in the same way for their kindergarten classmates, who are quite impressed.

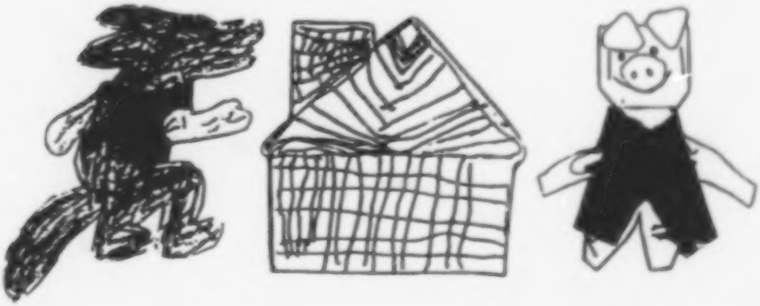


Figure 2. Kindergarten props for "The Three Little Pigs"

Later each student looks at the scenes she has made and she tells me as much as she can about them in English, and I write down what she says in her book. This provides a valuable progress check, and the students will take the finished books home to show their families.

MAKING BOOKS BASED ON A SONG

One of my favorite yearly projects is the book we make in second grade, based on the song, "Over in the Meadow." It exists in many versions, but the one I use is by John Langstaff (1957). Each verse names a different animal, its home, and an activity it does. There are ten verses, all on this pattern:

> Over in the meadow, in the sand in the sun,
> Lived an old mother turtle and her little turtle one.
> "Dig, said the mother. "I dig," said the one.
> So he dug and was glad, in the sand in the sun.

For each verse, we do a number of activities. The students copy and memorize the words, reciting them individually, and we sing the verse. They reproduce a library book illustration of each animal, using cut paper, origami, drawings and/or paint. Using information from library books, I read or tell them facts about the animal's life cycle and habits, from library books, and they each write several sentences from what I've told them, adding drawings to illustrate what they've said.

After that, we study a fiction story which features that animal. This is fun because the plot of such a story very often hinges on a trait of the animal that we have already studied—for instance, the trickiness of the fox, the busyness of the beaver, or the frog's loss of a tail. Such stories are found in cultures all around the world.

After I read them the story, we rework it in some way. Sometimes they retell it to me as a group. In that case, we keep trying to restate ideas in new ways until I can "capture" sentences that make sense and are grammatically correct. I may write down the story in the words they've said and duplicate it to read the next day, or I may cut it up and reassemble it, or cut it up and ask each student to illustrate a part. I duplicate these illustrations.

Sometimes each student rewrites a story individually. Any time they write, they read their work to me; this helps them see if it makes sense and is complete. After that, we correct spelling and punctuation. While I don't correct grammar with younger children because it is too confusing for them, I try to teach grammar in other ways, through repetition (as in the song), through reading, and through example.

Sometimes we do a group reassembling of the story. The students each draw many pictures of the characters in the story. I choose among these, picking drawings that show all the scenes but also represent each child's work. I glue the drawings onto paper and draw the conversation balloons. Each child has a copy, and together we make up sentences to write in the balloons, or each student writes her own (see Figure 3).

The "Over in the Meadow" project takes most of the year to complete. All the work done in this whole project is glued into bound books which the students will take home at the end of the year. The children like it very much and they're justifiably proud of the books they produce. These tend to show amazing progress from the beginning of the year to the end.

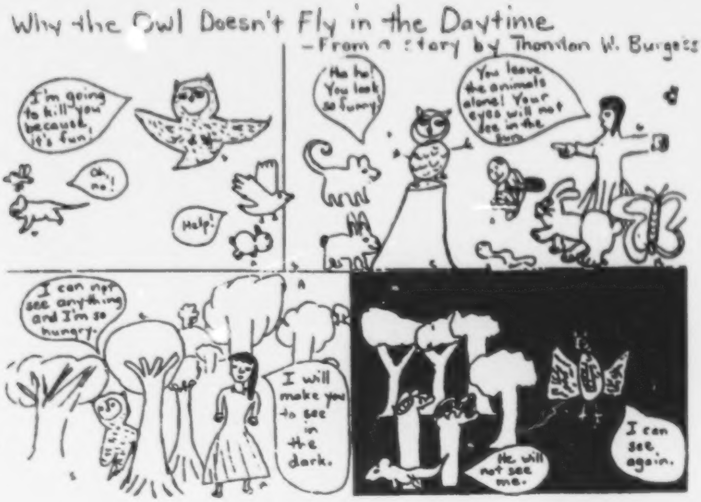

Why the Owl Doesn't Fly in the Daytime
-From a story by Thornton W. Burgess
I'm going to kill you because it's fun!
Oh, no!
Help!
Ho ho! You look so funny!
You leave the animals alone! Your eyes will not see in the sun.
I can not see anything and I'm so hungry.
I will make you to see in the dark.
He will not see me.
I can see again.

Figure 3. A Second-grade Group-assembled Story

MAKING BOOKS WITH OLDER CHILDREN: REAL-LIFE SITUATIONS

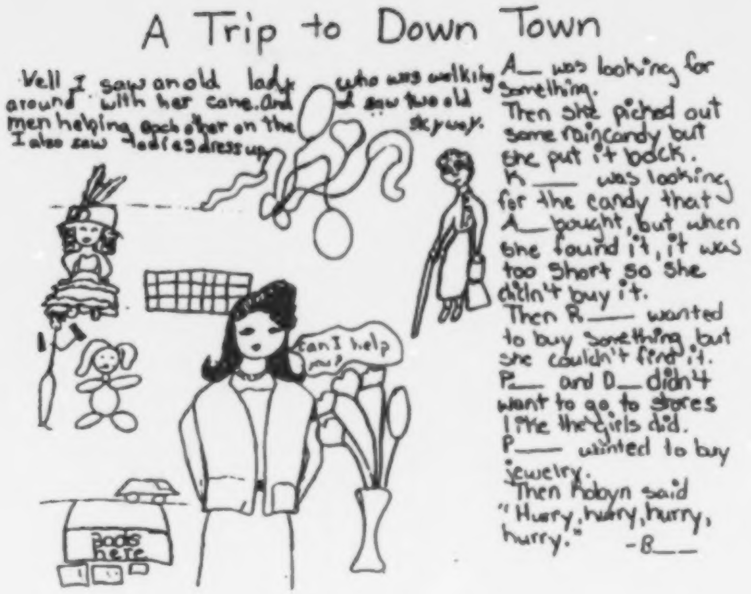
When they reach fifth and sixth grades, students are no longer as interested in stories found in books. They want to know about what's real. Interpersonal relationships are their favorite topic. The problem is not in getting them to talk, but in getting them to be quiet for a moment. They like to ask me for personal information about myself. They like to discuss people and why they behave as they do.

We continue to produce books, but they are on more personal topics: an imaginary trip around the world (using *National Geographic* magazine), a handbook about Webster School, a field trip to explore the downtown skyways (see Figure 4).

WHY WE MAKE BOOKS

Book-writing has come to be the central activity in my curriculum, because it fills so many of our needs.

First of all, it gets all students actively involved, despite their diversity. Each is able to make a valuable contribution to the whole product. Each student produces work that is real, rather than the artificial products



A Trip to Down Town

Vell I saw anold lady who was welkig around with her cane. And I saw two old men helping each other on the skyway. I also saw ladies dress up.

A— was looking for Somelhing.
Then she picked out some raincandy but she put it back.
K— was looking for the candy that A— bought, but when she found it, it was too Short so she didn't buy it.
Then R— wanted to buy Something but she couldn't find it.
P— and D— didn't want to go to stores like the girls did.
P— wanted to buy jewelry.
Then Robyn said "Hurry, hurry, hurry, hurry." -B—

Figure 4. A Sixth-grade Field Trip Newsletter

generated by workbook exercises. Each student's work can be collected, and can be compared to last week's, and last year's, so her progress becomes easy to see. The extensive use of outside sources exposes the students to a much larger range of vocabulary, sentence patterns, and ideas than would otherwise happen, and each student assimilates what she is able in her current stage of development. The work produces quality products that the students can be proud to show to other people. But most of all, the projects are fun. The students come in eager to work, they begin right away, and they express enthusiasm for what they do. Book-making is a process that works for us.

THE AUTHOR
Robyn Peterson teaches ESL at Webster Magnet Elementary School in St. Paul.

REFERENCES

Burgess, T. W. (1975). Why Hoot the owl does not play on the green meadows. In *Mother west wind's children*. Bostonm MA: Little, Brown and Company.

Denan, C. (1980). Three golden hairs. In *Giant tales*. Mahwah, NJ: Troll Associates.

Langstaff, J. (1957). *Over in the meadow*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Work in Progress

MinneTESOL Journal invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Journal* readers.

Recall Protocols and L2 Reading Research

THOMAS A. UPTON
University of Minnesota

The ability to investigate and analyze the processes involved in L2 reading is obviously hindered by the fact that it cannot be directly observed—it is a cognitive activity. As a result, instruments have had to be devised which permit researchers to investigate the intricacies of the reading process indirectly. One such tool is the recall protocol. With written recall protocols, readers are asked to first read an L2 passage and then write down everything they can remember from the passage without referring back to it.

A major concern that has been raised about this instrument, however, is the issue of whether the language of recall (the L1 or the L2) influences the quantity and/or quality of the concepts recalled. Lee (1986) recognized that there was a potential complication in comparing research studies using recall protocols because some studies asked the subjects to recall in their L1 (e.g., Bernhardt, 1983) and some asked the subjects to recall in their L2 (e.g., Carrell, 1983; Carrell, 1984; Connor, 1984). To determine whether there were any significant differences in the quantity recalled if a recall protocol was written in a subject's L1 or L2, Lee conducted a study using 320 Spanish as a Second Language students enrolled in 1st - 4th semester Spanish at Michigan State. At each semester level he divided the students into two groups, gave them a passage to read and asked one group to do a recall protocol in English (L1) and one group to do a recall protocol in Spanish (L2). His findings were that more of the passage was recalled by those writing in their L1 than those writing in their L2.

Since Lee's study was published, must studies using recall protocols to evaluate the L2 reading processes have had the readers recall an L2 text in their L1, often citing Lee's study as a the basis for their decision (e.g., Barnett, 1988; Hammadou, 1991; Lee & Musumeci, 1988; Taglieber, Johnson, & Yarbrough, 1988). However, a recent study that I carried out that used recall protocols to look at reading strategies of ESL students suggested to me that the L1 may not always be the ideal language in which to elicit recall. When I instructed the 6 ESL subjects in my study to write a recall protocol in their L1 (Japanese or Indonesian) based on a text they read in English (their L2) *all* of them asked if they could write the recall in English instead. When asked why, they said it would be much easier for them.

I was left to wonder why my students would find recalling in their L2 easier than in their L1 while the study by Lee suggests the opposite to be true. I hypothesized that the reason Lee's study showed that student's recall better in their L1 than their L2 was due to the fact that the L2 language proficiency of the students in his study was relatively low, probably only ranging from Novice to Intermediate-High (at most) on the ACTFL scale. From what we know of the L2 reading processes as well as the processes of second language acquisition, there are several possible explanations for why low proficiency students would recall an L2 text better in their L1:

1. For these students, a lot of their cognitive processing of the L2 text likely resulted via translation into their L1.

2. Since their production skills in the L2, in this case writing, likely lagged behind their receptive skills in the L2, in this case reading, it is quite likely that these students could produce better recalls by writing them in their L1 since they had the information but were not proficient enough in their L2 to write out what they recalled.

3. It is also quite possible that many students are *trained* to read in the L2 via a grammar-translation method, and thus at lower levels of proficiency are still conditioned to understand L2 texts based on their translation of them into the L1.

The students in my study, however, all had a fairly high level of L2 proficiency as indicated by TOEFL scores of 525 or better. Based on these students' expressed preference for recalling an L2 text in the L2, I hypothesized that students with a "high" level of L2 language proficiency would do equally well, or possibly even better, on recall protocols of an L2 text if they wrote the protocol in their L2 as opposed to writing it in their

L1. The bases for this hypothesis were as follows:

1. It is likely that higher proficiency L2 students do almost all of their processing of an L2 text in the L2 with little or no reference/translation to their L1.
2. Higher proficiency L2 students will not have major difficulties producing the L2 language required to express what they have "receptively" understood.
3. It is possible that some L2 students will have difficulty translating concepts/terms that they have learned in their L2 (but not in their L1) into their L1.

To test this hypothesis, I ran a small study during the summer of 1991 to act as a pilot for a larger study to be carried out in 1992. The following is a brief description of the study and the results obtained.

PROCEDURES

Six native speakers of Japanese attending an intensive English language program at the University of Minnesota were asked to participate. These six students were divided by their Minnesota Battery of English Language Proficiency (MN Batt) scores. Three students had total scores below 70 (69, 67, 68) and three had scores above 75 (77, 81, 82). Each student was asked to read two articles in English that had been taken from two different newsmagazines (*Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report*). Both articles were less than 400 words long and both had seven difficult or unusual words glossed (e.g., "Twinkies"). Students were informed beforehand that they would be asked to recall the text when they were finished, but they were not told which language they would be asked to use to write the recall.

Johnson's (1970) procedure for analyzing recall protocols was used to analyze the students' protocols. Two native speakers of English divided the two articles into "pausal segments" which were then ranked by relative importance and given a weighted score, with 25% of the pausal segments rated as most important and given a score of 4 points each, 25% rated as next important and given a score of 3 points each, etc. The recall protocols were then scored using this scoring rubric. Recalls in Japanese were translated directly into English by a native speaker of Japanese, and the English translations were scored.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Comparing the differences in scores between the recall protocols written in the L1 and in the L2, two of the students who had MN Batt scores above 75 received a score equivalent to or higher than the scores that resulted when they recalled in the L2. For the three students who had MN Batt scores below 70, only one scored higher when recalling in the L2.

Due to the fact that there were only six students involved in this study and two different articles were used, a statistical analysis of the scores is impossible and any interpretation of these results needs to be done with caution. However, what this study does suggest is that L2 readers may not always recall information from a text more thoroughly when recalling in their L1 as opposed to their L2. While no conclusions can be made, this pilot study does indicates that it would be fruitful to conduct a more extensive study examining the relationship between L1/L2 proficiency and recall more thoroughly. If it is true that higher proficient students do recall an L2 text better in the L2 than in the L1, this would have major implications on the design of future studies.

THE AUTHOR

Thom Upton is a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota, and he teaches ESL students in the Learning and Academic Skills Center. He is also First Vice President of MinneTESOL. His main focus in the area of research is second language reading.

REFERENCES

Barnett, M. (1988). Reading through context: How real and perceived strategy use affects L2 comprehension. *The Modern Language Journal*, 72(2), 150-162.

Bernhardt, E. (1983). Three approaches to reading comprehension in German. *Modern Language Journal*, 67(2), 111-115.

Carrell, P. L. (1983). Three components of background knowledge in reading comprehension. *Language Learning*, 33(2), 183-207.

Carrell, P. L. (1984). Evidence of a formal schema in second language comprehension. *Language Learning*, 34(2), 87-112.

Connor, U. (1984). Recall of text: Differences between first and second language readers. *TESOL Quarterly*, 18(2), 239-256.

Hammadou, J. (1991). Interrelationships among prior knowledge, inference, and language proficiency in foreign language reading. *Modern Language Journal*, *75*(1), 27-38.

Johnson, R. (1970). Recall of prose as a function of the structural importance of the linguistic units. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 9, 12-20.

Lee, J. F., & Musumeci, D. (1988). On hierarchies of reading skills and text types. *Modern Language Journal*, *72*(2), 173-185.

Taglieber, L. K., Johnson, L. L., & Yarbrough, D. B. (1988). Effects of prereading activities on EFL reading by Brazilian college students. *TESOL Quarterly*, *22*(3), 455-472.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 9, 1991

Students' Work

Poetry

On Success . . .

When I succeed I feel
like a butterfly flying in
the sky.
When I succeed I feel
like a dog eating rice.

When I succeed I feel
like a monkey jumping
in the trees.

When I succeed I feel
like the sun is shining
through me.

Yong Moun
Cambodian
Grade 9

When I succeed
I feel like I live on the moon.
I feel like a beautiful flower.
I feel like a world without war.
I feel like freedom.
I feel like a person falling in
love.

LeMai Nguyen
Vietnamese
Grade 9

On Failure . . .

When I fail I feel like a smashed
potato.
I feel like a heart that is
broken.
When I fail I feel like people
are spitting on me.
I feel like a sun going
down at night.
When I fail
I feel like ice melting very fast.
I feel like crying like a
pig.
I feel like I'm the end of the
road.

Rizwan Farooq
Pakistan
Grade 8

When I fail I feel
like a tornado came into town.

I feel like the kite without
string.

I feel like the dark sky
without stars.

I feel like much that
everyone likes to step on.

Uyen Nguyen
Vietnamese
Grade 8

On Color . . .

White

White is a color of light.
White is a color of a star glowing
in the dark.
White is a color of roses that
have
been torn.
White is a color of singing in the
streets.
White is the color of the moon
and the star shining down at me.
White is the color of lonely love.

Samean Son
Cambodian
Grade 7

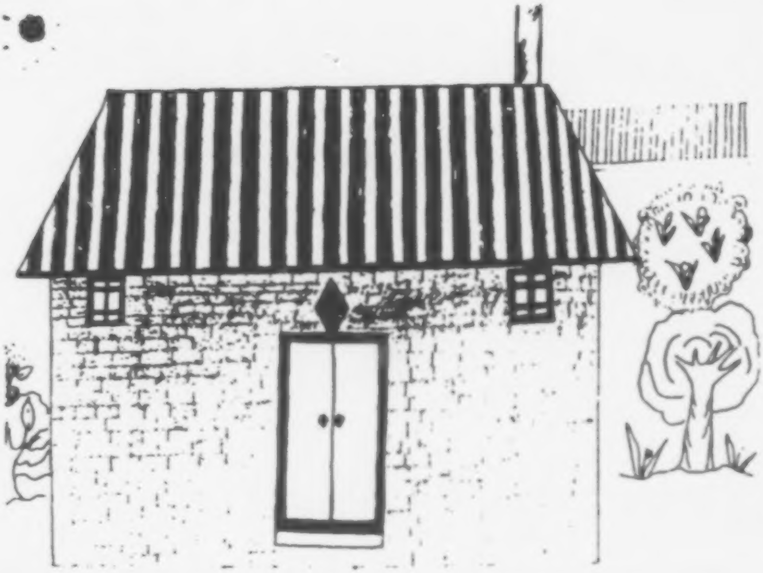
What is Blue?

Blue is the color of the Pacific ocean.
Blue is the color of a T shirt.
Blue is the color of a folder.
Blue is the color of the sky.
Blue is the color of American eyeballs.
Blue is the color of starlight.

Maley Nou
Cambodian
Grade 7

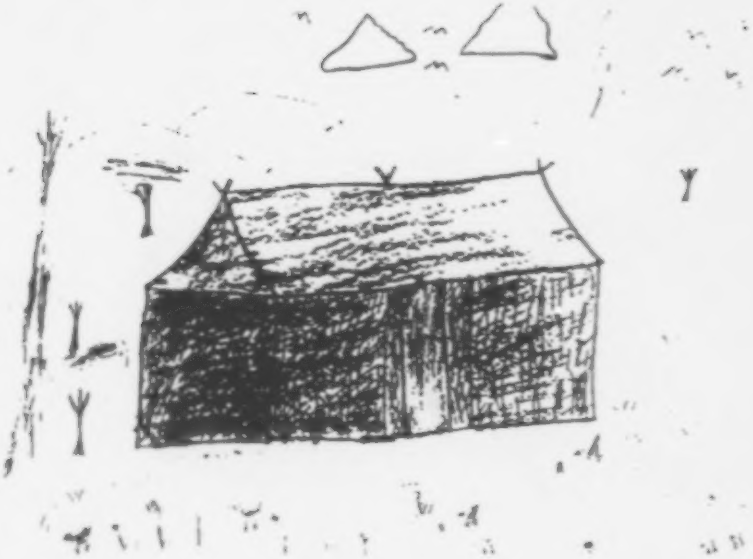
All poetry was written by students from Willow Creek Junior High in Rochester, Minnesota.
Our thanks to their ESL teacher, Jennifer Jesseph.

Illustrated Essays



My house was in China. There the mountains were not near my house. My father, mother, and friends built my house. My house was made of brick. The roof is tiles. I lived there 13 years. I have 5 people lived in my house, they are my mother, father, brother, sister, and me. There four families lived around me. I have five rooms, they are bathroom, kitchen, living and two bedrooms. We have clost, chair, table, and desk. The bathroom is between two bedroom. My house by many tree, they are bananas, and apples tree. I have cat, dog, chicken and cow, and I have roses in my garden. My father worked in the city, and I went to school. I like my house because is comfortable.

A Me Lam
Chinese
Grade 9
Harding High School



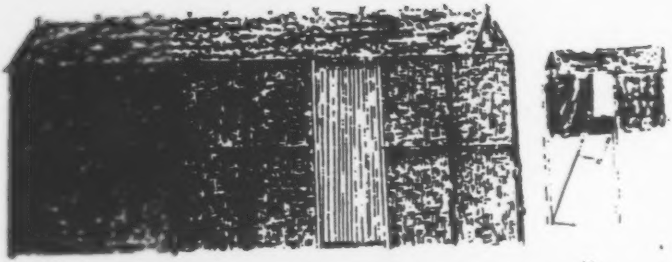
My house was in Laos. The mountains in every near my house. My father and my brother built my house. My house mede of bamboo. The house mede of bameboo. I there 10 years.

7 people live in my house. There 3 rooms. Kitchen and living roomd and bedroom. The bathroom outside the house. Three trees were by my house. I have banana tree and pineapple tree and papaya tree.

I have chicken and duck and pig. I grow a cucunber and papper tomatoes and escargle in my garden. My father is farmer. I did go to school I help my mother and my father in the farm.

I like my house because have many tree. My house have duck and pig and chicken and many ducke. I like to go to the farm. My house is not very nice.

Shoua Xiong
Hmong
Grade 9



My house was in Loas the moutains were very near. My father and my cousin built my house. My house was made of bamboo and wood. The roof was made bamboo. We lived there 5 years. Ten people lived in my house. Ten families lived around my house.

My house has three bedrooms, kitchen and livingroom together. The kitchen has big table and 6 little chair. We're ate fruit, rice and vegetable.

The bathroom was outside. I have banana, papaya, mago trees and pineapple. My families have cows, pigs and chickens. We grow bananas papayas and magos in the garden.

My father takes care of the family and takes care animals. I help my mother, but my brother went to school. I liked my house because my house has big room and cows, pig chicken.

Mai Youa Xiong
Hmong
Grade 11

These essays were written by students from Harding High School in St. Paul, Minnesota. Our thanks to their ESL teacher, Darlene Kunze.

661

Reviews

The *MinneTESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Second Language Teacher Education

edited by Jack C. Richards and David Nunan. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. xii + 340 pp.

Richards and Nunan have compiled a text that makes great strides in redirecting second language teacher education toward the development of professional teachers. It is both theoretical and concrete. The book explains approaches that facilitate innovative teacher preparation. Teacher educators, student teachers, and cooperating teachers in the schools will all find this volume useful. Included are insights on implementing reflective teaching, on intervention in student teaching, on the supervision of preservice teachers, and on conducting classroom oriented research. The book is also designed to function as a course text for student teachers. Questions for discussion are posed at the end of each major section.

The articles in the first section are concerned with general issues in and processes for teacher education. A distinction is made between teacher training and teacher education or development. Teacher training is taken to be the simple provision to preservice teachers of low inference, learnable classroom skills, methods, and techniques. Teacher development, on the other hand, seeks to educate future teachers so that they become professionals in the classroom, and become able to understand and act on the principles of second language education, to be decision-makers, and to be able to function as investigators of their own teaching. The distinction between teachers as independent, professional decision-makers and teachers as technicians of classroom skills and techniques—i.e., between teacher education and teacher training—is important. This book focuses on professional teacher education and development. This focus is one of several purposes for the book: to provide teacher educators and future teachers with an understanding of the basic concept of teacher development; to offer innovative avenues toward practical implementation of teacher education; and to present research issues and findings in second language teacher education.

If teachers are to be considered professionals, preservice and inservice programs need to provide them with a means of observing and analyzing their classrooms. One section of the book is devoted to investigating teachers and learners in classrooms. Day, after reviewing both qualitative and quantitative research methods, presents a guide for systematic observation of the classroom. Included in this section is an examination by Wright of the importance of focusing attention on values, beliefs and attitudes towards language, knowledge and learning that teachers and learners have. Wright also calls for action research, which is the focus of Nunan's chapter. Action research provides a mechanism for teachers to further their own professional development by investigating their own practice.

Several chapters on self-observation give insight into reflective teacher development. Bartlett not only describes critical reflective teaching but also provides principles to guide that process. Bartlett points out that writing is important to the reflective process. His point is that written description is a stepping stone toward reflection. The next two articles explore mechanisms for reflection through writing. First, the use of diary studies in teacher education are reviewed by Bailey. She describes keeping a teaching journal as a tool for self-evaluation. Second, the benefits of writing a journal are described. Journal writing in teacher education develops a professional approach to learning, which emphasizes learner needs, uses learner input, and focuses more on process than product. Since teacher educators advocate that these approaches be taken with language learners in classrooms, not only is it appropriate that preservice teacher education model such approaches but that student teachers themselves benefit from self-observation through journal writing.

Intervention in practice teaching and student teacher supervision are taken up in two additional sections. Outlined are options in intervening in practice teaching and how interaction in a teaching practicum can provide an opportunity for student teachers to change their teaching behaviors. Fostering change in student teachers will have an impact on the ability of new teachers to make their own teaching decisions. Alternative models for student teacher supervision are given by Gebhard and Fanselow. The supervision process described by Fanselow directly challenges the delivery model of student teacher supervision. He describes a process whereby visiting teachers and student teachers construct knowledge jointly. In this approach teachers come to see their own teaching differently, rather than being told how or what is best to teach or by being helped to do so.

These are innovative approaches! Providing education that departs radically from student teachers' previous experience is a good idea. If teacher educators expect students to teach in novel ways, then they should incorporate innovation into the teacher development program. This is nothing more than practicing what we preach. However, implementing innovative intervention and supervision is itself insufficient. Student teachers must be engaged in a dialogue about the overall purpose of participating in supervision or intervention in these innovative ways. In addition such dialogue should occur at various points throughout the student teacher's experience. Discussion must not stop when the introduction and inception of the new strategies begins. Although students may cognitively accept the rationale for innovative education, they may become frustrated as implementation of an unfamiliar process unfolds. Participating in innovative approaches may clash with long and closely held, but largely unexamined, beliefs about the way things should "really" proceed.

In the article on career growth in this book, Pennington speaks of the need for developing favorable attitudes toward change and growth. Engaging in innovative education, whether specifically in intervention and supervision or in other areas, will directly touch the attitudes students have developed toward education and toward change. The attitudes, values, and beliefs of student teachers concerning their expectations, which are in part based on their previous educational experiences, should be discussed and then re-examined at intervals throughout the preservice teacher education program. Reflection, dialogue, and discussion regarding students' basic beliefs and about their current experiences must be ongoing in order to foster better self understanding and open up channels to change.

The final section of the book is composed of four case studies that address aspects of teacher education programs. First, a graduate level teacher development program is designed and described. Then a program focusing on the teacher's use of language in the classroom with English as the medium of instruction is presented. Next a procedure that enables teacher educators who work in a foreign language context to take the perspective of participants as a starting point for inservice preparation is outlined. Finally, the COLT (Communicative Orientation of Language

Teaching) observation instrument for use in describing language classrooms is described.

Second Language Teacher Education successfully lays a base for thinking about and implementing innovative teacher education. This text is as much a practical tool as it is a forum for discussion about the direction teacher education could and should take. Prospective teachers are considered developing professionals rather than pupils to be trained as efficient technicians. This book focuses on the education of teachers as professional decision-makers and provides teacher educators with mechanisms that can begin to effect such change.

THE REVIEWER

Doris Heisig is a Ph.D. candidate and graduate assistant for the postbaccalaureate teacher preparation program in Second Languages and Cultures Education, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Breaking the Language Barrier: Creating Your Own Pathway to Success

H. Douglas Brown. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1991. 200 pp.

What does it take to learn a foreign language? What makes a language learner successful?

It is ironic that some states in the United States have mandated English-only laws while others have re-introduced requirements for foreign language study. Nevertheless, the current majority population remains monolingual in English. As language teachers know—and Senator Paul Simon mentions in the foreword—the U.S. may be reaching a point that endangers its future in a global economy primarily because few people in the U.S. are fluent in foreign languages. *Breaking the Language Barrier* is directly addressed to both English-speaking Americans who want to learn another language and their foreign language teachers, but the ideas are also relevant to ESL learners and their teachers.

H. Douglas Brown, the author of this book, is a past president of TESOL and former editor of *Language Learning*. He works at San Francisco State University as English professor and American Language Institute director. According to the Preface, he learned nine different languages as he grew up in Africa and Europe. He studied other languages in graduate school and gained some fluency in still others during international travel. These experiences plus 20 years of teaching and research in second language acquisition qualify him as an expert on how people learn languages. With this book, he shares his gift for language learning with others.

In *Breaking the Language Barrier*, Brown speaks directly to his readers, whom he assumes to be adult foreign language learners. While showing the way to successful language learning, he provides a brief but comprehensive review of the literature on language learning and psycho-cognitive learning theories. His style is intelligent but not intellectual. One wonders, though, how the book will reach its intended audience. How many adults who failed to learn another language as children are highly motivated to do so now? The book is, however, a way for teachers to look at their own teaching from a learner's perspective.

The best environment for classroom language learning, according to Brown, incorporates the following: an energetic teacher who is fluent in the foreign language and able to choose appropriate teaching methods; a course based on genuine communication, in which students are motivated towards excellence and fluency; inspiring materials that balance speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills, with little need for translation; and a classroom centered on the needs of its 15 or fewer students, with provisions made for faster and slower learners. Brown admits this is idealistic. His purpose is to show the ideal, recognize that it is only an ideal, then shift responsibility for learning onto the learners. In this book, which offers a variety of self-help strategies for becoming better language learners, Brown emphasizes that it is important for language students to "take control of [their] own language learning and assume responsibility for [their] success or failure" (p. 6).

Breaking the Language Barrier is refreshing for ESL teachers to read since it is written for adult *learners* of a second language. Thus its coverage of first language learning and its comparison of first and second language learning specifically address how knowledge gained from that research relates to adults learning a second language. For example, Brown notes that first language learning is an amazingly complex task (sounds, words, grammar, pragmatics) that almost everyone succeeds at. One difference between adults learning their second language and children learning their first is that children *must* learn their first language for survival and for power (to get what they want), while most adults have a choice about adding a new language. Children are more fortunate language learners than adults in that their cognitive developmental stage—before abstract rationalizing—allows them the relative freedom to learn languages without analysis or comparison. Brown says they have less "intellectual baggage" (p. 35). Children are not necessarily better language learners than adults, just different. The risks with language that children take in order to be understood are taken in stride, along with the other risks they take in learning to walk or to make friends. Adults, therefore, may need to take more risks and maintain a "mild level of facilitative anxiety" (p. 81). Additionally, children learn their languages—L1 and L2—for socializing and for communicating; grammar comes later. Brown suggests that adults try learning language in this order and incorporate some of these strategies. Ideally, adults will practice language by combining a child-like lack of inhibition with adult powers of analysis.

Brown applies to language learning some interesting ideas from psychology. Following B. F. Skinner, Brown says that intrinsic rewards (when someone understands what we are talking about) are positive reinforcers of language, while punishment (for errors, for example) can be a negative reinforcer. Hence, learners should focus on the positive and not punish themselves for errors. Also, just as Skinner's mice who found their own way through mazes remembered better than those who were prodded, we become better language learners if we make our own way through the maze. Those who learn language according to their own personal goals will retain more than those who rely on a teacher or materials for motivation.

In addition, Brown notes the research by psychologist Howard Gardner, who labels seven kinds of human intelligence: linguistic, logical or mathematical, spatial, musical, kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal (p. 46-47). The first two types are usually emphasized in schools, but the other five can play a huge part in language learning. The point Brown makes is that both learners and teachers should be aware of and open to new learning styles.

One chapter of the book traces a history of teaching methods, entertainingly written as a consumer's guide to language courses. For each method, Brown gives background, strengths and weaknesses, and supplies addresses where readers can write for further information. He starts with dictionary + grammar book, grammar-translation, audiolingual with language labs, then adds self-study programs (four different firms), Berlitz, Suggestopedia, Community Language Learning, the Silent Way, total immersion, computerized language lessons and interactive video, and ends with—predictably—"the eclectic ideal." The problem, Brown says, with any of these methods taken alone is that either they do not really help students learn to communicate in the foreign language, or they start out in appealing, innovative ways that a learner grows weary of over time. Hence, when choosing a language program, learners should look for one which uses an eclectic approach.

Drawing on his own language learning experiences and his years of teaching ESL, Brown says that fluency in a second language helps a person gain a "second cultural identity" (p. 97). On the one hand, learning a second language is like gaining entrance to a "club" of people who speak that language. Foreigners learn what is important to the people of that "culture club" at the same time that they learn the language to interact with them. On the other hand, patterns of language learning parallel those of culture shock, from initial joy at being understood and living in a new culture, to frustration at not being fluent and having to deal with new systems. Research shows that there is a "critical stage" (p. 104) where culture shock meets linguistic plateau. The depression which results can be overcome by an increased effort at language learning and often results in adjustment to both language and culture. These ideas should please teachers whose classes integrate language learning with acculturation.

Breaking the Language Barrier does more than talk about language learning. It also provides concrete tools to guide learners through the language learning process. It offers five mini-tests for students to determine their own learning style and a 12-step self-directed "program for language learning." Brown suggests that students keep a weekly journal to analyze and describe their own learning processes. He asks learners to review the principles of language learning as found in the chapters of this book—one topic per week—plus analyze their level of self-confidence for language learning. Students are to respond to such questions as:

- What are your personal goals for learning this language? (Review this frequently.)

- In which ways do you learn best? (Refer to the self-tests.) Based on what you know about your cognitive style, how well are you using your whole brain to learn?

- What kinds of errors are you making, and what can you learn from them?

Students are also supposed to express feelings of self-doubt or anxiety while learning the new language, then apply confidence-building activities.

- Are you worrying too much about using the language correctly? Do you need to loosen up to improve fluency?

By writing and rereading this journal each week, students should know in a short time which strategies help them to learn. However, these questions seem time-consuming and difficult to answer in a second language, and it is not clear whether Brown intended this journal to be written in the native or new language. It might be better to use the questions for class discussion, perhaps with written follow-up. Or, if we teachers request responses to teaching/learning strategies that we use, we can learn which strategies are most effective with the students currently in our classes.

In sum, this book is useful as a guide for students who wish to learn a foreign language, as an introductory text for pre-service language teachers, and as a reference for in-service language teachers who want to be sure their classroom methods are up-to-date. The design of this book is appealing: the table of contents is annotated with focus questions for each chapter, subtitles within chapters are highlighted, main points are enumerated at the end of each chapter, references for further study are in endnotes, and there is an index. I hope that *Breaking the Language Barrier* finds an audience among foreign language classes, and among ESL teachers who want to read an entertaining review of issues in the field.

So, what does it take to learn a foreign language? A knowledge of self—knowledge both intuitive and analytical—plus a genuine desire to communicate. What makes a language learner successful? An independent will to succeed, and a copy of this book to coach the learning process.

THE REVIEWER
Ellen Mamer teaches ESL at Lakewood Community College and occasionally serves as an adjunct instructor at other institutions.

Back Issues of the *MinneTESOL Journal*

Volume 1, 1981 (60 pages)

- Being with students: Some good advice for teachers .... Joan Hildenbrand
- Current events for advanced conversation .... Leisa C. Huddleston
- Cultural test bias: How does it relate to the LEP student? .... Marge Kaplan
- Listening comprehension in the oral tradition .... Lise Lunge-Larsen
- You have to reach 'em to teach 'em: The beginnings of a bibliography in ESL for children .... Pat Wilcox Peterson

Volume 2, 1982 (50 pages)

- What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language? .... Elaine Tarone
- Hmong refugees in an American city: A case study in language contact .... Bruce T. Downing & Sharon Dwyer
- Designing an ESL program for preliterate adults: An account of one program's development .... Ellen Vaut
- A selected bibliography of work in discourse analysis and English as a second language .... Jeanette K. Gundel

Volume 3, 1983 (73 pages)

- Current events for ESL students: A course descriptionfor the teacher .... Terry L. Frederickson
- Cultivating the cabbages: An ESP program for refugee students .... Adele G. Hansen
- Hmong bilinguals: How did *they* learn English? .... Lois Malcolm
- Facilitating teacher growth: An approach to training and evaluation .... Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, & William Perry
- An evaluation of a course for foreign teaching assistants: A case study approach .... Mark Landa

Volume 4, 1984 (79 pages)

- Montessori language lessons: The almost silent way .... Ann Eljenholm Nichols
- The excommunicative approach (and how to avoid it) .... George Yule
- Some neglected vocabulary needs of ESL students .... Tom Richards
- The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: Thoughts on teaching relative clauses and other structures ..... Eric Nelson

Volume 5, 1985 (83 pages)

- Preparing LEP students for on-the-job training .... Catherine Robinson
- Clinically speaking ESP for refugee nursing students .... John Marston & Adele G. Hansen
- Modifying an ESP course syllabus through a teacher-planned needs assessment .... Karen Sorensen
- Using a sensitive topic in teaching lecture comprehension .... Colleen Meyers

Volume 6, 1986 (74 pages)

- A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades .... Vivian Mann
- Teaching paraphrasing to ESL students .... Patricia M. Odean
- Self-monitoring of articles and verbs in ESLwritten production .... Barbara Schwarte & Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Volume 7, 1987-1989 (72 pages)

- Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation .... Thomas A. Upton
- Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? .... Lynne Ackerberg
- Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators .... Elaine Tarone
- Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction .... Irene K. Prendergast
- Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition .... William R. Sims

Volume 8, 1989-1990 (114 pages)

- "Back to basics:" Literacy for second language learners in the public schools .... Elaine Tarone
- Geodes like sky blue popsicles: Developing authorship literacy in limited Englishproficient students .... Lisa Boehlke & Mary Kay Rummel
- Finding a voice: Secondary students write their stories .... Lindsey Allen
- Citizenship education: The three S's—self, school, and state (Excerpts) .... Michael J. Mullins
- Schemata, strategies, and social construction: Some implications for second language pedagogy .... Paul Prior
- Some effects of culture in the ESL classroom and their implications for teaching .... Laura Buchanan
- The role of error correction in the process-oriented ESL composition classroom .... Susan Bosher

ORDERING INFORMATION

- Individual volumes cost $5.00 each.
- Identify your selection by volume and year.
- A set of Volumes 1-6 costs $25.00.
- Postage and handling is included.
- Please make checks payable to MinneTESOL
- Order from:

Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*
Diane Tedick
125 Peik Hall
159 Pillsbury Drive SE
Curriculum & Instruction
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455-0208

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL

Journal

Celebrating Ten Years

Volume 10 1992

674

PROPERTY OF:
THOMAS A. UPTON

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 10, 1992

A Journal for Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
MinneTESOL is the Minnesota affiliate of TESOL.

Co-Editors
DIANE J. TEDICK, University of Minnesota
ADELE G. HANSEN, University of Minnesota

Editorial Advisory Board
Kären Dudley
St. Paul Public Schools
Ann Sax Mabbott
University of Minnesota
Carol Quest
St. Paul Public Schools
Judith Strohl
Minneapolis Public Schools
Thomas Upton
University of Minnesota

Grateful thanks is given to our typesetter, Cathy Zemke, and to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD 1992-93

President
Thomas Upton
First Vice President
Wendy Weimer
Second Vice-President
Suzanne Donsky
Membership Co-Secretaries
Mary Lou Martens
Carmel Murphy
Treasurer
John Neumann
Past President
Janet Dixon
Newsletter Co-editors
Beverly Hill
John Mundahl
Regional Liason
Mary Musielewicz
Communications
Marlys Smebakken
Advertising and Exhibits
Martha Kieffer
Socio-Political Concerns/Recording Secretary
Judith Stoutland
Resource Center
Shirley Krogmeier
Xochitl Dennis

Membership in MinneTESOL

Membership in MinneTESOL is $12..00 and includes a subscription to the **MinneTESOL Journal** and **MinneTESOL Newsletter.** Contact the Membership Secretary, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 10, 1992

Contents

ARTICLES

Who's Missing From This Picture? National Educational Reform Efforts and Language Minority Students
Constance L. Walker & Pamela McCollum 1

Pull-In Programs—A New Trend in ESL Education?
Ann Sax Mabbot & Judith Strohl 21

Our Town: Drama as Curriculum
Molly McGowan-Rink 31

A Literature Course for the ESL Classroom
Jeff Partridge 49

Children of Abya-Yala: EFL Students Consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' Arrival
Donald F. Hones 59

Developing Oral Communication Skills Through Cassette Journals
Jane Petring 67

Using Compliments in the ESL Classroom: An Analysis of Culture and Gender
Patrick Dunham 75

The Importance of a Good Kibun in the ESL Classroom
James H. Robinson & Alex Fisher 87

Test-Taking Strategies on ESL Language Tests
Andrew D. Cohen 101

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 10, 1992

WORK IN PROGRESS

Teachers' Reformulations of ESL Students' Responses
Jim Dobson 117

Acculturation, Ethnicity, and Second Language Acquisition: A Study of Hmong Students at the Post-Secondary Level
Susan Bosher 121

STUDENTS' WORK

Poetry 131
Essays 135

REVIEWS

What's in a Word? Reading and Vocabulary Building
Samuela Eckstut and Karen Sorensen
Reviewed by Caren Hohenstein Abdelaal 143
Culture Shock U.S.A.
Esther Wanning
Reviewed by Deniz Gökçora 146

677

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 10, 1992

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

  The *MinneTESOL* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the State of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal.*

- **Manuscripts**

  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association.* They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

  Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an absract of not more than 200 words. **Submission of a computer diskette (labeled with system and software used, is STRONGLY encouraged.**

  Contributions to Volume 11 should be submitted to the editors:

  Adele G. Hansen & Diane J. Tedick
  125 Peik Hall
  159 Pillsbury Drive SE
  Curriculum & Instruction
  University of Minnesota
  Minneapolis MN 55455-0208

- **Advertising**

  Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 10, 1992

Introduction

In celebration of the tenth anniversary of the *Journal*, Adele Hansen and I are pleased to offer you our most comprehensive volume yet. We believe that it provides an array of articles that represent the exciting work that is taking place across the state as well as in other areas of the country. The articles provide a broad range of issues from policy to pedagogy to research and assessment. Our hope is that you will find the contributions to this volume of the *Journal* as thought-provoking and stimulating as we do.

The first section contains articles of interest to ESL teachers, administrators, and researchers. We begin with two articles that deal with issues of educational policy and language planning. In "Who's Missing from this Picture? National Educational Reform Efforts and Language Minority Students," Constance Walker and Pamela McCollum provide a thorough and perceptive analysis of the *America 2000* plan as it relates to language minority students. Although *America 2000* was put forth by the Bush administration, the issues it addresses provide the backbone of many reform efforts taking place across the nation. Walker's and McCollum's critique of the plan is particularly valuable in that it serves as a model for us to critically examine current and future reform efforts and policy issues—at local, state, and national levels—with respect to how they affect the students we serve.

Another policy issue is addressed in the article by Ann Sax Mabbott and Judith Strohl—that of language planning. In "Pull-In Programs—A New Trend in ESL Education?" Mabbott and Strohl provide an overview of the most common kinds of models for ESL instruction, highlighting both the advantages and disadvantages of each. Their examination is an important one, particularly in light of the fact that a number of districts in our state are in the process of reevaluating the models of instruction they follow.

The next four articles illustrate a variety of pedagogical techniques and methodologies. We begin with "*Our Town*--Drama as Curriculum," by Molly McGowan-Rink. In this piece, McGowan-Rink describes an exciting three-week curricular unit based on Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, which she developed and implemented in an ESL American History class during one of her student teaching experiences. She suggests that drama in

670

the ESL classroom is an excellent way of developing not only students' language skills, but their cultural understandings as well. Her ideas are relevant to all classroom teachers, as they can be adapted for any level.

A methodology for incorporating literature in the ESL classroom is presented by Jeff Partridge in "A Literature Course for the ESL Classroom." Partridge provides a sound rationale for using literature with ESL students and describes in detail the guidelines for his methodology. Although geared toward university-level ESL students, this methodology can be adapted for both secondary and elementary students.

The third article that focuses on pedagogical issues is presented by Donald Hones and has as its title "Children of Abya-Yala: EFL Students Consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' Arrival." In this piece, Hones describes how he involved his EFL students in Quito, Ecuador in a critical exploration of the issues surrounding the Quincentennial, particularly in relation to its impact on the indigenous communities of Latin America. Hones article provides an excellent model for participatory education, a model that all educators can learn from.

"Developing Oral Communication Skills Through Cassette Journals," the fourth methodological article, is presented by Jane Petring. In this piece, Petring describes the adaptation of dialogue journal writing to an aural/oral medium—dialoguing via cassette recordings. She explains how she incorporated the methodology in her elementary ESL class and provides guidelines that can be used with learners at any age level.

The final three articles in this section focus on research issues that have important pedagogical implications. Patrick Dunham, in "Using Compliments in the ESL Classroom: An Analysis of Culture and Gender," describes an informal study done with high school Southeast Asian students. These students were taught to use compliments to initiate conversations at work sites and were overwhelmingly positive about the experience. Dunham describes ways in which teachers can help ESL students to use compliments as conversation starters, suggesting that such a technique helps students to gain cultural understanding and build ties of solidarity in the English language community.

Also focusing on culture issues as they relate to communication, James Robinson and Alex Fisher draw connections between ESL teaching and anthropological research on the cultural translation of *kibun* (mood or feelings) in East Asia with "mood" in the U.S. In "The Importance of a Good *Kibun* in the ESL Classroom," they define *kibun* and describe how a cultural translation between *kibun* and mood can help teachers to improve cross-cultural communication in the classroom.

We finish this section with an article by Andrew Cohen entitled "Test-Taking Strategies on ESL Language Tests." Cohen provides a review of the literature and describes the research related to strategies students employ in the taking of second language tests of reading and writing skills. He finishes his piece with a number suggested test-taking strategies, which both teachers and students may find valuable.

The next section, "Work in Progress," is offered to our readers for the second year in a row. In this volume, we have the opportunity to share progress reports on the work being done by two Ph.D. students at the University of Minnesota. In "Teachers' Reformulations of ESL Students' Responses," Jim Dobson describes the work he is doing on reformulations—that is, teacher repetition and/or transformation of student responses. He suggests that reformulation practices indicate social information regarding teacher/student relationships in the classroom and that teachers need to be aware of how different types of reformulations of students' responses may inhibit or encourage students' language learning.

The next work-in-progress piece, "Acculturation, Ethnicity, and Second Language Acquisition: A Study of Hmong Students at the Post-Secondary Level," is presented by Susan Bosher. In this article, Bosher discusses the study she is doing with the Hmong population at the post-secondary level, which explores the extent to which acculturation can be considered a predictor of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and academic success.

Also appearing in the *Journal* for the second year in a row is the next section entitled "Student Work." We are especially privileged this year to bring you the first-place essays from the writing contest (sponsored by MinneTESOL), which formed part of the events scheduled to celebrate

ESL/Bilingual Awareness Week (October 17–24, 1992). We are also happy to bring you students' poetry and encourage ESL teachers to continue to help us publish students' work in upcoming volumes.

The last section of this volume contains two book reviews. Carol Hohenstein Abdelaal reviews *What's in a Word? Reading and Vocabulary Building* by Samuela Eckstut and Karen Sorensen. In addition, Esther Wanning's *Culture Shock U.S.A.* is reviewed by Deniz Gökçora.

Once again, Adele and I were disappointed not to have responses to articles from Volume 9 to include in "The Forum" this year. We invite readers to submit responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in this year's volume so that we can include them in "The Forum" next year. We also strongly encourage readers to volunteer to act as members on our Editorial Advisory Board. Please contact either of us should you be interested in joining us or should you wish to have further information. We look forward to hearing from you.

Diane J. Tedick

Diane J. Tedick

682

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Who's Missing From This Picture? National Educational Reform Efforts and Language Minority Students

CONSTANCE L. WALKER
University of Minnesota

PAMELA McCOLLUM
University of Colorado

Not since A *Nation at Risk* appeared in 1983 (National Commission on Excellence in Education) has there been the attention paid to educational reform that has met President Bush's *America 2000* plan. Ambitious in its scope, *America 2000* has set forth major proposals for educational change that begin with large "goals" that are to guide the movement for change. *America 2000* has been put forth to meet the needs of the nation's children. What does the document tell us about the government's knowledge of our students? The purpose of this paper is to examine the intent and themes of this latest reform movement and what those themes tell us about the learners such reforms are designed to impact. Most importantly, the fate of the nation's 3.6 million limited English proficient (LEP) students is explored in the light of the direction of the *America 2000* reforms. What do these efforts mean for the growing population of our nation's students who come to school with a potential for developing bilingualism? Are their needs represented in the movement to toughen and strengthen standards for both instruction and assessment?

WHAT IS AMERICA 2000?

Although the genesis of the efforts are not clear, corporate consultants, White House policy-makers, six governors, and administrative staff members were enlisted to develop the plan for this major reform effort. The glossary of key terms in the document defines *America 2000* as follows:

> An action plan to move America toward the six national education goals through a populist crusade, by assuring accountability in today's schools, unleashing America's genius to jump-start a new generation of American schools, transforming a "Nation at Risk" into a "Nation of Students," and nurturing the family and community values essential to personal responsibility, strong schools and sound education for all children.
>
> (*America 2000*, p. 4)

Six goals form the backbone of this national standards movement designed to restructure education and return excellence to public education:

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
3. American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competence in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

At first glance it is clear that the goals are broad, sweeping, and sure to find great agreement among the American public. The mood of the document is upbeat, dealing in platitudes and slogans intended to give a new feel to yet another call for educational reform. One such phrase, "535+ by 1996" has the ring of a campaign slogan and calls for corporate funding toward the establishment of 535 New American Schools to be set up in *America 2000* Communities, including Puerto Rico, the U.S. territories, and the District of Columbia by 1996. Each model school program is to be directed from the governor's office in each state. The political nature of the document comes into clearer focus when one realizes the number 535 was not chosen from a hat, but rather represents the number of U.S. Congressional Districts: the plus refers to Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Territories.

The "New World Standards," which are being developed by the National Educational Goals Panel, will be assessed by national examinations called the American Achievement Tests at the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades in each of five core subjects. These data will be available for public scrutiny and will allow parents to assess which schools are best accomplishing the New World Standards thus enabling parents to choose the school they wish their children to attend. It is proposed that school choice will create a so-called market economy, promote competition among the schools, and stimulate excellence in public education.

Elements of *America 2000* that will achieve school restructuring are the six national education goals, the New World Standards, American Achievement Tests, a public reporting system called Report Cards, and the exercise of free choice in determining where one's children will go to school. The policy proposes virtually *no* new expenditures by the Federal government for education.

Some positive points can be gleaned from an examination of *America 2000* and the resulting additional documents. Given soon tos be former President's Bush's claim that he is the "Education President," it is indeed encouraging to find the administration (beyond the Department of Education) actually thinking and talking about education. There are several statements made that educators can find encouraging in that they reflect perspectives long held by teachers, administrators, and researchers, but not often recognized or validated by policy-makers, particularly at the federal level. The documents do offer the belief that activities at school levels do make a difference in student achievement. They stress the importance of a link between schools and communities, and the necessity of parent involvement in the educational process. Literacy and life-long learning appear as recurring issues in the push for a more educated populace.

The lofty nature of the goals and the absence of a recognition of the complexity inherent in the process of addressing them are drawbacks of

America 2000. For example, while Goal One stresses the importance of school readiness, it fails to make the important link between other basic needs (nutrition, pre-natal care) and school readiness. One is struck by the surface level of the discussions of student achievement, and the underlying themes that render these discussions simplified and somewhat naïve.

America 2000 seems to address a single audience—those who believe that education needs a jolt that can only come from the concerted efforts of business and government. It describes our nation's students with a very limited perspective. Minority students go almost unmentioned, and the great diversity in language, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds of our school-age learners is ignored. More telling about these latest reform efforts are the voices that were and were not included in their development, as well as the themes that emerge from the language and structure of the document.

WHOSE VOICES HAVE BEEN HEARD?

It is enlightening to examine the original and supporting documents of *America 2000* for clues as to which voices are valued and which might likely be heard in the national debate for better schools. Teachers and principals who work in schools and who will be entrusted with the difficult task of making any reform effort work (with diminishing resources) were absent in the development of these efforts. However, the corporate influence in this process is apparent on several levels. Often, the composition of groups reveals over representation of corporate executives affiliated with Fortune 500 companies. The Board of Directors for the New American Schools Development Corporation (a purportedly private enterprise) consists exclusively of corporate CEOs and is primarily made up of white males, with very limited representation from the African American and Hispanic communities in the country.

To date, the National Education Goals Panel, which is charged with implementing the goals set out in *America 2000*, has published three interim reports on its progress. Six resource groups, composed of 8 to 10 members of business, academe, and the public schools, were set up to decide how to best implement each goal. These groups are responsible for determining what types of data will be compiled for each goal such that the public can determine which schools are most effective. Resource groups were directed to use established data bases such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data and data gathering programs already in place through the Council of Chief State School Officers to reduce the cost and the amount of time involved in collecting additional data. In examining the panel's reports, one is again struck by the same inattention to the concerns of language minority students that appeared in the administration's original call for school restructuring in the document *America 2000*. Practitioners and researchers with special knowledge of the issues of language minority schooling were included as members of only two of the six resource groups to help articulate strategies for implementing the New World Standards. Interestingly, the two goals for which their expertise was sought were those having to do with dropouts and drugs. One is given the impression that specialists in language minority student issues are not to be found or needed in areas such as school readiness, adult literacy, or student achievement. It is also telling that the resource groups on drop-outs and drug abuse are the only two to raise issues relative to language minority students. Not only are the needs of language minority students missing from other areas of education where they are indeed crucial, but their mention in these two stigmatized areas reinforces the belief that the important issues facing these students are drug-taking and school-leaving.

Within the last few years, highly publicized reform efforts have been proposed for America's system of public schooling. Such reforms have offered the promise of increased student achievement through school choice, better preparation of teachers, and attention to rigorous national testing standards. It goes without saying that with each of these ideas there are very controversial options, options that in fact have become politicized. Within such a climate, the experience of teachers, parents, and researchers is often ignored, and proposals are made which seem to meet a larger social agenda. Such proposals often fail to consider the extreme complexity of school change. What is most frustrating is that political/educational reform efforts often suffer from a lack of contact with reality that may well be due to a lack of consultation with practitioners. Consultation and collaboration with those individuals closest to teaching and learning (students, parents, teachers, administrators, teacher educators, researchers), would result in more authentic portrayals of both the problems of and the possibilities for change. A lack of respect for consultation with educators is evident in *America 2000*. Educators were not involved in the development of the plan, or the process of conceptualizing the goals for implementation. "Had it been a strategy for reforming, say, law, medicine, science, or business, it is a very safe bet that lawyers, doctors, scientists, and business people would have dominated the process" (Kaplan, 1991, p. 11).

What themes emerge from the reform efforts and what do they tell us about how we envision school change? In further standardizing the process of schooling, what will be some likely outcomes, particularly for language minority students?

A "CRUSADE," "BOLD GOALS," AND "A CALL TO ARMS"

Demands for school reform seem to be part of our social and political fabric. Indeed many educators have developed a form of cynicism with which to arm themselves against the next wave of efforts to solve large-scale social problems by restructuring schools. Reform efforts in the 1980's focused on students, their families and educators, and "involved simplistic increases in accountability aimed at making teachers and students work harder (test more, assign more homework, require more courses, etc.)" (McCaslin & Good, 1992, p. 6). In a similar vein, *America 2000* calls for bold, new action and cries for accountability and results.

Competition and the competitive edge in a global economy offer a rationale for national standards for rigorous testing and a set of national examinations. Being "Number One" is not only considered the key to economic competitiveness, but is seen as the secret to restoring lost faith in education. Indeed, this phrase appears in one of the original goals (related to mathematics and science achievement) and is represented throughout the document by references to competition. The competitive nature of American culture appears in the thinking of those who devised the goals, through the major theme of national economic superiority, couched in a condemnation of today's schools. The emphasis on national productivity goals seen from an economic perspective is reflected in terms such as "accountability packages" and "jump start." The strident use of racing metaphors—"Our country is idling its engines" and "American students are at or near the back of the pack" (*America 2000*, p. 9)—reinforces the clear message that, left in the hands of educators, our schools have become instruments of under achievement and lack of purpose.

The "back to basics" message, the involvement of the business sector, and a strident tone that denies the complexity, immensity, and seriousness of the problems that face teachers and students underlie *America 2000*. Some critics argue that it speaks of children as "devices," tools for serving our competitive economic goals, and as such gives the message that we no

688

longer value education for human development and personal growth, but have far more utilitarian objectives in mind.

Further examination of the language of the document reveals more than the fact that it was not written by individuals familiar with education. As part of the New American Schools initiative, the President wants business-backed research and development teams to "reinvent the American school." While acknowledging in passing that some important instructional innovations and school restructuring efforts have "pointed the way," there is language that seeks to *redo, rebuild, redesign*. Having failed to involve educators in the initial efforts to examine schools in America, such language is not likely to encourage them to participate in this change.

Under extraordinarily difficult conditions, particularly over the past decade, educators have struggled to do more with less. Then, along comes *America 2000*. The very act of establishing this reform effort based on national goals and a national testing agenda speaks volumes about the expectation that educational problems can be solved from the top down. The development of the plan argues that the mere involvement of federal and state officers in the development of these high standards will ensure comparably high achievement among the nation's school-age students. Yet history is likely to prove otherwise. "The setting of national goals and the establishment of a national education policy not only reinforce but also expand our system of endless and arbitrary standardized achievement testing that already begins even before kindergarten" (Clinchy, 1991, p. 213).

Model schools, the exploration of national standards for curriculum, national assessment strategies, and parental choice for schools are widely debated aspects of the new education agenda. Most interesting is that, regardless of the kind of change one would argue is necessary for the improvement of public schooling, *America 2000* goals are supposed to be achieved without any federal money. (It is hoped that $200 million in corporate donations will fund the 535+ schools.) How can one "disregard all past practices" when financial constraints will be the most defining characteristic of the charge to change education? The lack of recognition of the maldistribution of revenues for schooling is a glaring negative in the *America 2000* reports. Differences among states, school districts, and even schools in the availability of financial and physical resources is a crucial determinant of resultant student achievement. Kentucky and Texas have had their school finance systems declared unconstitutional by their state judiciary, and 23 states have similar cases pending. As documented by

Kozol (1991), those schools, districts, and states serving large numbers of poor, immigrant, and non-white students have fewer resources than do those serving white and middle-class communities. Why were such disparities and their implications for student learning ignored? The belief that funding has little influence on the quality of schools can be dismissed along with another old "axiom" that class size is not related to student achievement. While some change can occur through leadership, communication, and commitment, most change requires dialog, time, smaller class sizes, and flexibility in curriculum and staffing—all of which require money. The administration's efforts to push for large-scale change in schooling without recognition of the tremendous financial burden that states and cities face is inexcusable.

The end results of continued "massive" reform efforts might likely be to erode confidence in America's public schools. In highlighting the very real need that schools have, national reform policies more often than not paint our educational system with one very large brush. The common public perception of the viability of public education is increasingly negative. "We suspect that as the President and others berate educators for the failure of schools, the public will become less willing to support education with public dollars. Simplistic reasoning is also likely to pervade demands for erroneous, simple accountability measures that not only fail to measure what they purport to measure, but also increasingly force schools to offer a narrow, outdated curriculum" (McCaslin & Good, 1992, p. 7).

"HUNGRY, UNWASHED, AND FRIGHTENED:" A CHANGING AMERICAN SCHOOL POPULATION*

Increased birthrates among Americans of Asian, Black, and Hispanic background together with immigration from Asian and Central and South American countries support high minority population trends for American cities, and raise several national dilemmas for public and social policy. Given the plethora of references to this social change in the general press and its inevitable effects on American society, one is struck by the virtual absence of the mention of minorities or minority issues in the Bush administration's policy for school restructuring. *America 2000* contains no mention of cultural diversity. While the document claims a federal responsibility for "assuring equal opportunity," no mention is made of the tremendous challenges schools face as they seek to serve the diverse populations of America's schools. The six major goals and the objectives of the resource groups for gathering information and creating change should have been addressed with attention to diversity. A failure to recognize that fact must bring the entire effort into question. To talk about reforming national standards, devising and developing new curricula and tests to meet those standards, but not to explore the effect of such "standards" on the lives of many of our non-white students is to give evidence of not having consulted teachers, parents, and communities before speaking about major school reform. For diversity, both its joys and challenges, would be one of the primary issues raised in such discussions. Diversity—in learning styles, socioeconomic background, language, ethnicity, gender, preparation for schooling—is at the heart of educators' concerns with respect to curriculum, testing, teacher preparation, and the viability of schools (*Here They Come, Ready or Not*, 1986). The lack of focus on the challenges that diverse school populations pose for teachers stands out as a serious flaw in the reform documents. "The entire proposal lacks a sense of reality about the situation of children and youth in America. Their growing diversity is ignored, their growing poverty is not even mentioned, and muddled thinking about their motivation suggests that forcing them to fail tests will awaken their desire to learn" (Howe, 1991, p.203). Indeed, Professor Jóse Cárdenas, a member of a resource team, voiced frustration with the agenda as it concerns minority students: "The initiatives fail to address the most severe problems of the educational system: the perception of atypical students as being deficient, the inability to distinguish between lack of experiences and lack of capability, low levels of expectancy and incompatible materials and methodology" (Cárdenas, 1991, p. 29).

**America 2000*, 1991

The number of students who bring other language skills to school continues to increase in the American public school population. Ten percent of the total public school population enrolling in the fall of 1988 was Hispanic—4.3 million students. One in ten U.S. 8th graders is Hispanic (National Council of La Raza, 1990). More than one third of San Francisco Unified School District's student population has a primary language other than English (NCAS, 1988). In addition to the many American-born students with home languages other than English, the immigrant population has expanded since the 1960's. Current migration trends, dominated by Asian, Caribbean, and Hispanic peoples, contribute to a diverse school population. How will these students fare in the proposed standardization of assessment efforts?

"A NATIONWIDE SYSTEM OF HIGH QUALITY NATIONAL EXAMS" AND LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS

The pervasive focus of *America 2000* is on testing. According to the text, documentation of the "problems" with schools will require massive efforts at data-gathering. The lack of available data on all facets of student life in America caused the document's creators to demand national collection of data related to all six goals. From early childhood through adult learning, developers were amazed at the paucity of numbers that describe our nation's inhabitants where achievement is concerned. So first on the list is to *gather better data*. The traditional independence of states in measuring student learning will clearly be sacrificed to the need for national accountability. How well are our students doing in comparison with other nations? *More tests, better tests, comparability of test scores* will become the hallmarks of the assessment phase in order to answer that question. Testing drives the efforts of President Bush's educational reform efforts, in the belief that more and better data can ultimately give us what we need to improve student learning.

How will more tests help students become more effective learners? Some researchers argue that the roots of testing lie in the efforts to gauge the success of schools rather than efforts to monitor the performance of individual students (Resnick & Resnick, 1985)—it is this distinction that best explains the dilemma we find ourselves in as we explore the national mania for testing. It has been demonstrated that high-stakes testing reduces effective learning opportunities for children, crowds out those meaningful lessons that produce interaction, activity, and synthesis, and degrades and deskills teachers (Smith, 1991). Smith has concluded that mandated testing programs reduce the time available for classroom instruction by as much as 100 hours per year. Focusing on practicing for tests, test-taking, and factual memorization rather than problem-solving renders the school curriculum one in which students are prepared for jobs that no longer exist and continue unprepared for the complex, interdependent global economy in which they will labor. "We should spend less time ranking children and more time helping them to identify their natural competencies and gifts and cultivate those. There are hundreds and hundreds of ways to succeed and many, many different abilities that will help you get there" (Gardner, 1986).

The development of higher standards, and new assessments of educational achievement in which students, teachers, schools, districts, and states can be more carefully compared will bring forth no new information: students who have not done well in the past will likely do no better or worse on such new measures. Such renewed efforts to test and compare will tell us what we already know—that students who are immigrants, migrants, limited in their English skills, or who come from poverty backgrounds will fail to achieve at a level comparable to middle-class English-speaking students from homogeneous communities.

Jeannie Oakes, an educator and researcher with special interest in the nature of tracking, believes that national examination systems and increased emphasis on standardized assessment will likely produce negative consequences for students, particular low-income, African-American, and Latino students (Oakes, 1988, 1991). She argues that low test results (certain to be evident, as in the past, with newer improved versions of tests) close down, rather than open up, opportunities for disadvantaged and minority students. The inferiority of courses, programs, and opportunities available to minority students in inner-city schools results in little rigorous academic content, low expectations, and little exposure to critical thinking and problem solving. Her work documenting the extreme differences in content offered and strategies utilized by teachers in low track vs. high track classrooms in the U.S. is a stinging indictment of the "equal educational opportunity" we so highly tout. "The uneven distribution of schooling resources and opportunities—partly on the basis of test scores—tells a disturbing story of how access to the knowledge and skills required to perform well on newly-proposed national tests intersects with students' race, social class, and community" (Oakes, 1991, p. 18).

Other educators also condemn test-driven instruction (Madaus, 1988; Shepard, 1991), pointing out that low-achieving students are consigned to drill and practice activities for even longer periods than their higher-achieving peers. Teaching isolated pieces of tasks, and teaching to the test reinforce outdated perspectives of learning that emphasize behavioristic and mechanistic aspects of cognitive development. More recent knowledge about learning shows us that related, contextual frameworks provide the best opportunities for children to master a range of skills, from the very basic to more complex cognitive operations. When extended periods of time are spent on the "building blocks," whether the focus is English as a second language or mathematics, the absence of context and meaning renders lessons dull and boring. For children who bring other languages and cultural identities to the classroom, traditional fundamental instruction has not always proven successful. For many limited English proficient students, the "basics" become the whole curriculum. Failing to master the basics, they never to get to explore the context-based "interesting stuff" that makes school learning motivating.

Where limited English proficient students are concerned, the problems of achievement are confounded by a multitude of practices and standards for assessment of both English language skill and academic achievement (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1991). While states control some aspects of funding for limited English proficient populations through bilingual education or English as a second language program funds, the methods by which students are assessed and monitored for achievement are generally left to individual school districts. Thus a student identified as LEP in one state or district might not be so identified in another state. While a public cry for increased national standards has been heard, policy guidelines and exit criteria from special programs for LEP students have been loosened, contributing to these students having less exposure to either bilingual and/or English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction. Entry and exit criteria that determine if other language background students need bilingual or ESL instruction are varied and complex. We argue that a dual set of standards is in operation—one that determines what is acceptable achievement for language minority children, and one that applies to the achievement of native-English-speaking children. At one level, these dual criteria serve to sort children within and among programs in a school. At another level, the transitional nature of bilingual and ESL programs and the practice of exiting students based on oral language proficiency and low scores on standardized achievement tests are compounded by a lack of emphasis on native language literacy development. Together with institutionalized lower expectations for achievement, this creates a permanent underclass within the school population (McCollum & Walker, 1990). It is clear that the standards for LEP students in terms of achievement are not necessarily comparable to those required of native English speakers. Fewer than 10 states have a mechanism whereby the academic status of LEP students can be monitored after they are placed in English-only classrooms. There is often inadequate and unreliable information about drop-out rates, retention rates, and referrals for special education among the LEP population in America's schools (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1992). While there may be inadequate data at the district, state, and national level on the status of the LEP student population, the problems confronted by LEP students are certainly familiar to practitioners. Under achievement, failure to complete school, or graduation without adequate academic preparation to function in post-secondary settings are common outcomes observed by those in the field (Bosher, 1992; Collier, 1989).

"NEW WORLD STANDARDS" FOR WHOM?

It is our contention that in some cases, reform practices designed with only mainstream students in mind may conflict with or erode the best practices needed for bilingual students. The work of Readiness Resource Group (Goal #1) provides an example of how policy that is articulated only for mainstream students presents a variety of problems when it is applied to language minority groups. When cross-cultural issues are raised, what may seem to be rational approaches to complex educational issues become questionable. For example, in order to assess school readiness, one has to decide which indices characterize school readiness and what kind (and whose) norms will be used for assessment. If mainstream, middle class norms are the criteria to be used, how will pre-schoolers of other cultural and linguistic backgrounds fare? Is it reasonable to expect five year old language minority students who do not speak English and who have had little or no exposure to native English speaking children to have learned preschool curriculum and mainstream patterns of school behavior prior to entering school? Will not having such knowledge put such students at a disadvantage before they even enter school?

The Readiness Resource Group stresses the importance of children having well developed language prior to entering school and the known link between language development, cognition and learning. They state that students who have language facility upon school entrance are empowered. What is ignored however, is that hundreds of thousands of students enter school each year with well developed language skills in languages other than English that are not recognized or used as the basis for learning by the school. Tied to those native language skills are cognitive development in the first language, as well as knowledge and expectations about how language is used in social groups to accomplish a wide range of goals. Students learning English as a second language have a sophisticated level of communicative competence in their native language that is not assessed or considered as knowledge that qualifies them to ready to learn. Instead, they are judged from a deficit perspective and are labeled limited English proficient. The rush is then on to immerse them in English and phase out their native language.

Readiness and preparation for school are recurring themes in the world of educational reform. Reports continue to stress the importance of proper early education as a means for preventing school failure. The logic that the earlier one begins to learn something (e.g., gymnastics, swimming, tennis, etc.), the higher the possible ultimate level of mastery, does *not* apply to second language learning for language minority students. Extensive research over the last twenty years has shown that bilingual students who develop their native language literacy skills *before* beginning second language literacy, ultimately attain higher levels of achievement in the second language (Cummins, 1979; 1984; Collier, 1989) *and* other academic subjects (Skutnab-Kangas, 1984). Those students who are most successful in the development of English language skill and academic achievement are those students who arrive in the U.S. (or begin school) already grounded in first language literacy and cognitive skills, able to then transfer those skills to the new language. Thus, while it appears to be counter-intuitive to delay English literacy instruction until the child is well grounded in his/her native language, so doing will produce greater returns in English language skills in the long run. In an attempt to standardize the criteria for school entrance, some very real issues of language skill and proficiency needed for ultimate academic achievement may be missed where language minority students are concerned.

Educational policy has always operated under the premise that the sooner immigrants stop speaking their native language and use English exclusively, the greater the chances for their success. While we agree that English is a necessary ingredient in the formula for success in America, educational policy persons must become familiar with best practices for second language learners and tailor programs for them accordingly. A recent study by Fillmore (1990) shows that "earlier is not always better" when it comes to English instruction for language minority students.

In Fillmore's national study, parents of 1,100 immigrant and American Indian families with children in preschool programs participated in interviews regarding the extent to which their children's early exposure to English affected the use of their native language in the home. The study revealed that the early introduction of English in preschool programs contributed to loss of the children's native language, had consequences for their level of English mastery, and led to severing of familial ties in families where parents did not speak English. Students who shifted to English and lost their first language were unable to understand their parents and were prevented from gaining knowledge about the larger world from their family. As a consequence there was a trend for students to associate more closely with peers, with some becoming members of street gangs. A second group of 311 families who had children in preschools where Spanish was the medium of instruction or classes were bilingual was included in the study for comparative purposes. Families with children in this group reported significantly less family disruption and better intergenerational communication than the group who had children in English-only preschools. Wong Fillmore concludes that, "Schools should be working to strengthen family ties and the parents' ability to socialize their children. They can do this by legitimating the home environment, especially the home language, rather than treating it as an impediment to the child's intellectual development" (Saidel, 1991, p. 6).

With the Readiness Resource Group's inattention to the education of language minorities, and their emphasis on language development as a key indicator for readiness, they stand an excellent chance of articulating policy that is potentially damaging to students with non-English language backgrounds. Another oversight by the Readiness Resource Group calls their work for mainstream and language minority students alike into question. Recent research by Graue (1992) examined the concept of school readiness in three communities that varied by socioeconomic status, educational background, and ethnicity. She found that the concept of readiness differed in all three schools and was socially constructed by the parents, teachers and administrators in each locale. While upper middle class parents were reticent to send their children to kindergarten unless they knew their letters and numbers and demonstrated the ability to concentrate, ethnic minority parents felt that age was the primary indicator of school readiness. In addition, upper-middle-class parents often felt that it was better to "red shirt" children (withhold them for 1 year), who in many cases had already attended one or more years of preschool, rather than risk their not performing well in kindergarten. Graue's work demonstrates that what constitutes readiness varies and calls into question the issues of articulating "national" standards of school readiness. It also highlights the widening disparity between middle class six- and seven-year-olds who come to kindergarten already reading, and normal five-year-old language minority students who come to school eager to learn but who may not speak English or have attended preschool.

Both researchers and a number of influential national professional organizations support alternatives to readiness testing. Shepard (1990) cautions that the "unconsidered policy consequences include: assignment of children to ineffective special programs like transition rooms, the re-institution of tracking, exaggerated age and ability differences, further escalation of (kindergarten) curriculum, and teaching to the test" (p. 1). She argues that a more productive alternative to readiness testing is the use of developmentally graded curricula that would take the wide range of developmental levels of young children into consideration. Kagan (1990) takes the position that schools should be ready for the child and stresses the need for individualization—individualizing access for special populations (disabled, students at risk of failure, students limited in English proficiency) and true individualization of instruction "to accommodate all of the following: multi-age grouping, early childhood units, experienced-based approaches to language learning, project approaches, integrated activities, meaningful parent involvement, and developmentally appropriate practices" (Kagan, 1990, p. 277). Given the support for this perspective, it is clear that attempts to standardize and narrow the operational definitions of "readiness" so as to meet fixed standards of academic preparation will meet head-on the realities of our varied national population.

We have discussed the invisibility of language minority students in current educational reform efforts and the harm that can occur when policy is articulated and implemented without consideration for their unique needs. It is difficult to imagine the expectations that school reformers have for our nation's non-traditional students. Students with other language skills, from low-income families, or those who are most alienated from the ethos of our school culture were not the students for whom the *America 2000* efforts were expended. Why were minorities ignored in the New World Standards of *America 2000* when they will compose the largest segment of the public school population in less than a decade?

The *America 2000* plan fails to consider the very real range of cultural, linguistic, and social differences in our school-age populations, and most blatantly fails to consider the needs of students already inadequately served by federal educational policies and funding. It reflects instead the continued tendency to respond to American societal dissatisfaction with schools by imposing both federal influence and corporate models onto the educational process, and attempts to effect reform by even tighter controls on curriculum and testing.

Large scale reform efforts that lump all groups together whether by intent or by default will likely have deleterious effects on those students with other linguistic, cultural, or ability characteristics. Where language minority students are concerned, the lack of attention paid to their unique needs for instruction and assessment are the material of legend. School programs that have served English speaking students have not always been the answer for language minority students—the national dropout rates for Hispanic students and the under achievement of immigrant students attest to this fact (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988).

Teachers have long known that what works for one student is not always the best strategy for another. Our policy-makers must learn the same lesson on a national scale when considering the body of students that make up our school-age population.

THE AUTHORS

Constance Walker (Associate Professor, Second Languages and Cultures Education) has interests in the school achievement of diverse populations, multicultural education, and teacher preparation for bilingual and ESL classrooms.

Pamela McCollum (Assistant Professor, Second Language Acquisition, School of Education) has interests in language assessment, bilingual children's school experiences, and teacher preparation for bilingual and ESL classrooms.

Editors' Note:

We believe that Walker's and McCollum's critical analysis of *America 2000* is timely even though the Reagan/Bush era has come to an end. We must be reminded that the issues addressed in the *America 2000* plan are those addressed in many reform efforts. The critique of the plan presented on these pages is particularly valuable in that it serves as a model for us to critically examine current and future reform efforts and policy issues—at local, state, and national levels—with respect to how they affect the students we serve.

REFERENCES

America 2000: An education strategy. (1991). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Bosher, S. (1992). *Acculturation, ethnicity, and second language acquisition: A study of Hmong students at the post-secondary level. MinneTESOL Journal*, *10*,121–130.

Cárdenas, J. (1991). Widening, not narrowing, the gap. In *Voices from the field: 30 expert opinions on 'America 2000,' the Bush administration strategy to 'reinvent' America's schools*. Washington, DC: William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship and Institute for Educational Leadership.

Clinchy, E. (1991). America 2000: Reform, revolution or just more smoke and mirrors? *Phi Delta Kappan*, *73*(3), 210–218.

Collier, V. (1989). Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 617–641.

Council of Chief State School Officers. (1992). *Summary of recommendations and policy implications for improving the assessment and monitoring of students with limited English proficiency*. Washington, DC: Author.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy*. San Diego: College Hill Press.

Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research, 49*, 222-51.

Enright, S., & McCloskey, M. L. (1991–92). America 2000. Two TESOL members respond. *TESOL Matters, 1*(6), 1.

Fillmore, L. W. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6(3), 323–347.

Gardner, H. (1986, November). Quoted in Daniel Goleman, Rethinking the value of intelligence tests. *New York Times Education Life Supplement*, p. 23.

Graue, M. E. (1992). Social interpretations of readiness for kindergarten. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 7*, 225–243.

Here They Come, Ready or Not (1986, May 14). *Education Week*, pp. 14–7.

Howe, H., II (1991). America 2000: A bumpy ride on four trains. *Phi Delta Kappan, 73*(3), 192–203.

Kagan, S. L. (1990). Readiness 2000: Rethinking rhetoric and responsibility. *Phi Delta Kappan, 72*(4), 272–279.

Kaplan, G. (1991). Scapegoating the schools. In *Voices from the field: 30 expert opinions on 'America 2000,' the Bush administration strategy to 'reinvent' America's schools*. Washington, DC: William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship and Institute for Educational Leadership.

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York: Crown Publishers.

Madaus, G. F. (1988). The influence of testing on the curriculum. In L. N. Tanne (Ed.), *Critical issues in curriculum: 87th NSSE yearbook, Part I*. Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, University of Chicago Press.

McCaslin, M., & Good, T. L. (1992). Compliant cognition: the misalliance of management and instructional goals in current school reform. *Educational Researcher, 21*(3), 4–17.

McCollum, P. A., & Walker, C. L. (1990). The assessment of bilingual students: A sorting mechanism. In S. Goldberg (Ed.), *Readings in equal education.* (Vol. 10, pp. 293–314). New York: AMS Publishers.

National Coalition of Advocates for Students (1988). *New voices. Immigrant students in U.S. public schools.* Boston, MA: NCAS.

National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983). *A nation at risk.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

National Council of La Raza (1990). *Hispanic education: A statistical portrait.* Washington, DC: Author.

Oakes, J. (1988). Tracking in mathematics and science education: a structural contribution to unequal schooling. In L. Weis (Ed.), *Class, race, and gender in American education* (pp. 106–125). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Oakes, J. (1991). The many-sided dilemmas of testing. In *Voices from the field: 30 expert opinions on 'America 2000,' the Bush administration strategy to 'reinvent' America's schools.* Washington, DC: William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship and Institute for Educational Leadership.

Resnick, D. P., & Resnick, L. B. (1985). Standards, curriculum, and performance: A historical and comparative perspective. *Educational Researcher* 14(4), 5–20.

Saidel, P. (1991, April 22–26). Growing up in linguistic limbo—Immigrant kids lose language and family, study finds. *Pacific News Service,* pp. 6–7.

Shepard, L. (1991). Readiness testing in local school districts: An analysis of backdoor policies. *Journal of Educational Policy,* 5(5), 159–179. (Co-published in S. H. Thurman & B. Malen (Eds.), *The politics of curriculum and testing: The 1990 yearbook of Politics Education Association Yearbook.* London: Taylor & Francis.)

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1984). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Smith, M. (1991). Put to the test: The effects of external testing on teachers. *Educational Researcher,* 20(5), 8–11.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Pull-In Programs—A New Trend in ESL Education?

ANN SAX MABBOT
University of Minnesota

JUDITH STROHL
Minneapolis Public Schools

with special thanks to Judith Hanson, Wendy Weimer, Helen Flynn, and Steven Toth

The most common models for ESL education in Minnesota have been the *pull-out* model and the *self-contained class* model (Minnesota Department of Education, 1991). Self-contained classes can be set up for children with very limited English at the elementary level; they can be bilingual classes which help students maintain their first language and facilitate content area instruction, or they can be content-based classes at the high school level. Recently, a third model, *pull-in*, or the *collaborative inclusion* model, has been emerging as a new trend in ESL education at both the elementary and secondary levels. This article will describe the differences among the models, and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each.

PULL-OUT

According to the State of Minnesota's 1991 LEP (limited English proficiency) survey, about 56% of LEP students in the state are taught within some form of pull-out program. The Minnesota Department of Education (1991) defines a pull-out LEP program as one in which "students leave their mainstream classroom to spend a period of time each day with the ESL or Bilingual Education teacher in small groups or as individuals" (p. 41). It goes on to say that instruction is "focused on English language development and content area support in English and/

702

or the home language. The amount of time for which students are pulled out depends upon their linguistic and educational needs. For some students, thirty minutes per day may be adequate. Other students may spend two hours or more each day with the ESL or bilingual education teacher" (p. 41). The policy statement indicates how the model should operate ideally. However, anecdotal evidence indicates that the amount of time that LEP students actually spend with ESL or bilingual teachers often has more to do with school and teacher resources than the language needs of the students. There are cases in districts with sparse ESL populations, for example, where students get as little as 45 minutes of instruction per week because the ESL teacher simply has no more time available.

The Minnesota Department of Education LEP Handbook (1991) also mentions benefits of the pull-out program. Among the advantages listed in the document are that teachers can provide concentrated instruction according to student needs and that the model provides an environment away from the native English-speaking children, where ESL students can feel comfortable taking risks with their new language and asking questions. In addition, the separate classroom model provides a place where oral language activities and games can be carried out without causing disruption to other classes. The pull-out situation is one where the LEP students' needs come first and are not subsumed by the needs of the larger group.

Few ESL educators would disagree with the advantages of the pull-out program as described in the LEP handbook. Many, however, have experienced problems with the model that the handbook does not address. The initial problem each academic year for ESL teachers is that of scheduling. Trying to coordinate the mainstream schedules with the ESL schedule so that students do not miss crucial mainstream lessons can be extremely difficult. It is also important that students do not miss specialty subjects such as physical education, art, and music, for those are subjects in which they can participate more equally with their limited English.

A corollary of the scheduling problem is that ESL instructors in pull-out programs often do not have time to coordinate their lessons with those of the mainstream teacher. There is little encouragement or tangible incentives (such as release time) from the administration for teachers to plan together, and when ESL teachers deal with more than three or four mainstream classrooms (which is usually the case), planning may be very difficult to accomplish in spite of the teachers' best intentions to do so. As a result, LEP children may be subjected to a fragmented curriculum. ESL lessons sometimes have little direct bearing on what the mainstream class is doing, and mainstream teachers usually do not reinforce ESL lessons. ESL teachers do not always know what their students need to know to participate as much as possible in the mainstream, and mainstream teachers do not always take the LEP students into account when planning curriculum for the class (Flynn, 1992). Students can miss crucial lessons when they are pulled out for ESL or benefit little from the lessons they do attend because their English and life experiences are too limited for them to understand what is going on. Since a lack of context in instruction is frequently the central reason language minority students fail to achieve high levels of academic competence in their second language (Cummins, 1984), a lack of communication and coordination between the mainstream and ESL teachers can have serious consequences.

SELF-CONTAINED CLASSES

The self-contained class model, in contrast to the pull-out model, addresses the problem of fragmentation in the curriculum as well as the problem of scheduling. In this model, the ESL teacher (or bilingual teacher) provides most of the instruction for the LEP students. In addition to teaching English, the ESL teacher also provides instruction in content areas at a level commensurate with the linguistic and conceptual abilities of the students (Minnesota Department of Education Handbook, LEP, 1991). Another advantage of the self-contained model for LEP students is that it provides continuous instruction from one sympathetic teacher in an environment where students are not marginalized. In addition, the students are more likely to feel that they are truly active participants in their class than they would in a mainstream class, where they often do not understand what is transpiring (Toth, 1991).

Theoretically, ESL students in such a program are mainstreamed for subjects such as physical education, art, music, recess, lunch, and school events. Anecdotal evidence indicates, however, that this integration does not occur in reality, and that students in such programs are often isolated much more than they should be. This isolation, of course, is the major drawback of the model, since children will naturally learn English conversational skills faster when they have lots of communicative contact with their native English-speaking peers than when they are isolated (e.g., Tarone, 1982). For this reason, the self-contained class model is usually reserved for newly arrived students who have very little facility in English (Minnesota Department of Education Handbook, LEP, 1991).

PULL-IN

In recent years, a new model of ESL education, *pull-in*, also known as the *collaborative inclusion* model, has been introduced in some schools. There is no blue print as such for the pull-in model, and each school that has adopted the model has its own design. The model is called *pull-in* because instead of pulling the children out of their mainstream classroom, the ESL teacher is "pulled into" the classroom and team teaches with the mainstream teacher. As the alternative name *collaborative inclusion* indicates, the model demands that ESL and mainstream teachers collaboratively plan and carry out a coordinated, non-fragmented curriculum for each LEP student in the class. The name also reveals the underlying philosophical assumption that all children, regardless of their special needs, should be included in the mainstream classroom and not treated as though they do not belong. Since many mainstream teachers presently make no changes in the way they teach to accommodate the presence of LEP students (Flynn, 1992), promoting cooperation among teachers and the idea of inclusion of all students is important.

With the pull-in model, the ESL teacher works with the LEP student and other students in the class to promote teacher-mediated interaction between the LEP student and his/her peers. In this role, the ESL teacher becomes a facilitator of communication between the ESL students and the mainstream peers as well as between the ESL students and their mainstream teacher. The ESL teacher is available to help control the difficulty and amount of the material being presented to the class, fill in the knowledge gaps for students, adjust tests, and modify assignments when necessary.

One advantage for LEP students under this model is that they have a greater opportunity to interact with native English-speaking peers with the pull-in than with other ESL education systems. As noted above, such interaction provides for a faster acquisition of conversational English (e.g., Tarone, 1982). Also very important is that the model can facilitate the acquisition of academic skills by providing LEP students with a more understandable and relevant context for their mainstream curriculum. On the basis of her research on the academic achievement of LEP students, Saville-Troike (1984) concludes that vocabulary taught to LEP students should be closely related to the students' learning needs in their subject matter classes. If this is done, the students are more likely to perform well academically. To implement such instruction, it is absolutely necessary that ESL teachers and mainstream teachers consult one another while writing their curricula.

Several ESL educators have called for an "integrated setting" for LEP students (Enright & McCloskey, 1988; Handscombe 1989; Rigg & Enright 1986), where students are included into the mainstream as much as possible, but none of these sources speaks of integration in terms of the delivery of instruction in the mainstream class by ESL teachers. As a matter of fact, literature on the subject is rather scarce. The impetus for a pull-in program in LEP education in Minneapolis actually comes from a move in special education (Weimer, personal communication, September, 1992). In the mid-1980's, special education specialist Madeleine Will (1986) led a debate urging the merger of special and regular education because their separation has led to inefficiency and fragmentation of curriculum. Agreement with this analysis has led administrators in Minneapolis to urge the implementation of pull-in programs for special education, Chapter I, and ESL instruction. However, LEP students are very different from special education students in that most do not suffer from any type of learning problem. Because of this difference, it is necessary to take a careful look at the application of a special education model onto ESL instruction.

Hale Elementary School in Minneapolis (serving students in grades K-3) probably has the most developed *pull-in*, or *collaborative inclusion* model, as they now call it, program in the state. About one fourth of the approximately 800 students at Hale are Hmong; therefore, there is a large demand for ESL services in the school. The pull-in model at Hale incorporates not only LEP services, but also all the other special support services (Chapter I, special education, and gifted and talented). The support service professionals work with the children in the regular classroom with a team-teaching approach rather than having the children leave their classroom to report to a special room for a block of time each day (see Hanson & Yarlott, 1992 for a detailed description of the Hale model).

Central to the Hale model is the concept of "aligned curriculum." A team of teachers from the school wrote a combined ESL/mainstream reading and language arts curriculum, which is used with both native English-speaking and LEP children (who are mostly Hmong). It also integrates Hmong culture into multi-cultural activities. To plan individual lessons, support staff and regular teachers meet jointly on a biweekly or monthly basis to plan lessons for the upcoming weeks.

At Hale, the pull-in model operates primarily during the reading/language arts instruction time block. Within each class, students are divided into reading groups of approximately eight students each, which are determined by scores on a variety of instruments measuring reading proficiency. For the reading block time, some LEP students will go to a mainstream classroom different than their own to join their ESL teacher. Likewise, some special education students from that class will join their special education teacher in a different mainstream classroom. This movement of students allows each ESL and special education teacher to spend more time (1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours) in one particular mainstream class than would be possible if s/he had to visit every classroom. Typically, specialty teachers work in three classes a day.

The ESL and other special education teachers enter the classroom at the beginning of the reading period. The reading period generally starts with a whole-class activity, taught by one or more of the teachers in the class. This time period is used for discussion, peer group learning, language experiences, higher order thinking, and exploration. The whole-class activity culminates in some kind of assignment, which is often done with a station approach. The station approach is used for the direct teaching of specific skills, including lessons from the basal reader. When the ESL reading groups are not working with the mainstream teacher, they get instruction from the ESL teacher. This instruction can consist of a preparation for the basal reader lesson, such as an explanation of vocabulary, or work on specific issues that ESL students need. Often, time with the ESL teacher is spent preparing students for themes that will be discussed by the whole class and filling in cultural gaps so that the ESL students can better participate in the whole class discussion. As the LEP students' English improves, they are mainstreamed into the mainstream reading groups, but since the ESL teacher is still present in the class, s/he can keep an eye on their mainstream performance and intervene as necessary. After working with one or two reading groups, the ESL teacher goes to a different classroom and follows the same pattern.

More than with other models, the pull-in model changes the nature of instruction for more than just LEP students in the school. Even children who do not receive any support services are affected in that they participate in instruction implemented by additional sources. Students are further affected in that students who might otherwise not be in the classroom (i.e., those who might ordinarily be "pulled out") remain in the classroom. When these "exceptional children" remain in the mainstream, there are presumably more chances for all students to benefit culturally, socially, and intellectually from the diversity of the classroom composition (Toth, 1991).

Although Hale seems to have the most developed pull-in program, it is not the only school in the Twin Cities that is experimenting with a pull-in program. Many of the Minneapolis schools, at both the elementary and secondary level, are starting to incorporate some pull-in programs into their curriculum. The form these programs take can differ significantly from the Hale model, and may include examples of pull-in programs during content area instruction as well as reading/ language arts instruction.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE PULL-IN MODEL

The decision to adopt a collaborative model requires a great deal of adjustment on the part of everyone involved. The ESL teacher who is used to an autonomous teaching situation in which s/he has control over curriculum, methods, and materials may miss this independence when operating as a partner in the classroom. Developing a team relationship with another teacher is a process which occurs slowly and unevenly. Great care must be taken to insure that the teachers are equal partners in the process. Working with mainstream and LEP students together presents additional challenges to the ESL teacher.

At the secondary level, the logistical problems of setting up a pull-in program may be more difficult because the number of students and cooperating teachers involved tends to be larger than in the elementary school. An elementary teacher who works with 30 students is likely to have more time to think about an individual student with special needs than a secondary teacher who is responsible for 100-150 students. Also, the LEP teacher will have to choose in which subject to focus his/her efforts. Should it be the history class, the math class, or the health class? Each area presents its own difficulties and each is vitally important for different reasons. As with any model, one would need to carefully evaluate when, where, and for whom the pull-in model is appropriate.

Teachers who have experience with pull-in programs have compiled a list of advantages to the new model.

1. It increases peer teaching. The model facilitates interaction between LEP students and mainstream peers, which is fundamental to learning a second language.
2. The model enables the teachers to work together to write an appropriate, coordinated curriculum for the student in the form of an individualized learning plan (ILP, an individual plan written for each student) or the aligned curriculum.

3. The model recognizes that previous cultural, linguistic, and literary experiences are crucial for developing literacy and for learning content in the mainstream classroom. This model allows the ESL teacher to fill in knowledge gaps during mainstream instruction and thus promote academic achievement among LEP students.
4. The model allows students to learn content while they are learning English, so they are not as likely to miss out on areas of instruction.
5. The model helps to eliminate non-aligned services to ESL students.

Teachers who have experience with the pull-in program also offer some cautions.

1. Ideally, participation in such a program should be voluntary for both the mainstream and ESL teachers, and it should never be used as an excuse to cut back on teaching staff.
2. Both the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher need to be able to work as a team. The ESL teacher must be a full partner in the process, and not an aide to the mainstream teacher.
3. The mainstream teacher(s) and ESL teacher need time to plan together and to write an individualized learning plan (ILP) for each student or an aligned curriculum for all students (as in the Hale model). The ILP or aligned curriculum should be reviewed and modified periodically.
4. The program works well with whole language, experiential learning ,and group learning where students do project-centered thematic units. It does not work as well in a program where students do a lot of independent, discrete item work on worksheets and in workbooks.
5. Reading is usually not taught after the 6th grade. If an LEP student does not have a strong reading background, s/he will need additional direct reading and writing instruction. This may be done through content areas (e.g., writing across the curriculum).
6. Pull-out classes should not be eliminated completely. Both newcomers and more proficient LEP students need some time

away from the mainstream students to discuss language, social, and cultural issues. Sometimes students need a safe place away from the mainstream to practice oral language skills and take risks. They need a place where their needs are not subordinate to the needs of the larger group.

7. One should not forget the benefits of bilingual education. There is much evidence that LEP students will be more successful academically with a bilingual education model than with one where all instruction is in English (Cummins, 1984). Saville-Troike (1984) found in her study that children who had opportunities to discuss concepts in their L1 with either other adults or children achieved higher scores on content area tests in English. In school districts where bilingual education is possible, it should be given priority.

The strongest argument for the pull-in model is that, when properly implemented, it does the most to integrate LEP students into the mainstream while still giving them the support they need. It may be the most efficient way to provide both English instruction and support for content area instruction. Whether a pull-in model can work in a particular school depends on the teaching situation, including factors such as numerical and linguistic distribution of students, the students' linguistic abilities, and the teaching resources that are available. If a school has relatively few LEP students scattered through many different classes, it is unlikely that an ESL teacher would have enough time to meet, plan and work with all the involved mainstream teachers. If, on the other hand, it is possible to cluster ESL students into a smaller number of classes, the cognitive and social benefits of the pull-in model may make it the ideal way to teach LEP students. No matter which model is found to be most efficient for a particular school, it is important that the administration provide time for the ESL and mainstream teachers to communicate with one another to plan for the academic progress of the LEP students, for it is this communication, more than any particular model, that is the critical requisite for promoting student growth.

THE AUTHORS

Ann Sax Mabbott is a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota. She works closely with the ESL and foreign language preservice teacher education program at the university.

Judith Strohl teaches ESL at Sanford Middle School in Minneapolis. She is currently finishing her M.A. in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Enright, D. S., & McCloskey, M. L. (1988). *Integrating English: Developing English language and literacy in the multilingual classroom*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Flynn, H. C. (1992). *Collaborative model of service for limited English proficient students*. Unpublished manuscript.

Handscombe, J. (1989). A quality program for learners of English as a second language. In P. Rigg & B. G. Allen (Eds.), *When they don't all speak English* (pp. 1–14). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Hanson, J. L., & Yarlott, R.R. (1992). *Integrated service delivery in a collaborative framework*. Unpublished manuscript.

Minnesota Department of Education. (1991). *Handbook, LEP*. MN: author.

Rigg, P., & Enright, D. S. (1986). *Children and ESL: Integrating perspectives*. Washington, DC: TESOL.

Saville-Troike, M. (1984). What really matters in second language learning for academic achievement? *TESOL Quarterly*, *18*(2); 199–219.

Tarone, E (1982). What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language? *MinneTESOL Journal 2*, 5–16.

Toth, S. M. (1991). *Models for delivery of instruction for elementary students of limited English proficiency*. Unpublished manuscript.

Will, M. (1986). *Educating students with learning problems—A shared responsibility*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Our Town: Drama as Curriculum

Molly McGowan-Rink
St. Paul Public Schools

Our Town: Drama as Curriculum is a description of a three-week curriculum unit developed and implemented for an American History ESL class. The article explains the use of Thornton Wilder's classic American drama, *Our Town*, as the foundation of the unit. It includes a description of the learners, objectives, procedures, assessment methods, rationales, and reflections on the process. The use of a videotaped version of the play, class discussions, cooperative learning groups, take-home vocabulary tests, scene rehearsals and performances, are elaborated upon in order to provide the reader with some (perhaps) new insights regarding the many uses of drama in the ESL classroom.

INTRODUCTION

A drama unit was created and implemented as part of a student teaching experience at a secondary school in Minnesota. It was designed to cover a three week period in an ESL American History class, which met daily, five times per week, for fifty minutes. The essential aims of the unit were to develop the students' language skills and to increase their cultural knowledge through the use of drama. The drama selected for the foundation of the unit was *Our Town* by Thornton Wilder. The students viewed the videotaped version of the play, and discussed the cultural, social, and linguistic aspects. They also rehearsed scenes and performed them before an audience as the culminating activity. The following article first describes the learners, their prior knowledge, and the objectives driving the unit. Explained next are the procedures, their content, and their rationale. Also described are the evaluation procedures, reflections upon the unit, and an outline of the materials.

The fourteen students (nine women, and five men) ranged in age from 16 to 20 years old. Most of the students were Vietnamese, Cambodian, or Thai, but there were also a few students from Japan and the Ukraine. Some of the students had been in the United States for two years and some for as little as three months. Their levels of language development ranged from beginning to intermediate. Some of the students had well developed listening and oral comprehension skills, and others had good reading and writing skills. Some of them had learned English from teachers in refugee camps, or in schools in their home countries. Two of the students were exchange students, but the rest of the students were immigrants to the U.S. On the whole, I found this class to be lively, engaged, and eager to participate.

Before beginning the implementation of the unit itself, I found it necessary to make some well-founded assumptions concerning what this particular group of students knew, had experienced, or been exposed to, prior to my short acquaintance with them. Through observation and inquiry I discovered or surmised the following:

1. All of the students had seen a videotape.
2. All of the students had seen a play in a live-theatre setting.
3. All of the students could understand oral English of a simple nature, when given in a lifelike context.
4. They had all engaged in make-believe.
5. They could all write basic sentences in English.
6. The students could all use a dictionary.
7. They had a deep understanding of their own cultures which they could draw upon and share with other class members.
8. They could memorize words and sentences.

WHAT DID I HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH?

After assessing the students' prior knowledge I developed the linguistic, cultural, social, and cognitive objectives that I thought would be the most important for their development, given the nature of the unit. The following is a statement of the objectives used to guide the procedures and evaluation of the unit.

Concerning the language aspects of the unit, I created objectives that stated that the students would:

1. Learn new vocabulary taken from the play, *Our Town*, such as "funeral," "bride," "groom," "wedding," and "superstition."
2. Be able to read their scenes, memorize their lines, and speak their parts in a performance setting.
3. Utilize their best English pronunciation, diction, volume, and vocal expressiveness while they are performing their roles.
4. Be able to discuss and write down their memories of the play's acts, as a group.
5. Listen to the videotape and improve their ability to understand a slightly different American dialect.
6. Improve their listening and comprehension skills through viewing the videotape and having discussions with other class members.

Concerning the cultural aspects of the unit I developed the following objectives. Students would:

1. Be able to discuss the play's depiction of American culture, and be able to compare it with their first culture.
2. Be able to discuss similarities and differences between American culture in 1901 and now, and their first culture.
3. Be able to behave appropriately as an audience member (i.e., listening quietly and attentively, clapping at the end of a performance).
4. Be able to behave appropriately as an actor (i.e., speaking and moving when and how one is supposed to in the scene).

The development of better social skills was also a major focus of the unit and due to this emphasis I designed objectives that stated that students would:

1. Be able to work in heterogeneous groups of 4–5 people, for the purposes of discussing the play.
2. Be able to work with a partner on a scene from the play.

The development of greater and more creative cognitive functioning was also an extremely important part of the unit, hence the creation of the objectives below:

1. The students will "step into" an American context, culture, and character.

2. The students will be able to understand the universal aspects of human experience.
3. The students' intellect, creativity, imagination, and courage will (hopefully) be enhanced or developed, through the processes of observation, questioning, discussing, rehearsing, and performing scenes from *Our Town*.
4. The students' ability to better "think on their feet," through the experience of performing before an audience, will be improved.
5. The students will develop greater empathy and understanding of those who are culturally different from themselves. The objectives above were chosen because I wanted to develop the students' listening, speaking, reading and writing skills, in an American lifelike drama context.

WHY DRAMA AND WHY *OUR TOWN*?

In recognizing the many benefits of drama as a learning tool from having had experience in the theater myself, I was intrigued by the prospect of using drama in an ESL classroom. Drama has been used successfully in educational settings for hundreds if not thousands of years (McGowan-Rink, 1991). Much more recently, the benefits of drama have been discovered in second language classrooms. With reference to foreign language settings, Miller (1986), Davis (1985), Maley and Duff (1982), and Smith (1984), among others, both outline methodologies and summarize the benefits of incorporating drama into the language classroom. Smith provides a particularly pointed rationale for the inclusion of drama into the foreign language curriculum by describing interesting similarities between the theater arts and language learning. According to Smith (cited in McGowan-Rink, 1991), both of these settings involve (1) searches for the best way to communicate, (2) risk to one's ego and self-esteem, (3) the development of empathy, (4) work with a close group of people, and (5) the use of games, role-playing, ear training, and warm-ups for the voice and body.

Those who advocate the use of drama in ESL settings provide reasons similar to those offered by foreign language educators. Radin (1985) explains that her drama techniques were useful for stimulating the "motivation, self-confidence, and self-esteem" of her ESL students (p. 4). Grout (1982), who describes the use of socio-dramas, states that his suggested activities provide tools for "stimulating and developing the skill of speaking" (p. xi). McRae's (1985) book provides a complete "how-to" guide for incorporating drama in the ESL classroom. He argues that drama scenes develop linguistic awareness of "appropriateness and register in English" (p. 7). Finally, he sums up the benefits of drama as follows: "The dramatic presentation awakens responses and ideas that mere reading about a theme cannot reach; the activity of acting out makes students readier and more able to express themselves in their own words; the whole should be a major contribution to student learning" (p. 8-9, cited in McGowan-Rink, 1991, p. 6).

I chose to do a drama unit because I wanted the students to enter into an American context as an American. I wanted them to actually go from an outside intellectual understanding of American culture, to fully standing inside of an American character in an American setting, while at the same time developing cognitive, linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge. I also wanted to expose them to appropriate audience behaviors for live performances, increase their poise, and stimulate their creative and empathetic powers.

Acting, as a creative outlet, is uniquely formulated for increasing risk-taking, and empathy. It requires both courage and the ability to understand human nature. Learning about a play's setting and culture, moving, speaking, and feeling, within a new character and context, for the purposes of communicating with others, is what the acting process is largely concerned with. This process has certain parallels with the tasks facing a second language learner in a new culture. ESL students must understand, learn about, and adapt to certain aspects of a new culture. In some ways they must develop a somewhat different way of "being" in the world. The actor and ESL student can never erase themselves (nor should they want to!), yet, they can call upon other, perhaps previously unknown or unexpressed aspects, to form another "vision" of themselves, to be used in specific contexts. Simply put, I developed this unit with the ambitious hope in mind, that within a three week period, the students could gain the experience of standing inside an American character, in an American context.

In order to reach the goal of standing inside a culture, language, and character, one must first observe, discuss, and think about the culture in question and its relationship to one's own culture, language, and self. (It is also important that one must be able to identify with the characters in question, and I chose *Our Town* because of the accessibility of the teenage leads, which worked very well with these high school students.) I couldn't cover all of these aspects thoroughly in a three week unit, but I did attempt to study the linguistic and cultural aspects of *Our Town*'s depiction of

American culture, by encouraging the students to compare it with their own first cultures. It was also my hope that the students would internalize longer English sentences, intonations, rhythms, and pronunciation through memorizing and rehearsing their parts.

Finally, I wanted the students to be exposed to a quintessentially American literary and theatrical experience that is widely known (and loved) by many Americans, and indeed, by people the world over. When they read or saw the play, the Austrian and Yugoslavian people I spoke with hotly defended it against my assertions that it was saccharine and dated. They convinced me that it possessed universal appeal. Indeed, the play, *Our Town*, is both extremely specific and universal in its resonances. Its major themes of "Daily Life," "Love and Marriage," and "Death," (and corresponding acts), deal with universal human experiences, yet, the specific setting of the play (Grover's Corners, 1901–14) also lends the play to discussions of American culture, past and present, as well as to cultural comparisons. The play's combination of the micro and macrocosmic views of humanity promoted interesting "perspective taking" and comparisons of cultures and beliefs. The discussion of various cultures (not only American culture), languages, histories, and beliefs are vital and necessary in this ESL American History class, and for this, and the other previously mentioned reason(s), I chose the play *Our Town*.

THE UNIT

What follows is a description of the various activities (and their rationales) that were implemented in the unit. The order of the activities below is chronologically based and could be thought of in terms of "initiatory," "developmental," and "culminating" activities. The Appendix provides a list of the materials needed for implementing the unit.

Initiatory Activities

At the beginning of the unit I introduced myself to the class and explained the overall parameters of the unit. I also explained the title of each act ("Daily Life," "Love and Marriage" and what I called "Death"), the different staging used in the play (pantomime), and the triple-casting. It was important to explain the theatrical conventions being used in order for the students to be able to absorb the contextual and contextualized information. The stressing of the play's acts was also crucial for providing a schema into which the students could place their impressions of the play, and organize the new information they were absorbing. The titles of the acts also underscored very nicely the major themes and events to be found in the play, and the class utilized them very easily. (They also provided common reference points during discussions about the play.)

Next, I showed portions of the videotaped play to the students, in chronological order. It was vital for them to view the videotaped version of the play before attempting to accomplish the activities and work on their scenes. In addition to all of the contextualized information, I knew that these inexperienced actors would be greatly benefitted by a scene "model." While viewing the videotape, it was critical to pause the video and discuss new vocabulary words, important concepts, cultural differences and similarities, character's personalities, emotions, and relationships, and the students' reactions to the occurrences in the play. All of these topics were discussed within the context of the students' shared experience of viewing the video together.

Each day that the class viewed a new portion of the video, I took care to review what had come before by questioning the students about what they remembered. I also highlighted the connection between the titles of the acts and the play's action (i.e., "Daily Life," "Love and Marriage," and "Death"). I introduced new or key vocabulary words before viewing new portions of the video and gave the students specific words, phrases, or bits of information to look for when watching the video. The introduction of items to look and listen for helped to focus the attention of the students, and it assisted in developing further their participation in the video and their existing play schema. I wrote down on the black board the new words and concepts that students questioned (in addition to those I had anticipated) and explained them carefully within the play's context.

It is important to note that the cultural themes and topics were not completely chosen by me, for the most part. More often than not, the students would ask questions, or want to know more about a particular concept, and then the discussion would take on a life of its own, with students sharing their knowledge of their own cultures, or their opinions concerning the topic in question. In general, the topics revolved around the major themes as expressed in the play, and were explored because of the interest displayed by the students. The cultural themes explored and compared were the following:

1. The depiction of rural life in America, in 1901.
2. Women's changing roles in American society.
3. The role of a "corner stone."
4. How people meet and fall in love.

718

5. Wedding ceremonies and superstitions.
6. The conflicting emotions surrounding a wedding.
7. Who decides who can marry whom.
8. Who is told about sex by whom.
9. Conceptions about life after death.
10. The role that ancestors play in different religions.
11. Different funeral practices and death related beliefs.
12. The idea that life is a tremendous gift that is rarely recognized.
13. The idea that there are links between the individual, and the universe or "mind of God," as expressed in the play.

The viewing and initial discussion of the videotape, including the above topics, occupied the first seven days of this 15 day unit.

Developmental Activities

After viewing and discussing the video, I grouped the class into heterogeneous groups of four or five people, by having the students count off in "threes." The students then discussed and wrote down what they remembered about each act, and with the more advanced students, what they thought was important. These group discussions of the three acts took up two days in the unit. I purposefully left the assignment rather general and vague in order to promote discussion, and to accommodate the varying levels of the students. The students went through each act and recorded their discussion, handing in the finished lists. I read the group work lists and then these were discussed as a class. I clarified basic misunderstandings concerning plot, characters, and vocabulary as expressed in the group lists. These group discussions of the three acts took up two days in the unit.

I had the students choose what they thought was the relevant content in each of the acts, for a group work assignment, because I wanted to empower the students to give them an opportunity to develop their social skills, and to improve their comprehension and higher cognitive processing of the play. Of course their writing, speaking, and listening skills were also developed through the use of this activity.

Following the discussion of the play, I assigned a take-home test concerning the vocabulary covered. I also explained the test, how they should work on it, and its due date. Students were told that they could help each other, seek tutoring, or use a dictionary. The content of the test consisted of the following: highboy, troubles, universe, hired girl, organist, bride groom superstition, nervous breakdown, green half-grown kid, elections, nimcompoop, cemetery, graves, coffin, funeral, undertaker, mortuary, ancestors, blind, realize, ignorance, human beings, eternal, and suicide. The extra-credit question I added was "Why is the play called *Our Town?*"

The test was developed in order to incorporate more individual writing opportunities into the unit and to emphasize and review the vocabulary, phrases, and cultural knowledge garnered from viewing the videotape. I chose vocabulary words on the basis of their importance in the story, the students' interest in the words or concepts, and their relative lack of previous knowledge concerning the words. I hoped that the students would work on it in their own groups outside of class, and they did. This state of affairs also turned the "test" into a cooperative learning activity, which furthered their social skills, and their ability to ask for help. I also wanted the students to think about the extra-credit question, and to discuss it among themselves. This kind of discussion promoted problem-solving skills, creativity, and higher cognitive processing.

Culminating Activities

Finally, the students were ready to receive their assigned scenes and partners. I made these scene and partner assignments based upon students' language abilities, gender, and my judgment concerning who they would work well with, and what role they would feel the most comfortable playing. (The scenes were copied by me ahead of time, edited, and then passed out to the students.) The particular scenes that were taken from the play that the students performed were chosen for several reasons. The scenes had to be two-person scenes, short in length, with a certain number of male and female roles, and they had to promote a high-level of interest and engagement in the students. In general, the scenes in the play in which the youthful leads appeared, courted, and were then married, held the most interest for the students. I chose five scenes with Emily and George "hints on homework,"..."proposal," and one with Emily and Mrs. Webb, "Am I pretty?"

I explained what I was looking for when the students worked/ rehearsed together, such as whether or not they stayed on task, helped and supported each other, came to class prepared, and how well they shared the responsibility for their work. I also explained the process by which they should work on their scenes. I did this because I knew that most of the students had had no experience working in a theatrical context, and that they wouldn't know how to use the rehearsal time unless they were instructed in exactly how to proceed. I chose the steps/questions because they seemed the most essential for beginners to know and follow. I wrote four or five of these instructions on the board per day (four days total). I phrased these ideas as questions in the order given below. I went over these with the students giving examples from the play and from their own specific scenes. I acted out what I did and did not want and drew diagrams when necessary or appropriate I checked that they had done the previous day's steps through a show of hands and reviewed when necessary.

The rehearsal steps that I stressed were the following:

a. Read through your scene with your partner, before and after doing each one of these steps.

b. Underline your character's lines, so that it makes it easier for you to read and memorize them.

c. Make sure that you understand all of the words in your scene—what they mean and how to say them. (Ask your partner and then you can ask me.)

d. Make sure that you look at and listen to your partner (i.e., "connect").

e. Make sure you know why your character says something.

f. Make sure you know what your character is thinking. (What she/he says and what she/he thinks doesn't always go together. Act out an example of this by saying "I love you" as if you loathed someone.)

g. Talk with your partner about your "set" and where all of the furniture, houses, streets, and imaginary people are located. (Draw a diagram of a "set," which is a "bird's eye view" of the scene's physical layout.)

h. Talk with your partner and decide how, when, and where you will move, which is called "blocking."

i. Decide what small movements you are doing in the scene and when (i.e., stringing beans, throwing a ball, picking flowers, etc.). This is called "stage business."

j. Make sure you know what your character wants from the other character in the scene. (i.e., George wants Emily to tell him that she loves him, Emily wants her mother to tell her that she's pretty, etc.).

Concurrent with the above rehearsal process, I also explicitly explained what I was looking for in the performances (on an almost daily basis), and gave examples. The following points were the areas that I wished to evaluate: volume and pronunciation, student's knowledge of his/her lines and the scene, the character's "believability," the connection with the partner (how well he/she looks at, listens to, and reacts to the partner); the effort put into the scene, the creativity demonstrated, the physical movement and emotional expression, poise, and the overall impression given by the performance.

After laying a great deal of the above "groundwork" concerning my expectations and the procedures for the rehearsal process, I set the students to work on their scenes. I divided them up into different areas of the classroom and available outside areas. I went around to the different pairs of students answering questions, asking them the rehearsal procedure questions covered on the board that day, and made sure that they understood what to do, how to do it, why they were doing it, and that they were, in fact, doing what they were supposed to be doing. This was accomplished by watching their scenes and then questioning, encouraging, coaching, monitoring, and demonstrating. Four days of in-class rehearsal time was allotted to the students.

On the last day of the 15 day unit (one day was taken from this unit and spent planning the students' schedules), the students acted their scenes before their classmates, and a small, but appreciative audience of "in-house" ESL cooperating teachers, who were supervising me. (The sense of having a "fresh" audience is crucial for a good performance.) To prepare them for the performance day I explained to the students what they should do in terms of appropriate audience behaviors, and announced the order of their scene performances.

On the day of the performances, I watched the scenes and evaluated their work using an evaluation sheet that included the ten areas stressed in class as being the criteria for their performance grade. Each area was potentially worth 10 points (with a bonus question worth 5 points), and following each performance I quickly assigned a numerical value to each of the areas.

Evaluation

At the conclusion of the performances, the class discussed the stagings in terms of what they liked, believed, enjoyed watching, etc. I led this discussion and also queried them in terms of what they had learned, what they had enjoyed the most, and whether or not they would be interested in doing something like this again at a later date.

I also handed out an evaluation sheet for them to fill out concerning what they did and did not like about the unit. The evaluation sheet was given to the students because I wanted to know, quite frankly, what they thought about the *Our Town* play unit, acting out the scenes, watching the video, the take-home test, etc. I phrased the questions in a simple, yet open-ended way in order to allow the students to write whatever they might have wished to express. I also wanted the students to reflect upon their experiences, what they had learned, and to give them the opportunity to write down their thoughts. It was also my hope that they would feel somewhat empowered by the fact that a teacher was asking them what they thought. After congratulating them on their performances, I attempted to create some sense of closure for the unit and the discussion by bidding farewell and expressing my gratitude for all of their efforts.

A final and cumulative evaluation of the students' work was the next step in this unit's process. The students' final grade was an averaging of four major grades that included their attendance and class participation, the take-home test, their performances, and their partner and group work.

I kept track of their attendance and class participation on a daily basis, giving them letter grades for each day that they attended class. Student engagement and participation in the classroom was one quarter of their grade, and I made sure that they knew this, because I thought that it might be a new concept to some of the students. I also took into account the number of "tardies" that the students had as a part of this section. Two or more unexcused "tardies" negatively affected this portion of their grade. This portion of the grade was intended to evaluate the students' progress in terms of oral development, social skills, and cultural knowledge.

The take-home test was one quarter of their grade and it was graded on a flexible curve, to allow for the widely ranging language levels. Extra credit was offered for them to raise their grade, risk free. This portion of the student evaluation was intended to develop/rate the students' learning of vocabulary, writing, cultural understanding, and comprehension of the play's major themes.

The performances were graded on a straight point system, with 90–100 points being an "A," etc. The performances aimed at assessing their oral language development, cognitive ability to understand and step into an American character in an American context (I was liberal in this area); their ability to communicate to an audience on a number of different levels; their ability to memorize and internalize new words and sentences in a lifelike manner and context; and the ability to empathize with others from a different culture. More concretely, there were ten questions posed concerning the scene and the ideas we had worked on in class; each question was worth 10 points with an extra-credit question being worth an additional 5 points.

The students' pair and group work in their scene rehearsals and group discussions of the play's acts, was graded on the basis of my observations of their behavior during class. I paid a great deal of attention to this aspect of their assessment, and though it was a totally subjective on my part, I feel that by and large, my decisions were fair. I kept a journal of observations for this unit, and I wrote in it on a daily basis concerning my impressions of the students' cooperative learning group work. I took into consideration the students' behavior in their groups when determining their class participation grades. I decided to incorporate group work grades into the unit in order to hold students accountable for their actions and behaviors in more self-directed activities. This section of their grade was a strong reflection of their growth in the area of social skills.

WAS IT WORTH IT?

Following the unit, a process of reflection revealed the relative merits of the unit, as well as some methods by which to improve it. One of the major merits of the unit was that for the most part, the lessons worked quite successfully. The viewing of the video was very fruitful in terms of engaging the students, and it provided a great deal of linguistic, cultural, and theatrical/play knowledge for working on the scenes and understanding/exploring different cultures. Pausing, rewinding, and reviewing the video to discuss questions and themes as they came up was very helpful. Introducing vocabulary and concepts in a more visual and concrete, contextualized setting also worked well. Happily, the students enjoyed this kind of activity, and it was not threatening to them. As a matter of fact, the whole process of working through the video as a class, and encouraging their expert input, and questions contributed greatly to bringing a number of the female students (especially) out of their silence. I also encouraged this by picking up on their whispered comments to each other, praising them, and then exhorting the class to listen to their insights. The discussion of the video really "opened them up."

The group work assignment worked very well. The students liked working together discussing and arguing their ideas concerning the play.

It improved their listening and comprehension, as well as their speaking, writing, cognitive, and social skills. For example, one Japanese student was grouped with all Vietnamese students, and when several of the Vietnamese students realized his lack of comprehension, they then took more care to use English so as not to exclude him. These students generally are immune to exhortations by me to use English so as not to exclude others, but showed more sensitivity during this activity.

The choice of scenes and partners worked nicely for the most part. The matching of language levels and characters with students' personalities was quite successful. I was also pleasantly surprised that most of them memorized their lines. I knew they were capable of it, but I feared that they might tell themselves that they couldn't accomplish it, or that I was expecting too much. It was satisfying to see the students bring that kind of commitment to their work, and that the memorization of their parts freed them emotionally and physically, gave them greater confidence, and contributed to a deeper understanding of the language, the characters, and the situation.

The outlining of the rehearsal process and the steps involved worked very well, because I refrained from overwhelming them immediately with a great many directions, but instead introduced ideas gradually. Explaining things simply, concretely, and with examples from the play contributed to their comfort level and comprehension.

The performances were a very enjoyable experience for the most part, both for me and the students. The students were naturally nervous, and yet, I thought that they did some remarkable work. It was important, I found, to be positive and supportive, and this approach struck the right note, even when things didn't go smoothly in a few of the scenes. Being encouraging, and allowing them to begin again when necessary, sent a calming message.

Concerning the discussion of their scenes following the performances, the students seemed reluctant initially to make any comments, but with a little prodding, modeling, and direct questioning, they began to give feedback to each other that was constructive and perceptive. I thought it was important for them to praise and to recognize each others' work, and the students' really liked to hear the praise.

Overall, the evaluation sheets that I received from the students were interesting, helpful, and generally very supportive of the unit. The framing of the questions helped the students to structure their responses, and I felt that they offered some excellent insights.

Having discussed the successful aspects of the unit, it is appropriate to consider the means by which the unit could be improved. The addition of one week to the unit would eliminate the "rushed" feeling I felt throughout the entire three weeks. I am also sure that the students would have appreciated having a few more days to rehearse their scenes.

An additional method by which the unit could be improved would be by videotaping the students' performances and then showing them to the class. It would be a great learning activity for the students to see themselves and their work. It would also be that much more motivating (and empowering) for the students to know that their work would be recorded for posterity, and that they would be their own judges. Such an activity would place them in the evaluator's seat, which by itself, would be an excellent and enlightening opportunity for growth.

Finally, I would have the students reflect upon and evaluate their own work in the unit, as well as their scene partner's effort. The scene partner evaluation would help to insure that the students do not neglect their responsibilities to their partner and the scene. The more self-evaluating (and partner-evaluating) the students would do, the more they would sense the need to know themselves, and to take responsibility for their learning and behavior. I think that this kind of reflection would also develop an "internal quality control device," which could help to guide them in their adult lives. In short, I think that this kind of self-evaluation could help to develop meta-cognitive learning and successful life strategies.

I have found drama to be very effective in the ESL classroom for integrating a myriad of linguistic, cultural, social, and cognitive aims. The students are engaged by good literature and especially by the challenges presented by the dramatic arts, which require so much personal commitment, maturity, and courage. Good dramas also deal with essential issues that are universal to most, if not all, cultures. They provide ample ground for discussion, debate, and connective links between one's first culture and self, and the second culture and self. Drama can allow a student to experiment with a new identity and language in a controlled, predictable, and contextualized setting, which is paradoxically perceived as safe and unsafe. The safety of the setting allows the students to take risks with the language and their traditional way of "being" in the world, and the risk of the performance provides them with the impetus to do their very best work. A student's best is what dedicated teachers always expect, and the implementation of drama as curriculum in the ESL classroom I have found to be a very exciting and enjoyable means of eliciting excellence.

THE AUTHOR

Molly McGowan-Rink is currently teaching 4–6th grade students at a St. Paul Elementary TESOL center. She recently received her K–12 licensure in ESL from the University of Minnesota and is in the process of finishing her M.Ed. in Second Languages and Cultures Education.

REFERENCES

Davis, M. S. (1985). Theatre as a tool in the language classroom: Let's play, motivate, and learn! *OMLTA Journal*, 28-33. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. 259 573)

Grout, B. (1982). Talking behind masks: Socio-dramas for the ESL classroom. In H. Munch (Ed.) *Teacher Book*. California: Alemany Press.

Maley, A., & Duff, A. (1982). *Drama techniques in language learning: A resource book of communication activities for language teachers*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

McGowan-Rink, M. (1991). *Drama as curriculum: Implementation and observations*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Minnesota.

McRae, J. (1985). *Using drama in the classroom*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, Ltd.

Miller, M. L. (1986, November). *Using drama to teach foreign languages*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Japan Association of Language Teachers International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning. Seirei Gakuen, Hamamatsu, Japan. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. 282 439)

Radin, B. (1985). *Dramatic techniques in ESL instruction*. Department of Education, National Institute of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. 256 174)

Smith, S. M. (1984). *The theater arts and the teaching of second languages*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

APPENDIX

Materials

A. Videotapes:

Wilder, Thornton. *Our Town*, video-recording. New York: Mastervision, Inc. Mastervision Arts Series, VHS, 120 minutes, one-half inch. (I checked out this video from the Minneapolis Public Library.)

B. Plays:

Wilder, Thornton. *Our Town*. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

C. Audio-visual Equipment:

1. VCR
2. Television

D. Copies:

1. Scenes
2. Take-home Tests
3. Performance Evaluation Sheets
4. Drama Unit Evaluation Sheets

E. Furniture:

1. Two plain chairs
2. Two classroom desks

728

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

A Literature Course for the ESL Classroom

Jeff Partridge
Metropolitan State University

Literature provides a powerful stimulus for discovery and language acquisition in the ESL classroom. Although literature is not widely used in ESL programs today, the fact remains that there are numerous benefits that a literature course can offer ESL students. After an overview of these benefits, this paper presents a literature course methodology that has been implemented successfully. The goal of this paper is to provide teachers with a purpose and a method in teaching literature to ESL students.

Literature, which was once an important part of language study (Widdowson, 1982), is often given a minor role or is neglected altogether in the curricula of today's ESL programs (Gajdusek, 1988; Spack, 1985). And while many educators have begun to see the "academic, intellectual, cultural, and linguistic benefits of the study of literature" (Spack, 1985, p. 703), a great number of ESL teachers and administrators are reluctant to take up the task. Spack (1985) implies that ESL teachers, many of whom are not trained in literature, may feel threatened by the subject of literature. In addition, Spack maintains that ESL teachers who teach engineering and science students may feel that literature is not appropriate for their students. Gajdusek (1988) suggests that many ESL teachers feel literature is too difficult for ESL students. Another barrier to the adoption of literature into ESL curricula may be that teachers and administrators (and students!) believe literature to be impractical and unrelated to the day-to-day skills that an international visitor or immigrant requires.

As many educators and researchers have attested, however, there are numerous benefits to teaching literature to ESL students, even in cases

729

where students' fields are not related to the humanities. Contrary to many presuppositions, literature is not too difficult for ESL students; in fact, Povey (1967) claims that we have "exaggerated the significance of the element of linguistic difficulty in ESL reading by assuming that reading requires...total comprehension" (p. 43). Literature, therefore, can act as an effective stimulus and motivator, stretching students beyond their perceived limits. After providing an overview of the benefits of teaching literature to ESL students, this article presents a successful classroom methodology for implementing literature, which does not demand that the teacher be a literary scholar.

THE BENEFITS OF LITERATURE

By interacting with literature, students exercise their learning and thinking ability in English, perhaps more so than in a vocabulary class or a reading class that utilizes nonfiction prose or specialized ESL material (Spack, 1985). Povey (1967) states that "literature will increase all language skills because literature will extend linguistic knowledge by giving evidence of extensive and subtle vocabulary usage, and complex and exact syntax" (pp. 41–42).

Furthermore, the study of literature is a highly interactive, communicative process that involves the imagination, experience, and critical thinking ability of the reader. According to Gajdusek (1988), "it is more emphatically true of literature than of other written texts that the primary purpose is not just to convey information, but to involve the reader in direct experience" (p. 229). Thus, the effect of literature upon a student is interactive. Students develop an interactive relationship with the language they are learning (Gajdusek, 1988), a relationship that involves personal experience and previously acquired knowledge, i.e., schemata (Gajdusek, 1988), and critical thinking skills (Oster, 1985; Spack, 1985; Widdowson, 1983). The students must not only comprehend the immediate meaning of the language, but they must also analyze their own feelings and experience, and wrestle with the author's purpose in using the words he or she has so carefully chosen. Literature requires students to "look beneath the surface of words to determine from a variety of complex clues the insights the author wishes to share" (Spack, 1985, p. 710). Literature presents a kind of puzzle—a challenging puzzle for native and non-native speakers alike—and by solving such a puzzle in the classroom, the students make great strides in their acquisition of the English language.

Numerous researchers have documented the cultural value of studying literature in the ESL classroom (e.g., Adeyanju, 1978; Gajdusek, 1988; Harris & Harris, 1967a, 1967b; Marckwardt, 1978; McGroarty & Galvan, 1985; McLeod, 1976; Povey, 1967; Scott, 1965; Spack, 1985). If literature is chosen from the target culture, ESL students have the opportunity to learn about the customs, beliefs, thought-patterns, and attitudes of the target culture. Further, because most literature involves questions regarding the human condition, literature can open avenues of cross-cultural communication and understanding (Marckwardt, 1978) and provide familiar ground for students who may find everything around them—even reading material in ESL classes—foreign (Povey, 1967).

Finally, literature is valuable in the acquisition of a second language because it is interesting and enjoyable. Students will make great progress in their language ability because they become emotionally and intellectually engaged in the reading material (Krashen, 1984; Spack, 1985). A literature class is to learning what a game of soccer is to exercise. When we play a sport like soccer, we push our bodies beyond what we perceive to be their normal limit because we are having fun and are concentrating on the competition. If we were to sit on a stationary bicycle, we may get a decent workout, but we would not likely push ourselves beyond our perceived limit simply because the task does not take our mind off the exercise itself.

THE JOURNAL METHOD

Students need a place to figure out the puzzle that each piece of literature presents. The classroom is a good place for this, but to rely solely on instruction, lectures, and discussion limits the amount of growth each student can achieve. Spack (1985) asserts that when the teacher provides too much information, he or she jeopardizes the student's enjoyment of reading a great piece of literature. Moreover, such methods as lecturing can actually reduce the amount of interaction that the student enjoys with the text. This approach will not fully exercise the student's critical thinking skills and developing language skills.

One outstanding place in which students can interact with literature in conjunction with the classroom is in a journal. The journal challenges students to write out their thoughts on paper, and this increases their understanding of the piece of literature and the language. Writing about literature causes them to interact with the suggestions and meanings contained within the text. Many researchers have attested to the effectiveness of writing about literature in order to better understand the text and to improve language ability (see e.g., Gajdusek, 1988; Petrosky, 1982; Rubinstein, 1967; Spack, 1985).

The journal does not replace classroom work but increases its effectiveness. If the students have already wrestled with some of the story's ideas before class begins, they will be in a much stronger position to discuss the story, and their understanding of class lecture, discussion, or group work will be enhanced. The journal also provides a place for the students to take notes, record new vocabulary, and write out important ideas, phrases, and sentences. Finally, the journal allows the instructor a glimpse into each student's thought processes. For these reasons, the literature journal is presented in this paper as the core of the ESL literature class.

In the three classes (approximately 15 students in each) where this methodology was used, the journal idea was enthusiastically received by about ninety percent of the students. In four subsequent classes taught by two different teachers, this methodology was implemented and received favorably. The teachers who used this methodology discovered that the journals became a symbol of accomplishment and a source of pride for their students. Although they were asked to write one or two pages for each entry, many of them wrote three or four. One student even copied the stories by hand into her journal so that she could learn them better.

Text

The text for this class will depend on the English skills of the students and the preferences of the instructor. An anthology of short stories is recommended because it exposes students to a variety of authors and styles in a short period of time. According to Spack (1985), "it is easier for students to read when they have less to read and easier for them to write when the work is short enough for them to absorb and study closely" (p. 710). (However, it is possible to use novels, novellas or poetry.) For literary anthologies created for ESL students see , for example, McKay and Petitt (1984), Mullen (1984a), and Povey (1984).

Materials

Folders

Encourage the students to keep their journals in a folder or in a three-ring binder. They will need to turn in the completed papers, while continuing to write new entries in their journals. (See Appendix for a sample syllabus.)

Dictionaries

Students should bring a dictionary to every class. If they are advanced, they should use English/English dictionaries. Even beginning students should get into the habit of using English/English dictionaries in conjunction with their native language/English ones.

Steps

Pre-reading work

Although providing too much information before reading can taint the experience of reading a great piece of literature (Spack, 1985), it is still necessary to provide some information. Rather than beginning with a lecture, it is recommended to involve the students in vocabulary work and write-before-you-read work (Spack, 1985).

Vocabulary. Gajdusek (1988) specifies three types of vocabulary: (a) words that students should understand from context; (b) words that "contain vital clues to the cultural and emotional context of the story"; and (c) words that "proficient readers merely categorize" (p. 235). It is the middle category ("b") that teachers should be concerned with at this point. Teachers can choose several important words or phrases and prepare some vocabulary exercises. Also, cultural words can be discussed in the context of other cultures (this too can be done in the journal). It is important to remember that the purpose of this work is to prepare the students to read the story (Gajdusek, 1988).

Write-before-you-read. Spack (1985) has discovered that involving students in the ideas of a story through the process of writing before they actually read the story greatly improves their reading comprehension. In such exercises students use their own background to explore an idea or event from the story they will read (Spack, 1985). This causes the students to activate their emotions and experience before they read about how an author confronted such ideas, issues, or questions. It is recommended that the teacher give the students a question or statement to respond to rather than simply asking them to write.

First and Second Readings

Teachers should have the students read the story through the first time without looking up too many words. Then, they should go through the story again, this time choosing and looking up what they deem to be important new words.

Vocabulary. One portion of the journal is devoted to "important" new words. Teachers can tell the students that they must learn to distinguish between words that are essential and words that are less important (category "c" from Gajdusek's model above). They do not need to understand every word in order to understand the overall meaning. This is one of the hardest facts to communicate, especially to those students whose educational background has encouraged meticulous, painstaking analysis. Yet by reviewing the most important words with the students after this exercise and checking their vocabulary words when reading their journals, teachers can help students to improve in this area.

After the students have compiled a list of important vocabulary words, they should be insructed to to put an asterisk next to the words they wish to learn. If time permits, students can do an exercise with the vocabulary they have chosen. For example, they could write a story, a poem, or a letter in which they use some of these words.

First Entry

This writing exercise should involve the students' initial reaction to the story. They do not need to address the meaning of the story at this point. This entry can be about the student's feelings regarding the story, a comparison between two characters, a description of one character, and so forth. Whether this is done at home or in class depends on the teacher's wishes and the students' ability- evels. It may be helpful to supply some questions or ideas for them to write about.

Discussion/Instruction. The teacher should then lead the class in a discussion of the story. At times it may be necessary to give a short lecture on some difficult or culture-bound aspects of a story. However, the teacher should always act as a facilitator. Lectures can help students prepare for college-type courses, but they are not necessary in a literature class. For advanced ESL students, some instruction on literary technique, style, and terminology may be given if teachers are comfortable presenting these topics.

Note-taking. The students should take notes in their journals during the discussion. For those who are in college or who plan to go to college, this will be a good opportunity to develop note-taking skills. Teachers may may decide to give them an outline, or simply have them copy down the ideas written on the board and some interesting concepts that are introduced in the discussion.

734

Second Entry

This writing exercise involves the students' response to the story *after* one or two class periods of discussion and instruction. Teachers should tell them that more in-depth writing is expected at this point. Teachers can suggest topics, but it is important that students understand that they can write about any aspect of the story. This exercise will work best as homework. Teachers may wish to set a guideline of, for example, two to three pages, but it is important to encourage students to write as much as they would like.

Further Discussion

Before returning their journal entries, teachers should read bits and pieces to the class. This provides encouragement for those who have done well, ideas for those who still don't understand the journal concept, and a chance to close discussion on a piece of literature using the students' ideas. This is a chance to tell them, "See, you understood more than you thought."

ASSESSMENT:

Assessing the journals is not a lot of work. The students generally rise to the occasion and do an excellent job. Most of what you write will be comments of interest and praise in the margin, and perhaps a sentence concerning your overall impression at the end. If a student is not delving into the material deeply enough, teachers can ask questions to point him or her in the right direction. If the student's writing suggests misunderstanding of concepts, the teachers can explain. It is critical that teachers not always agree with the students—especially if they have missed the point. Students want instruction as much as they want to express their own ideas. Only the grammar mistakes that distort meaning should be corrected. Students need to be reminded that the journal is not a term paper—it is a place to explore. The classroom atmosphere that the teacher creates is vital to the success of this approach.

CONCLUSION

The use of literature in the ESL classroom is an exciting way to explore the English language. As students interact with the ideas of artists who choose their words with ardor and precision, they grow not only in their language skills, but also in their ability to think critically. By writing about literature, students have a record of their growth both in terms of critical thinking skills and language development. It is this author's hope that the methodology presented here will enable more ESL teachers to make use of literature in the classroom both as a tool for language acquisition and as an opportunity to instill in students an appreciation for the beauty and strength of the English language.

THE AUTHOR

Jeff Partridge has worked as an ESL instructor at ELS in St Paul and a community faculty member at Metropolitan State University. He holds degrees in English Language and Literature from the University of California at Santa Barbara and the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Adeyanju, T. (1978). Teaching literature and human values in ESL: Objectives and selection. *English Language Teaching Journal, 32*(2), 133–138.

Gajdusek, L. (1988). Toward wider use of literature in ESL: Why and how. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*, 227–257.

Harris, Ar., & Harris Al. (1967a). A selected annotated bibliography of American literature for TESOL: Part 1—The novel. *TESOL Quarterly, 1*(3), 56–62.

Harris, Ar., & Harris Al. (1967b). A selected annotated bibliography of American literature for TESOL: Part II—the short story, drama, poetry. *TESOL Quarterly, 1*(4), 53–62.

Krashen, S. (1984). *Writing: research, theory, and applications.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Marckwardt, A. (1978). *The place of literature in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

McGroarty , M. & Galvan, J. L. (1985). Culture as an issue in second language teaching. In M. Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Beyond basics: Issues and research in TESOL* (pp. 81–95). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

McKay, S., & Petitt, D. (1984). *At the door: selected literature for ESL students.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

McLeod, B. (1976). The relevance of anthropology to language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 10*, 211–220.

Mullen, J. (1984a). *Outsiders: American short stories for students of ESL.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Oster, J. (1985). The ESL composition course and the idea of a university. *College English*, *47*(1), 66–76.

Petrosky, A. (1982). From story to essay: Reading and writing. *College Composition and Communication*, 33(1), 19–36.

Povey, J. (1967). Literature in TESOL programs: The language and the culture. *TESOL Quarterly*, *1*(2), 40–46.

Povey, J. (1984). *Literature for discussion: A reader for advanced students of English as a second language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Rubinstein, S. (1967). Composition: A collision with literature. In G. Tate & E. Corbett (Eds.), *Teaching freshman composition* (pp. 73–83). New York: Oxford University Press.

Scott, C. (1965). Literature and the ESL program. In Allen, H. (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second language* (pp. 292–299). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Spack, R. (1985). Literature, reading, writing, and ESL: Bridging the gaps. *TESOL Quarterly*, *19*, 703–725.

Widdowson, H. G. (1982). The use of literature. In M. Hines & W. Rutherford (Eds.), *On TESOL '81* (pp. 203–214). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Widdowson, H. G. (1983). Talking shop: On literature and ELT. *English Language Teaching Journal*, *37*(1), 30–35.

APPENDIX

LITERATURE SYLLABUS

In this class, you will read short stories written by a variety of authors. The stories are not simplified for ESL purposes, so do not expect them to be easy. The vocabulary will be particularly challenging. Thus, I expect you to bring an English/English dictionary to class. You will compile a list of vocabulary from each story.

The first time you read a story, you will make a list of vocabulary in your journal. After you read the story again, you will write your first journal entry. This will be your initial response to the story. Then we will discuss the story as a class. Finally, you will write your second journal entry on the story. Use your journal also as a place to take notes, record interesting sentences and passages, ask questions, and complete any extra exercises that I assign.

Journals:

1. Your journal will be your written response to the stories.
2. You will be graded on content and effort primarily, but I do expect you to be able to communicate well in writing.
3. Write your journal entries on paper that you can hand in to me while you continue to write new entries.
4. Feel free to write whatever you want about each story—but do make sure that what you write pertains to the story.
5. Here are some ideas:
   - You can write about how you feel.
   - You can write about what you learned.
   - You can compare the story to your own life and experience.
   - You can compare the story to another story.
   - You can analyze the story.
   - You can write what you think the story means.

I will grade you on the effort you put into your journal, the quality of your journal, your participation in class, and your ability to read.

I hope you find this class both challenging and rewarding. I look forward to discussing the stories with you.

738

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Children of Abya-Yala:* EFL Students Consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' Arrival

DONALD F. HONES

American Language Institute, Ashland, Oregon

Many educators are using the quincentennial of Columbus' arrival in Abya-yala (the Americas) to focus attention on social and cultural issues and reevaluate the historical aftermath of 1492. Students in an Ecuadorian EFL class were asked to choose topics related to the quincentennial to develop as individual or small group projects. Surveys were conducted on the chosen topic, interviews were made with native speakers of English, and library research was completed. In addition, class time was spent on reading articles and listening to music focusing on Columbus. Finally, Columbus was put on trial in a dramatic role-play. While the Quincentennial is almost over, this paper presents a model for a long-term class project involving a variety of language skills.

Nineteen ninety-two has arrived, and while many official celebrations of Columbus' "discovery" have taken place in Spain, the U.S., and elsewhere, the indigenous people of Abya-yala (the Americas) continue their 500-year struggle for life and justice. On Saturday, April 11, 2,000 natives of the Ecuadorian Amazon region began a walk from Puyo, at the edge of the rainforest, to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, 268 kilometers away. They marched under banners proclaiming in Quichua, "For the Earth, For Life, We Rise Up." As they walked, they received tremendous public support, especially from the indigenous communities in the provinces of the sierra. They were coming to Quito to talk to the President, to demand that they be given control of their traditional territories which are currently being invaded by colonists whose land-use policies are leading to widespread erosion, oil companies who are polluting the air, ground and water, and "ethnotourists" who arrive by the hundreds to snap photos of the "savages" of the jungle. But this march was not merely to regain native rights to land and life. As march organizers put it: "We are defending the last uncontaminated area of tropical rainforest that remains in Ecuador, part of the greater Amazon region, lungs of the world, and patrimony of every living thing on the planet (Una Semana de Marcha, 1991, p. 7B).

---

* "The Fruitful Place" in the language of the Cuna people of Panama. Abya-yala has come into use as the name for the Americas among many peoples of Latin America.

Few people in Latin America view the Quincentennial with ambivalence. For this reason I felt that the "500 years" would be an ideal theme for my EFL classes studying in Quito, Ecuador. Students were asked to address the issues surrounding the Quincentennial in a number of ways. First, individually and in small groups, students chose topics that addressed Ecuador's particular situation in the light of 500 years of contact with Europe. They conducted an extensive survey of Ecuadorians and an in-depth interview with a native speaker of English, focusing in each case on their topic. These student projects were concluded with oral reports, with visuals and outlines that were presented to the entire class. While students worked on their topics outside of class, readings and a song were used in class to focus on the meaning of the Quincentennial. Finally, a trial was prepared and conducted wherein Columbus, and to a lesser extent his followers, were prosecuted for their actions in the "new world."

INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

In the second week of classes, students were asked to hand-in a short paragraph describing a topic they wanted to explore that would deal in some way with Ecuador and the Quincentennial. Their topics included:

- Incan contributions to modern Ecuador
- racism in Ecuador
- traditional medicine in Ecuador
- the problem of working children
- oil exploration in the Amazon
- traditional food vs. imported fast food

Once the topics were approved, students were asked to conduct a survey of at least 20 persons, which would help them gain more insight into how their fellow citizens felt about the topics. To prepare for this survey, we practiced creating yes-no questions in class, and students conducted their surveys with each others. As a follow-up to the survey, students were asked to prepare a table of results and to analyze the results in one or two paragraphs.

Next, each student was asked to conduct a one-half hour interview on their chosen topic with a native speaker of English. A number of native speakers of English were recruited from the local community, and each student was asked to telephone one of them to set up the interview. Before the interviews, we reviewed in class ways in which to elicit longer responses from the interviewees, such as asking questions about their lives in their native countries, social conditions there, etc., before asking specific, on-topic questions. Whenever possible these interviews were audiotaped, with students providing a short summary of the interview and mentioning any surprises or particular difficulties that they encountered. Using the information gathered in surveys and in-depth interviews, students prepared an oral report that would last approximately five minutes. These reports, accompanied by outlines and visual aids such as photographs, slides, and graphs, were presented in the last few days of class.

QUINCENTENNIAL MATERIALS: READINGS AND SONGS

Due to the perceived importance of the Quincentennial, many materials have been published in the last several months that can be readily adapted to the second language classroom. In our class we made use of two articles that appeared in a special issue of *Newsweek* entitled "I Won't Be Celebrating Columbus Day," (Harjo, 1991), and "Stop Knocking Columbus" (Sokolov, 1991). These articles are short, well-written, rich in vocabulary and idioms, and present views on the Columbus celebration that are diametrically opposed. Students were asked to read the articles at home and, paragraph by paragraph, make short summaries and add questions, comments, or criticisms. This exercise led to a more critical reading of the articles, and many inconsistencies in the writers' arguments were pointed out by the students. In class, we went over any difficult vocabulary or idiomatic expressions, trying to get meaning from the context. We also listed on the board the main arguments of each of the authors. Some of these arguments would be used later when we conducted the "trial" of Columbus and when students answered this essay question for the final exam: "If you had been Christopher Columbus, what would you have done differently?"

To focus on the meaning of "America," we did a cloze exercise with *America*, the song by Simon and Garfunkel (see Appendix A). Following this exercise, students were asked to decide what the narrator in the song was really looking for in America: friendships, love, meaning of life, or what? Students were also asked to decide what was special about the Americas and the people of the Americas. Following this discussion, students were provided with maps and, in small groups, decided on where they would travel in the Americas if they had six months and an unlimited budget.

THE TRIAL

In a country such as Ecuador, where the vast majority of the people are either indigenous or mestizo, any discussion of Columbus and the legacy of European involvement in Abya-yala can become emotional and problematic in a second-language classroom, especially one in which the majority of students are lighter-skinned and wealthy. Therefore, in order to achieve some psychological distance from the events, I decided to role play the trial of Columbus: Students took the roles of individuals involved directly in Columbus' adventure and its aftermath.

To prepare for the trial, students chose the parts of Columbus, his defenders, and his prosecutors (see Appendix B). The defense team and the prosecution team, each consisting of two or three attorneys and several witnesses, met separately to prepare their testimony, search for evidence, and think of questions for the witnesses of the other team. This preparation took place the day before the trial and lasted about 20–30 minutes. Each team went home to gather evidence (much of it fabricated) and appropriate props.

On the trial date students were briefly taught some important expressions, such as "I object!" The trial was then held, with the teacher as judge, and when possible, a small group of native speakers of English as the jury. The trial of Columbus tended to last approximately one hour and forty-five minutes, and, for each class, Columbus was found guilty of "irresponsibility" and sentenced to a long term of community service.

EVALUATION OF PROJECT AND SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

One of the goals of the "500 years" project was to get my students to address aspects of the Quincentennial that are not always addressed in public forums. This goal was achieved through student projects, class discussion of reading and listening materials, and the role-play trial of Columbus. The students conducted some very interesting projects that were particularly relevant to the legacy of the Spanish conquest. The three students who addressed the issue of racism, for example, found that despite laws guaranteeing equality of opportunity and education, may people still consider the indigenous people of Ecuador as "dirty" and "inferior." The process of surveys and interviews was good for getting students to consider different points of view. In a few cases, students and their English-speaking interviewees agreed to stay in touch for regular exchange of language and ideas. One difficulty with the projects is that not all students wanted to address the theme of Ecuador and the Quincentennial. One student, for example, did his project on race cars. Nevertheless, for time-consuming projects such as these were, I decided to allow students to go with their preferred topics.

The trial of Columbus was an excellent opportunity to cover all sides of the "500 years" controversy. Students demonstrated great creativity in their arguments as well as in their props. While the prosecution claimed that Columbus had, among other crimes, stolen money from Queen Isabella, the defense emphasized the scientific nature of the man and his voyages.

It would have been ideal to spend more class time with reading, listening assignments, and discussions on the theme of the Quincentennial. However, this was only one of several themes addressed during the ten-week quarter, and less than ten hours of class time was devoted to it. An entire quarter could be spent on a theme of such relevance, incorporating films, guest speakers, and field trips. In the United States, where many excellent films and speakers could be found, this would be more feasible. For example, teachers could focus on the lives and struggles of Native Americans in the geographical area of their schools.

Our "new world" has another history that often goes unreported, and this EFL class project was one attempt to bring this history into focus, a history that the peoples of our continents can little afford to ignore. Despite our European, African, and Asian roots, we are all children of Abya-yala, and for our survival and the survival of our planet we need to learn from the wisdom of those who have been the custodians of this beautiful land for millennia.

THE AUTHOR

Don Hones teaches at the American Language Academy in Ashland, Oregon. He was a Fulbright Scholar in Ecuador in 1991–1992. He received his M.A. from the University of Minnesota.

Editors' Note:

Hones' article, although geared for an EFL setting and although focused on the 1992 Quincentennial, is valuable for all educators in that it serves as a model for implementing participatory practices in the classroom. For those readers who are interested in learning more about critical, participatory pedagogy, particularly with respect to second language contexts, we suggest the following sources:

Auerbach, E., & Wallerstein, N. (1987). *ESL for Action: Problem posing at work.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Graman, T. (1988). Education for humanization: Applying Paulo Freire's pedagogy to learning a second language. *Harvard Educational Review, 58*, 433-448.

Hones, D. F. (1992). Community histories: Bridging the gap between ESL students and the American community. *TESOL Journal, 1*(3), 9-13.

Pennycook, A. (1990). Critical pedagogy and second language education. *System, 18*(3), 303-314.

Wallerstein, N. (1983). The teaching approach of Paulo Freire. In J. W. Oller, Jr., and P. A. Richard-Amato (Eds.), *Methods that work: A smorgasbord of ideas for language teachers* (pp. 190-204). Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

REFERENCES

Harjo, S. S. (1991, Fall/Winter). I won't be celebrating Columbus Day. *Newsweek*, p. 32.

Sokolov, R. (1991, Fall/Winter). Stop Knocking Columbus. *Newsweek*, p. 82.

Una semana de marcha. (1992, April). *Hoy*, p. 7B. Quito, Ecuador.

APPENDIX A

America
Simon & Garfunkel

Let us be lovers we'll _________ our fortunes together
I've got some _________ _________ here in my bag
so we got a _________ of cigarettes and Mrs. Wagner pics
and _________ __ _______ to look for America
"Kathy" I said as we_________ the Greyhound for Pittsburgh
"Michigan seems like a _________ to me now

It took me four days to _________ from Saginaw"
_________ _________ to look for America
_________ on the bus, playing games with the _________
She said the man in the gabardine suit was a _________
I said " _________ _________ his bow tie is really a camera"
_________ _________ a cigarette I think there's one in my _________
____
We _________ the last one an hour ago
So I looked at the _________
She read her magazine
And the moon _________ _________ an open field
Kathy, I'm lost, I said though I knew she was _________
I'm _________ and _________ and I don't know why
Counted the cars on the New Jersey turnpike
_________ _________ _________ to look for America.

Group Questions:

1. What are the people in this song really looking for? Love? Friendship? Excitement? Explain your answer.
2. How is *America* (abya-yala—North, South, and Central America) different from Europe, Asia, etc.? What are the things that make America a special place? What is special about the people here?

APPENDIX B

THE TRIAL...500 YEARS LATER. *PEOPLE v.* COLUMBUS

The Defendant

Christopher Columbus. He is charged with trespassing, kidnapping, and various other crimes. Should he be convicted, he could face up to 20 years of hard labor in the mines at Potosi.

The Judge

The judge wants to get the trial over with. S/he won't let the lawyers talk too much. ("Get to the point" is a favorite phrase.)

Defense Attorneys 1, 2, and 3

You will try to prove that Columbus is innocent of these charges. In fact, you will try to prove that Columbus' influence on America was very positive.

Defense Witness 1

King/Queen of Spain. You will talk about Columbus' contributions to Spanish culture, the Spanish state, etc.

Defense Witness 2

Columbus' brother. You will talk about Columbus' good character and his good behavior on the voyages to the new world.

Defense Witness 3

Surprise Witness.

Prosecuting Attorneys 1, 2, and 3

You will try to prove that Columbus is guilty of the above-mentioned charges as well as other charges you may wish to bring (genocide, robbery, etc.)

Prosecuting Witness 1

Bartolomeu de Las Casas. You will highlight the violence committed by Columbus and his followers against the indigenous population of the Americas.

Prosecuting Witness 2

Indigenous Leader (Ruminahui?). You will give evidence about the bad character and bad behavior of Columbus' followers, the conquistadors.

Prosecution Witness 3

Surprise Witness.

Prosecution and Defense Teams:

1. Prepare your cases for Thursday. Gather evidence (photos, documents, testimony, etc.) that helps to support your case.
2. Prepare you witnesses. Make sure that their stories support your case and that they are ready for questions from the opposition.
3. During the trial, you will have the opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses of the other team. Plan what questions you would like to ask in order to support your case.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Developing Oral Communication Skills Through Cassette Journals

JANE PETRING

Teachers have had a lot of success with written dialogue journals to improve writing proficiency and increase communication between the student and teacher. Cassette journals transfer these same qualities to the oral/aural medium by allowing students and teachers to maintain a conversation on an audio cassette tape. This method, which can be used with any age level, provides a useful alternative to written homework and serves as an excellent example of authentic assessment.

Many teachers use dialogue journals to help students develop writing fluency. In these journals, the teacher and the student maintain a written dialogue through letters to each other. These differ from a more traditional journal because the teacher is an active participant in the writing. The teacher does not make corrections (except through modelling proper usage), and both the student and the teacher have the opportunity to get to know each other on a more personal level. Students are encouraged to write freely, striving to develop fluency through written communication without being hindered by grammatical structures, and the teacher responds to the content of the letter rather than the form (Fulwiler, 1987).

Dialogue journals allow students of any age or proficiency level to practice writing in a natural and unthreatening format (Peyton, 1990). Children who have not even mastered the alphabet can begin their journal with pictures (the teacher responding with pictures and a few labels); as their writing develops, their illustrations and labels evolve into written descriptions. Older students may discuss their family, share

747

hobbies, interests, favorite books, and movies with the teacher. Adult or university students may exchange sophisticated discussions concerning government, political issues, or cross-cultural questions about life in America. The important point to remember is that each journal takes off on its own direction as each dialogue between student and teacher evolves.

In an effort to extend the benefits of the dialogue journal to develop listening skills and oral proficiency, I decided to try the same format with a different medium—the audio cassette. My students (K–6) had been keeping written dialogue journals for a few months already and were accustomed to the informal written exchange. Shortly after the winter holiday (early January), I introduced the cassette journal. I explained to the students that this would give them a chance to talk with me about some of the things they liked to do, and it would also give us a chance to hear how much their spoken English was improving over the course of the year.

Teachers tend to be cautious about embarking on a project that requires an unrealistic amount of outside preparation time. Before starting the cassette journals, I had visions of being held trapped in my room evenings and weekends, listening to my students' tapes. To make the assignment manageable for both teacher and student, I established four guidelines:

1. Each entry should begin with the date.
2. Students should not talk for more than 5 minutes.
3. Previous entries should not be erased.
4. The tape should be rewound to the beginning of the last entry.

In the first entry to a student I would say something like this:

> Good Morning Cheng, this is Ms. Petring. Today is Monday, October 5, 1992. What I am starting with you is called a cassette journal. It is like the dialogue journal that we have been writing back and forth to each other but instead of writing, we will talk to each other on this cassette tape. Every time you talk I want you to start off by telling me the date, and when you finish talking please rewind the tape to the point where you started talking. If you don't like what you have said, you can record over it but once you hand in the tape to me you should not erase my voice or any of the earlier entries on your tape. You don't need to talk for a long

> time, and you shouldn't talk for more than five minutes. O.K.? I'm looking forward to having a nice long conversation with you this year!

After this, I start into whatever topic I'd like to talk about on this entry, for example:

> Cheng, I saw you outside with your gym class and I noticed that you are a really good runner. Do you like sports? Do you like to play soccer or baseball or basketball or some other sport? Do you play games like this with your brothers and sisters sometimes? I don't play games with teams very often but I do like to ride my bike. Almost every weekend I go for a long bike ride with my children—we like to ride around the lakes and parks. Do you have a bike; do you like to ride bikes too?
>
> Well, that's all I'm going to say for now. I hope you'll tell me about some of the sports and games you like to do outside. If you want to know something about me, you can ask me questions too. I'll talk to you later!

I bring up topics that will help me know and understand my students better: their family, favorite foods, books, movies, games, etc., what they did/will do over the weekend/vacation, how they liked their class field trip, holidays in their country, what their school was like in their home country, etc. I encourage, and sometimes require, students to include a question for me in their response to assure that the conversation is not one-sided. In responding to the students, I try to concentrate on the content of the student's message rather than detailing the grammatical or phonetic errors the student made. I want the students to develop oral fluency and confidence in speaking, motivated by interest and not stifled by the fear of not speaking correctly. The students do want to know about their errors, however, and the cassette offers a confidential format to make corrections. For example, one of my sixth-grade students described the schools in his home country for me. In my response I highlighted a couple of the errors that I thought he would be most interested in having corrected:

> Ricardo, thank you for telling me about the schools in Brazil. You said that you went to a "particular" school in Brazil, I think you mean a "private" school—these are schools that you have to pay

> for in order to attend. Also, you mentioned that you like American food very much. Notice that in English we don't say "I very like American food" but rather "I like American food very much." I'm glad that you like school in America so much! I'm really pleased with the progress you have made in English and I hope you will tell me more about life in Brazil. In fact I was wondering about..."

One of the beauties of the dialogue journal or the cassette journal is that they can be used appropriately at any age level. The teacher may have different goals, depending on the age and proficiency of the students, but the basic procedure remains the same. I have been using the cassette journals at the elementary level, but I was first introduced to the idea by a colleague who was using the same concept at the university level (Miller, 1990). The same topics (favorite books, movies, games, foods...customs and holidays in the homeland...weekend or vacation activities...hobbies and freetime) take on a different flavor with adults, and adults are more likely to discuss cross-cultural differences or political issues, or provide a historical perspective on a given topic. Teachers may want the journals to focus on the reading that students are doing for class, or on some of the coursework they may be taking concurrently with the ESL students. Teachers of foreign teaching assistants may want to use cassette journals with their students to discuss the subject matter that the students are or will be teaching. Because adults are also more likely to fossilize pronunciation errors, the teacher may want to pinpoint the specific sounds the student needs to work on, depending on the student's level of proficiency and the teacher's intended goals.

By offering an alternative to written homework, the cassette journal helps students develop the oral/aural skills outside of the classroom. It also allows the non-literate parents and family members to have a very clear idea of the student's homework and it brings a piece of home back to school. On a number of the tapes, the background noises of dishes being washed, babies crying and children laughing can be heard; usually it's not loud enough to impede comprehension but it does provide a window to home life. At parent meetings and open houses several parents have commented on how much they enjoy listening to the tapes along with their children.

As mentioned above, teachers may be wary about new projects that are going to require an undue amount of outside preparation. Techniques that can make the preparation time more efficient or less demanding are always appreciated. One day I had a stack of tapes I wanted to respond to, and my five-year-old son was wanting some attention from me. He was very intrigued by the tapes and as an experiment, I decided to let him listen to the tapes with me and then have a conversation with him on the tape as part of my response to the students. Alex responded to the students' comments about favorite foods and games with a five-year-old's enthusiasm—he talked about pizza and Ninja Turtles, about "Alice in Wonderland" and Super Mario. The students loved it and began directing many of their questions to my son rather than to me. My son's voice on the tape gave the students a window into my home life, in addition to sparking spontaneous enthusiasm from them. This also became an activity that my son and I enjoyed doing together—allowing me the luxury of spending time with him and preparing for my students at the same time.

Many teachers have asked me if I allow the students to write out and read their entries on the tape. At the elementary level, students are just learning to write or have been writing for only a few years. Personally, I feel it is very exciting if the child "discovers" this use of writing to plan out what he or she wants to say. For that reason, I have not dissuaded my students from writing out their entries (though I have not encouraged it either). Working with secondary students, university students or adults would be another story, however. At this stage, students may become slaves to the pen and often their greatest needs are in pronunciation, intonation, and conversational fluency. The cassette journal allows the student to experiment with the language and develop a sense of rhythm and expression. When the teacher models appropriate usage, the student has the opportunity to listen to these segments over and over again. Secondary/adult students could be advised to think about what they might want to say, jot down a couple of words to help them remember, and then speak without reading a prepared speech. Students generally have many opportunities to do written homework, yet in the "real world" they will be judged on their oral proficiency, and we need to be sure that this area is not being neglected.

Sometimes the teacher may want to work specifically on the skill of reading aloud. For this, the teacher may want to read a selection to the student on the tape and then ask the student to read the same (or different) selection back. Students should listen for intonation patterns and the natural pauses in the teacher's reading and learn to predict these patterns in their own reading.

The two major constraints teachers face with any new project are time and resources. The cassette journals do take time but if the students adhere to the 5-minute limit (the average time my students talked was 2 minutes) and remember to rewind the tape to their last entry, then the teacher can review and respond to the tapes efficiently. In terms of resources, audio cassette players are generally easily available—I have found that most students have one at home or have a friend or relative they can borrow one from. I asked students to provide their own tapes, but knowing that it would take time for all of the students to bring them in, I bought a dozen cassettes to start off with and then replenished my supply with the students' tapes.

I try to have my students turn in their tapes once every two weeks—this allows me enough time to respond to the tapes without letting so much time pass that they forget what they talked about the last time. Some of my students are so enthusiastic about the tapes that they would like to do it twice a week (others would prefer once a month). The interval of time between tapes will depend on the number of students being served and the amount of time the teacher has to listen and respond to the tapes, as well as the other assignments or obligations the students may have.

In conclusion, I have found the cassette journal to be a very practical and useful tool to develop oral communication skills. It forces the student to practice listening and speaking skills outside of the classroom while establishing a friendly communication link between the student and teacher. It allows the teacher to individualize each student's oral progress plan by responding to the student's needs. The teacher and student may have a lively conversation, with the goal of developing overall fluency, or the teacher may zero in on the individual's specific problem areas that impede communication, always with the goal of increasing confidence and clarity in speaking. It also allows the teacher to unveil the common weaknesses among students for future classroom lessons (specific pronunciation drills, intonation patterns, grammatical structures, etc.). With the increasing popularity of authentic assessment and portfolios to record student progress, the cassette journal can easily be included in the student's portfolio, allowing future teachers a record of the students progress in oral proficiency (with the student's permission). The cassette journal, like its written counterpart the dialogue journal, serves as an excellent exercise for students of all ages and a wide variety of proficiency levels.

THE AUTHOR

Jane Petring has taught ESL at the elementary, secondary, university, and adult levels both overseas and in the U.S. At the time of this writing she was teaching at Pillsbury Math, Science and Technology Elementary School in Minneapolis. She is currently living in Montreal, Quebec.

REFERENCES

Fulwiler, T. (1987). *The journal book.* Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook

Miller, M. (1990, March). *Cassette notebooks: An alternative to written homework.* Paper presented at 24th annual convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), San Francisco.

Peyton, J. K. (1990). *Students and teacher writing together.* Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Using Compliments in the ESL Classroom: An Analysis of Culture and Gender

PATRICK DUNHAM
St. Cloud State University

This article utilizes original research done in St. Cloud, MN. among Southeast Asian students who employed compliments to initate conversations at work sites in order to establish ties of solidarity in the English language community. The research was based on pertinent data provided by Wolfson, Manes, Holmes, and Herbert on the compliment speech event between people of different cultures and genders. This article incorporates just one approach, complimenting behavior in English, to the teaching of communicative competence among second language learners. The author encourages ESL teachers to use the information provided below as a catalyst to the cultural and pedagogical needs of their students.

Speech acts, such as apologizing, promising, greeting or complimenting have a wide variety of structures, functions, and uses with regard to people of different cultures and genders. This paper will endeavor to examine in some detail one particular speech act, that of complimenting. Substantial research by Wolfson (1981, 1983, 1989), Holmes and Brown (1987), and Herbert (1990) has documented that complimenting behavior varies with regard to cultural background, and that the function of compliments is quite diverse based on cultural values and norms. For instance, compliments in English are regularly given for praising others' possessions; however, the same compliment offered to a native of Timor, Indonesia or Costa Rica would solicit a very different response, especially if the complimenter is a non-native. For example, after complimenting one of her female Costa Rican students on her clothing, a Peace Corps volunteer was given the very blouse the student was wearing, although not at the exact time the compliment was offered. Accordingly, the research presented here will concentrate on the structure and function of the compliment speech event in English and will endeavor to show how the second language learner can use complimenting behavior to initate conversation and thus express and establish ties of solidarity in the English language community.

CROSS-CULTURAL VALUES AND NORMS

The research on complimenting behavior demonstrates the importance of understanding the cross-cultural perception associated with such behavior. Many international students who have studied in English-speaking countries have commented on what seems to be the extreme number of compliments used by native speakers. Because of this abundant use of compliments, many international students think Americans to be insincere. Holmes and Brown (1987) found that Malaysian students in New Zealand experienced difficulty accepting compliments and usually responded with disagreement, the typical response in Malay culture. In this instance, the cultural value, that of modesty, was expressed by the Malaysian students. To agree with the compliment would be associated with boasting and arrogance.

Similarily, other cultures might view complimenting behavior in America with suspicion. A Danish student at St. Cloud State University stated that compliments are viewed quite differently in Denmark. For example, a simple compliment about clothing would be quite unusual and looked upon as suspicious especially between strangers in an informal setting. The student commented that in Demark the setting for such a compliment about clothing would be much more restricted, and the participants would have to know each other well. As a result, he was surprised to find that a compliment in America could be given almost anywhere, even between strangers, in order to initate conversation or to express approval.

Perception of behavior. From the examples cited above, it should be recognized that cultural values and norms dictate not only the perception of the speech act but also the behavior associated with that speech act. Wolfson (1981) tells of an international student "complimenting" his teacher by telling her she was old and fat. Her research demonstrates that each culture has sets of rules and a variety of structures for the giving and receiving of compliments. For example, Arabic speakers often utilize proverbs or set phrases when responding to compliments, and Chinese speakers will customarily assert that the object complimented is not worthy of praise. Wolfson (1983) states that appropriate speech behavior is culturally based and "communicative competence thus includes not only the mastery of grammar and lexicon, but also the rules of speaking." Wolfson explains that the "rules of speaking" refer to knowing when and how to initate a conversation; what topics are proper, given the setting; and not only which speech acts are appropriate for a situation, but what is the proper response to a given speech act.

Conversational rules. The "rules of speaking," as expounded by Wolfson, are basically the common rules of conversation associated with particular cultural norms. In English speaking communities, these common rules direct the speaker to employ compliments in order to exhibit praise with regard to appearance, possessions, or performance (Holmes & Brown, 1987). The research also shows that environmental factors as age, gender, and social status play a significant role in complimenting behavior in America. Wolfson (1983) points out that "the overwhelming majority of all compliments are given to people of the same age and status as the speaker" (p. 63). Generally, compliments serve as "social lubricants," often taking the place of other speech acts such as greetings or apologies. However, according to prevalent research, the purpose of the majority of compliments offered in English is to confirm or establish solidarity (Wolfson, 1989. Herbert adds that the majority of "American English compliments are not literal statements of admiration or praise...but rather are offers of solidarity" (Herbert, 1990, p. 209). Therefore, if the basic premise of English compliments are to establish solidarity, then the response to the compliment could be viewed as similar negotations on the part of the addressee (Herbert, 1990).

How to respond. The "rules of speaking" as outlined by Wolfson also address the issue of the importance of second language learners understanding the appropriate responses to complimenting behavior used in American English. American etiquette books advise speakers to offer 'thank you' as the appropriate response to a compliment (Herbert, 1990). Herbert cites research done by Pomerantz in 1978 which claims that there are basically two general conditions which govern the act of responding to a compliment: agreeing with the speaker and avoiding self-praise. Herbert himself has designated twelve types of compliment responses which include: appreciation, comment acceptance, praise upgrade, comment history, reassignment, return, scale down, question, disagreement, qualification, no acknowledgment, and request interpretation. He explains that the above responses are used in varying degrees with comment acceptance being employed only thirty percent of the time with the addressee accepting the compliment and then offering a relevant comment on the appreciated topic. Conversely, Herbert's research shows that two-thirds of the time compliments among Americans are met with something other than a simple thank you (Herbert, 1990.)

COMPLIMENTING IN ENGLISH

The research generated on complimenting in English demonstrates the existence of rule governed behavior that includes the use of specific lexical structure and syntactic patterns. Compliments most often occur at the openings and closings of speech events, normally preceded by a greeting and followed by some kind of good-bye (Holmes & Brown, 1987). In addition, compliments can occur at transition points in a conversation, but they do not normally appear in the middle of a conversation. Furthermore, extensive analysis has shown that compliments in American English are, in fact, formulas that incorporate a relatively small number of lexical items and syntactic patterns. Manes and Wolfson (1981; Wolfson & Manes, 1981) found that a large percentage of the 686 compliments in their corpus incorporated only five frequently used adjectives: nice, good, beautiful, pretty, great These terms were used nearly 70% of the time in compliments, out of a total of 72 positive adjectives. Of the compliments that utilized a semantically positive verb, nearly 90% claimed love or like. The researchers claimed that repetitiveness and regularities existed in the lexical items used to describe the object of the compliments. In addition, the data indicated that three primary syntactic patterns occurred 85% of the time (Wolfson, 1981). The three syntactic patterns are as follows:

A. NP [is] (really) ADJ (e.g. Your car looks really great.)
[looks]

B. I (really) [like] NP (e.g. I really love your hair.)
[love]

C. PRO is (really) (a) ADJ NP (e.g. That's a nice pen.)

The above study by Manes and Wolfson (1981; Wolfson & Manes, 1981) was repeated by Holmes and Brown (1987) in New Zealand with 200 compliments in their corpus. The findings were strikingly similar with 78% of the compliments employing the three primary syntactic patterns referred to above. Likewise, the New Zealand study showed that love and like accounted for 80% of the positive verbs used in compliments. The only difference between the two studies was that New Zealanders preferred lovely and wonderful to the American terms pretty and great. These findings are important to second language learners as they provide an essential linguistic tool in the initating of conversation in the Enlish language community, in turn offering learners the means to produce or reinforce a feeling of solidarity between themselves and their co-workers or classmates. Wolfson (1981) adds that the formulaic expressions associated with complimenting behavior in English can be readily taught to the second language learner to enhance communicative competence .

Connecting. With the above tools of communication, the non-native English speaker can initate successful conversation in a sometimes frightening second language environment. However, the speaker must also be concerned with how to "connect" with the response of the addressee (Robinson, 1990). In an informal study on small talk conducted in St. Cloud, Minnesota in the summer of 1990, approximately 45 Southeast Asian high school students employed the complimenting strategy as outlined in the research by Wolfson. The results were overwhelmingly positive as students recounted numerous situations at their respective work sites in which they were able to initate conversations with native speakers and thereby begin to establish friendships and ties of solidarity. However, some students found that a simple 'thank you' in response to a compliment seemed to indicate an unwillingness to continue the conversation on the part of the addressee.

In addition, nearly one-third of the students, especially those that were at a beginning or low intermediate level, expressed an uncertainty with regard to connecting with the response of the addressee; that is, the students did not know how to continue with meaningful conversation (Robinson, 1990). Thus, the students in the study were instructed on how to maintain or continue the conversation based on the response of the addressee. The following is an example of a connecting exercise the students learned in the classroom and implemented at the work site:
For example:

NNS. That's a nice shirt.

NS. Thanks. It's new. I bought it at Wal-Mart.

NNS. Oh, I shop at Wal-Mart a lot.

The example demonstrates how non-native speakers of English can utilize the new information from the response of the addressee and make a comment about it, resulting in an on-going conversation based on the response to the compliment. The feedback from the Southeast Asian students concerning their use of complimenting and connecting was very encouraging and often resulted in an increased confidence on the part of the students to overcome the initial hurdle of not knowing how to initate and then maintain conversation with native speakers. It was clear the exercise increased the communicative competence of the students dramatically.

COMPLIMENTING AND GENDER

The above research has shown how cultural values and norms dictate what is considered appropriate compliment and response behavior. In addition, social variables, such as socioeconomic level, age, education, race, and gender also determine the linguistic behavior of individuals. Mary Ritchie Key was one of the early researchers that dealt with issue of differences in men's and women's speech. Key (1975) claimed that "differences between male and female linguistic behavior...is a certain universal just as the sex role is universal, and that linguistic sex distinctions undoubtedly occur in every language of the world" (p. 13). Lakoff was also a pioneer in the area of gender-based language differences. In her 1975 book entitled *Language and Woman's Place*, Lakoff discussed her personal view of six major charateristics of women's speech. These six characteristics are by now well-known and are as follows: lexical choice, Question intonation in statements, Hedges, Emphatic modifiers and intonational emphasis, Hypercorrect grammar and pronunciation, Superpolite forms (Wolfson, 1989). Wolfson points out that Lakoff's work consisted not of objective research, but rather relied entirely on introspection. In 1980, O'Barr and Atkins took issue with Lakoff's point of view of "women's language" and renamed it "powerless language," claiming that female speech behavior was simply a reflection of their social status (Wolfson, 1989). Wolfson agrees with O'Barr and Atkins, and sums up the prevalent research on gender differences in language by stating,

> it is important to recognize that these beliefs have meaning of their own and influence the amount of power, status, and control that men and women have available to them in the general American society. (p. 182)

Having briefly covered the issues of gender differences in language use, we can now connect this with the task of teaching non-native speakers appropriate complimenting behavior in American society. Second language learners will benefit greatly from understanding which terms to avoid and which are acceptable when paying someone a compliment, and here the instructor, whether male or female, can serve as an excellent role model. Gender differences in complimenting behavior are verified by a wide range of research. Herbert (1990) discovered that research on sex-differentiating language behavior indicates that women employ more personal focus in conversation than men in social contexts. For example, research of behavior of female and male professionals at a business meeting showed that women's questions were more often encoded in personal terms, such as, "I would like to know what data exists for..." as opposed to the male use of the impersonal "What data exists for...?"

Herbert's (1990) own research showed that women are much more likely to use 1st person compliments than are men, regardless of the gender of the addressee. Conversely, women used third-person compliments, that is, impersonal expressions, only 20% of the time compared with nearly 60% of male-offered compliments (Herbert, 1990). That is, women, for example, were three times more likely to say, "I really like...," or, "I love your...," than men; while men refrained from using the personal pronoun "I" the vast majority of the time, preferring to use the impersonal, such as "nice car," or "great catch". Preisler (1986) suggests that this data lends support to the "the characterization of women's style as social, affiliative, other-oriented, socioemotional, and supportive" (Herbert, p. 205). Further research by Herbert indicates that second-person compliments are more frequent from females to males, and more frequent from males to females, but less common from males to other males.

Along similar lines, Wolfson's research indicates that females seem to both give and receive compliments much more frequently than males. The study conducted by Holmes and Brown (1987) supports the above statement. They found that female-female and female-male compliments accounted for 73% of all compliments given and nearly 70% of compliments received, while male-male compliments accounted for barely 10% of recorded compliments. Holmes & Brown (1987) also noted that 88% of the compliments directed towards men about their appearance originated from women. This, however, was not upheld by Wolfson's research which suggests that the appearance of American men does not seem to be an appropriate topic of compliment for either men or women (Holmes & Brown, 1987). Wolfson (1989) states that there exists a strong "constraint against the giving of appearance-related compliments to higher-status males" especially in the workplace. Clearly, the research demonstrates the existence of decided patterns of complimenting behavior and appropriate topics for compliments that involve both the social status and the gender of the complimenter and the addressee. It is therefore essential that non-native speakers understand the structure, rules, and the sociological patterns of complimenting behavior in English-speaking countries.

COMPLIMENTS AS CONVERSATION STARTERS IN THE ESL CLASSROOM

In recognizing the wide variety of complimenting behaviors between people of different cultures and genders, it is necessary to instruct non-native speakers of English in the appropriate structure and function of compliments. It is useful to begin in the classroom with a structured setting in which ESL students can practice initiating and connecting conversations in a non-threathening, positive learning environment. The following provides examples of teaching techniques created by Robinson and his colleages (1991), which could be implemented into the curriculum of an intermediate ESL class:

USING COMPLIMENTS AS CONVERSATION STARTERS

1. Ask students how they offer and respond to compliments within their respective cultures.
2. Present complimenting within American culture using visual aids and demonstrate a typical compliment speech event.
3. Give students lists of formulas, phrases, and vocabulary that would be appropriate in a variety of complimenting situations, depending on context. (Students should know that meaning changes as situation or context changes).
4. Students practice complimenting behavior in English using information provided in Step 3. (At this point, teacher moves around class assisting students and answering questions).
5. Ask students to role play in pairs depicting several different settings based on age and the kinds of social interactions experienced by the students. For example, if the class is made up of High School age students, each pair would practice complimenting their peers in school, at work, or while shopping.

6. Teacher role plays with individual students in front of class. For instance, the teacher would play the part of the native English speaker and the student would initate a conversation using compliments. Afterwards, discuss role play situations with entire class.
7. Assign a project in which each student must compliment a native speaker who they are familiar with. For example, the student can use the information in step 3 to compliment a peer in school, on the job, or while shopping.
8. (The next class meeting). Ask students to report on how the complimenting exchange went. (Teacher can easily incorporate a writing exercise, such as a daily journal, at this point in the approach).
9. Introduce connecting techniques using real-life situations from the students' experiences. Here the teacher can demostrate how connecting can work to produce a longer conversation.
10. Have students interact with compliments in pairs incorporating the connecting techniques in order to develop a longer exchange. For example, utilizing their own experience with giving compliments, students can incorporate the connecting techniques to see how long they can keep the conversation going.

The above teaching technique can be adopted to any level ESL class, whether beginning or advanced. It is interesting to note that Wolfson advocated early instruction of complimenting rules and structures to non-native speakers, indicating that the speech act of complimenting was both useful and applicable at a beginning level.

CONCLUSION

Sociolinguistic variations with regard to the complimenting speech event shows that behavior is normally based on one's cultural background, and, as a result, is determined by social factors such as age, social status, and gender. Although compliments are given for appearance, possessions, or performance, the basic premise of the majority of compliments in English is an effort to establish solidarity between the complimenter and the addressee. It is also important to notice that complimenting behavior in American English is directed by specific rules, structures, and social patterns, that is, linguistic and pragmatic knowledge which can be taught.

In addition, the author feels it necessary to remind the reader that only one pedagogical approach to communicative competence for non-native speakers was described above, and that it is the responsibility of ESL teachers to utilize both linguistic and pragmatic knowledge to meet the particular needs of their students. With this in mind, it would be beneficial for non-native speakers to understand the functions and uses of complimenting in order to initate meaningful conversation and establish ties of solidarity in the English language community.

THE AUTHOR

Patrick Dunham taught EFL in the People's Republic of China for three years. He is currently a graduate student in ESL at St. Cloud State University and teaches ESL composition and reading to international students.

REFERENCES

Herbert, R. K. (1990). Sex-based differences in compliment behavior. *Language in Society, 19*(2), 201–224.

Holmes, J., & Brown, D. F. (1987). Teachers and students learning about compliments. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*(3), 523–546.

Hymes, D. (1986). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics* (pp. 35–71). New York: Basil Blackwell.

Key, M. R. (1975). *Male/female language*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and woman's place*. NY: Harper & Row.

Manes, J., & Wolfson, N. (1981). The compliment formula. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routine: explorations in standardized commanication situations and prepatterned speech* (pp. 115–132). The Hague, New York Mouton.

O'Barr, W. M., & Atkins, B. K. (1980). 'Women's language' or 'powerless language'? In S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, & N. Furman (Eds.), *Wolmen and language in literature and society* (pp. 93–110). NY: Praeger.

Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 79–112). NY: Academic Press.

Preisler, B. (1986). *Linguistic sex roels in conversation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Preston, D. R. (1989). *Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Robinson, J. H., Blumhardt, D., Dunham, P., Eder, N., & Fischer, R. (1991, May). *Brainstorming sociolinguistics into the ESL curriculum: Small talk for ESL students*. Presentation at MinneTESOL Spring Conference, Hamline University, St. Paul, MN.

Wolfson, N. (1981). Compliments in cross-cultural perspective. *TESOL Quarterly, 15*(2), 117–124.

Wolfson, N. (1983). Rules of Speaking. In J. C. Richards & R. W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication* (pp. 61–87). London: Longman.

Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL*. Boston: Newbury House.

Wolfson, N., & Manes, J. (1981). The compliment as a social strategy. *Papers in Linguistics, 13*, 391–410.

Wolfson, N., Marmor, T., & Jones, S. (1989). Problems in the comparison of speech acts across cultures. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House, & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (pp. 234–273). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

The Importance of a Good *Kibun* in the ESL Classroom

JAMES H. ROBINSON
St. Cloud State University

ALEX FISHER
St. Cloud State University

Culture is not only a part of the curriculum in ESL classrooms, it is also a part of the everyday life of these classrooms. As more than one culture is generally represented in most ESL classrooms, these classrooms are cross-cultural teaching-learning contexts. Within these contexts, translations of cultural concepts, values, and behaviors are important to facilitate better communication between teacher and student. A cultural translation of *kibun* (mood or feelings) in East Asia with mood in the U. S. can provide important insights into the differences in communication styles between U. S. teachers and East Asian students. This article makes such a cultural translation based on anthropological research and applies this translation to the ESL classroom at the university level. This cultural translation will help U. S. teachers to improve inter-ethnic communication in the classroom, increase the level of participation by East Asian students, and help both teachers and students to avoid stereotypes of each other.

INTRODUCTION

As most ESL classes in the U. S. have participants from more than one culture, these classes can be viewed as a cross-cultural teaching-learning context or as schooling across cultures. Within this context, the cultural points of view of the participants strongly influence the success and failure of interactions in the classroom and most probably influence language learning. Researchers and scholars have for a long time suggested that culture should take a more prominent place in our consideration of what goes on in ESL classrooms (McGroarty & Galvan, 1985; Politzer,

1954) and some major work has been initiated in this area (Byrd, 1986; Cargill, 1987; Damen, 1987; G. Robinson, 1985; Valdes, 1986). Some researchers have focused on differences in communicative competence (Richards & Schmidt, 1983; Richards & Sukwiwat, 1985) or ethnic styles (G. Robinson, 1987; Sato, 1981) of communication in a general sense. At the same time, too much of the literature has a travelogue nature, such as from the first ESL teachers in China, or focuses more on social situations and sociolinguistic competence and not educational situations and classroom management in cross-cultural contexts (J. Robinson, 1991a).

Some previous work has focused on specific cultural translations with the aim of improving classroom management in the ESL classroom. This work has explored cultural concepts such as cooperation and competition (Buchanan, 1990), kinesics (Morain, 1986), *nunchi* (J. Robinson, 1990a), face (J. Robinson, 1991a; Scollon & Scollon, 1983), and confucian orthodoxy (J. Robinson, 1990b) in the ESL classroom and in American classrooms with international teaching assistants from East Asia (J. Robinson, 1989). Other work has dealt with these cultural concepts as they relate to turn-taking behaviors (Allwright, 1980; J. Robinson, 1991b). This type of cross-cultural analysis provides cultural translations of concepts, values, and behaviors for two cultures and predicts how cultural differences can negatively impact inter-ethnic communication and learning in the ESL classroom. In a sense, this research is a cultural contrastive analysis following suggestions by Lado (1957, 1988), Saville-Troike (1976), and Pialorsi (1984) for an anthropological analysis of ESL classrooms.

For this article, the cultural category of *kibun* (loosely translated as "mood") will be examined to explain some of the rules of interaction within East Asian societies and their classrooms. In Japan and Korea, this cultural concept is written with the same Chinese characters 氣分 and is phonetically identical: きぶん in Japanese and 기분 in Korean. While this study focuses on Japan and Korea, informal discussions with Chinese students suggest that *gifen* in Chinese has the same meaning as *kibun* in Japan and Korea, although the Chinese use slightly different characters 氣氛. In East Asia, behaviors that prevent "bad *kibun*" complement behaviors that avoid "a loss of face." Within these societies, face (J. Robinson, 1990b, 1991a) and *kibun* are complementary and partially overlapping albeit not identical cultural concepts. In addition, similar concepts may also exist in some Southeast Asian cultures because of the influences of Confucianism or Buddhism.

The main focus of this analysis will be on how ESL teachers need to read the *kibun* of their East Asian students in order to increase their participation in ESL classes. For this paper, East Asian students will refer directly to Japanese and Korean students, but one should also be able to apply much of this following discussion to Chinese students, too. *Kibun* will be defined within its own cultural contexts, compared to "being in a...mood" in the U. S. and related to the rules of social interaction. Problems that could result from miscommunication because of the cross-cultural or inter-ethnic differences in these two concepts include: East Asian students regarding their ESL teachers as foolish, ESL teachers regarding their East Asian students as less than honest, and the silencing of these students by their teachers. Two general solutions to bridge this cross-cultural communication difficulty are suggested: 1) ESL teachers need to pay more attention to the non-verbal behaviors of their East Asian students, and 2) they should postpone any character judgments about these students without expert advice. The sources for the analysis include anthropological literature on East Asia and a research project conducted by Fisher and his colleagues (1991) on the cross-cultural differences between *kibun* in Japan and mood in the U. S.

KIBUN IN JAPAN

In Japan, *kibun* refers to how people feel or think about something. *Kibun* is usually expressed indirectly through "facial expressions, behaviors, eye contact, the space between them and another person, or a change in their tone of voice rather than by any direct statement" (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 1). *Kibun* has three characteristics:

1. Japanese *kibun* indirectly expresses or reflects the situation of a person,
2. the Japanese do not directly discuss what makes a person have a bad *kibun*, and
3. *Kibun*, even a bad one, is not judged. (Fisher et al., 1991)

The following three examples from the research of Fisher and his colleagues (1991) demonstrate how this cultural concept manifests itself in social behavior. In the first example, this cultural difference results in an American accusing a Japanese of dishonesty.

> An American student who is taking the same class as a Japanese student comes up to the Japanese student and asks, "How was the

> test today?" The Japanese student answers, "It must be bad because I didn't have enough time." And then he says to the American student, "How about you? You look like you did well." The American student answers, "I think I did well." A few days later after the result of test scores are shown, they happen to meet. The American student asks the Japanese student what score he got. The Japanese student tells the American student that he got one hundred points. The American student then says to the Japanese student, "You told me you didn't have enough time. Don't tell a lie." (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 2)

In this example, the Japanese student expressed a neutral *kibun* and the American student interpreted this neutrality as dishonesty. The Japanese student was hedging. He thought he did well on the test but wanted to hide his *kibun* just in case he did not do as well as he had thought.

In the second example, a Japanese thinks an American is somewhat foolish.

> A Japanese student is studying in a study lounge of a student dormitory. An American student comes up to the Japanese student and tries to start a conversation, but the Japanese student has to study. He avoids turning his face toward the American student; however, he does not say, "I have to study. Can you leave me alone?" The American student continues to talk to the Japanese student. Finally the American student says, "Do you mind my talking?" The Japanese student says to himself in Japanese, "Aren't you able to tell?" (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 3)

The Japanese student expressed his *kibun*, annoyance at the American student interrupting him, through indirect means: gaze and space. The Japanese student refused to make eye contact with the American and leaned as far away from the American as he could. The American student missed these cues, and the Japanese student could not imagine that the American would be so dense.

A third example reports on a conversation between a Japanese boyfriend and girlfriend and shows that misreading of *kibun* can also influence intra-ethnic communication:

> B: You look sad today. What's wrong with you? What happened?
>
> G: Nothing.

B: What's wrong? You should not be in such a mood.
G: Nothing. (She gets angry while almost crying.)
B: Come on!
G: Leave me alone! (She is completely angry.) (Fisher et al., 1991, p. 4)

In this interaction, the boyfriend made the mistake of trying to make his girlfriend "spell out" what was wrong. The result was that her *kibun* became worse. The mistake was made partially because the boyfriend had a bad *kibun* as well.

In Japan, four other cultural concepts are important to understand *kibun*. First, these indirect expressions of *kibun* are read through *kan*.

> *Kan*...encompasses a range of cognitive attributes, including: Intuition, or a "sixth sense"; Premonition, A natural knack for doing things; Inspiration, A realization of what is needed for a task.... *Kan* is also a "sixth sense" in social relationships. (White, 1987, p. 43–44)

Japanese use *kan* to grasp a situation or to read someone's *kibun*. For the first example above, a Japanese would not have guessed dishonesty but would have identified two possible meanings to the hedging statement: 1) the student did poorly or 2) the student pretended that he did not do well. With *kan*, a Japanese would listen for the words and their tone and look at the speaker's face before deciding which of these two alternatives would be the best (Fisher et al., 1991).

Second, face is a major element of social interaction in Japan. Face in East Asia has a negative nature, a status sometimes beyond the claim of ego, and a characteristic bestowed by society (Hu, 1944, p. 61). One fears losing face, is always concerned about what people think, and has to maintain the appearance of a presence in society (J. Robinson, 1990b, 1991a). Japanese try both to save their own face and to avoid anyone else losing face. In the first example, the student hid his excitement over doing well on the test, his good *kibun*, because he was afraid that he might lose face if his prediction were higher than his actual score on the test.

Third, "receiver responsibility" is also a critical element of social communication in Japan. Hinds has written about how the responsibility for comprehending written texts is more with the reader than the writer (1987). The same is also true of spoken language exchanges. The Japanese *kibun* is good, one 'feels like a million dollars,' when bad, one 'feels like eating worms'" (Crane, 1967, p. 7). One author referred to it as the "Good

Mood Syndrome" (De Mente, 1988, p. 26). Sensitivity to *kibun* has effects on both private and public life and on "etiquette, politeness, and respect." This respect for *kibun* can even be seen in Korean greetings which emphasize a calm and collected social interaction: Anyang hashimnika? (Are you in peace?); Anyang kashimnika? (May you go in peace?); and Anyang kaishimnika? (May you remain in peace?) (Crane, 1967, p. 8).

Appearances and social hierarchy are strongly related to the importance of *kibun* in social interaction. In a sense, appearances are more important than reality even if one has to lie to protect another from the truth. "It is often felt by many to be more important to feel right than to be right, if a choice must be made" (Crane, 1967, p. 7). Within social relations, *kibun* has a direct connection to hierarchical relations. The *kibun* of elders is more important than that of the younger generation. Consequently, employers and teachers are less concerned about the *kibuns* of their employees or students, but employees and students have to be very concerned about the *kibun* of the boss or the teacher. To correct a teacher in class or to point out a mistake by the boss would be barbaric behavior. The truth is only good when it brings "joy and peace" (Crane, 1967, p. 10).

One example from Crane provides a picture of the importance of appearances before those higher in the social hierarchy during the Korean War.

> Thousands of refugees jammed into Pusan and created living conditions that were very poor, to say the least. In order to keep visiting officials from having their *kibun* upset, a high board fence was built with extremely scarce lumber along a part of the highway leading from the Pusan airport into the city, so that prominent visitors and foreigners would not see the miserable conditions of the refugees living in hovels behind the fence. Everyone felt better hiding these poor refugees from the view of visitors who drove to and from the airport. Appearance here was certainly considered more important than using the lumber to help build urgently needed housing for these refugees. (Crane, 1967, p. 11)

Crane suggested that even the refugees preferred the fence to housing, as preventing another's and especially a superior's bad *kibun* was more important than protecting one's physical self from the elements.

Another aspect of *kibun* is that Koreans try to avoid being the bearer of bad news. The resulting behavior may be varied: 1) the bad news is not communicated at all, 2) the bad news will be communicated at the end of the day, and 3) the bad news may be watered down to the point that it does not appear bad. Especially, Koreans would not want to give the bad news to someone who is very emotional or temperamental, as this knowledge may result in not only a bad *kibun* but also a loss of self-control (De Mente, 1988, p. 26-27).

The following example shows to what lengths a Korean might go in everyday life to avoid communicating unpleasant information and what anxiety it can create for a westerner.

> A common example of the effect of *kibun* can be seen at a repair shop when one asks for the time of completion. When one arrives at the appointed time to find the work far from completion, one is tempted to demand why this unrealistic estimate was promised. The bland reply may be that it might have made you unhappy if a longer period had been mentioned. Thus to help your *kibun* for that moment, a short time span was given. (Crane, 1967, pp. 11-12)

One interpretation of this interaction would be that the repair shop owner told a lie in order to get business, but this western interpretation fails to take into account that the same work would most probably take the same amount of time no matter where the customer goes. Crane's interpretation could be refined by stating that the owner was being polite within Korean valnes by emphasizing the *kibun* of the customer.

Finally, just as Japanese use *kan* to perceive the various interpretation of messages, Koreans use *nunchi*. In Korean, nunchi means *eye measured* (Kang, 1972, p. 64; Park, 1979, p. 92). More figuratively it could be translated as eye sense or playing things by eye. Martin and his colleagues (1967) define *nunchi*'s nominative usage as, "tact, savoir faire, sense, social sense, perceptiveness, an eye for social situations," and its predicate function as, "tries to read one's mind, probe one's motives, studies one's face, grasps a situation, sees how the wind blows" (p. 364). With *nunchi*, Koreans perceive the *kibun* of an individual before deciding whether to communicate or not, what to say, how to say it, and how to read the responses to these behaviors.

IN THE U. S.

In the U. S., people have moods rather than *kibun*. Although these two words may appear identical in definition, they differ considerably. Mood in the U. S. can be contrasted with *kibun* in Japan and Korea in at least three ways. First, in the U. S., moods are more ephemeral. A good or bad mood is a temporary situation that someone is in rather than a condition that someone has. Moods can be changed quickly and are less identified with self-image (Fisher et al., 1991). One's *kibun* on the other hand is maintained over a much longer period of time.

Second, people in the U. S. tend to communicate their moods directly through non-verbal or verbal channels. The receiver gets what is seen with only one clear interpretation. Americans would regard the hedges of a neutral *kibun* as dishonesty. Westerners not only want to know the truth, but would generally prefer it sooner than later, and spelled out in a direct way that is not misleading. In East Asia, the truth may be equally important, but preferably expressed non-verbally and in an indirect fashion, and preferably not at the beginning of the day as it would ruin the whole day.

Third, people in the U. S. tend to communicate and discuss good and bad moods. While some individuals may avoid those who are in a bad mood, many would respond with either commiseration or by trying to "cheer someone up." The calamity that often produces a "bad mood" is often the content of small talk (Robinson et al., 1991). This type of small talk can lead to "competing calamities" as two individuals compete with each other for who has the worse mood. People in the U. S. may also try to "cheer someone up" by changing their mood. The idea is to distract the individual and to help him or her to get their mind off the problem. For example, an American may ask: "Let's go shopping," "Let's go out and have fun," or "Let's go shoot some hoops" (Fisher et al., 1991). A second strategy would be to "talk through the problem." Another strategy may involve a complex analysis of the problem, but the general aim would be to downplay the problem by pointing out its positive effects or humorous side. As the third Japanese example above suggests, trying "to cheer someone up" would be the worst strategy for interacting with someone who has a "bad *kibun*."

IMPLICATIONS FOR ESL

ESL professionals need to understand how differences in mood and *kibun* can impact inter-ethnic communications between U. S. teachers and East Asian students. Implications from these differences can be seen in the emission and reception of both mood and *kibun* by U. S. teachers and East Asian students respectively.

First, teachers need to realize more and more the consequences of their actions in the classroom as they emit and as their students receive messages. They need to understand that their good and bad moods may be received and interpreted in a variety of ways by their students. For example, the expressiveness of Americans may be interpreted as moodiness, and consequently East Asian students may be reluctant to do anything in the classroom as it may induce a bad temper or erratic behavior. In other words, more self-control and less expressiveness in terms of mood by the teacher in front of the class may actually help elicit more verbal behavior by East Asian students.

Second, teachers should realize that student *kibuns* can be influenced in unpredictable ways by what teachers say. For example, an overt public correction may produce a bad *kibun* that ultimately silences a student. In addition, inadvertent comments may result in bad *kibuns*. For example, teachers should be careful when using counterfactual expressions. Bloom has indicated that such thinking is unusual for Chinese and difficult to translate properly (1981). Consequently, when a teacher refers to a specific student and says, "if he were the thief," a counterfactual statement, the result may be that the East Asian student and the class would infer that the teacher questions the honesty of that particular student.

Third, teachers must develop their perceptive skills, *kan* or *nunchi*, in order to pay more attention to the variety of meanings that expressions of *kibun* may have and to guess which is the correct interpretation. The teacher needs to pay attention not only to what is said or seen overtly, but also to the student's posture, hands, desk, and the surroundings. A tapping foot may give a better view of the *kibun* than a smiling face. The tapping foot emits evidence of a negative *kibun* that the smiling face is trying to hide.

Fourth, teachers should understand that the behaviors of East Asian students may be controlled by a reluctance to emit behavior that would give someone a bad *kibun*. For example, East Asian students may view asking questions in class as a *kibun*-threatening activity for teachers. If the teacher does not know the answer, the teacher will feel bad about having to give a possible wrong answer. Even if the teacher knows the answer, the teacher may feel bad because the question slows down the class and may mean that all the material will not be covered. In addition, as these students may be reluctant to communicate the unpleasant, they may not tell a teacher that they could not understand an explanation or not provide evaluative information to the teacher on how the course is progressing or how they are doing in the course. When a teacher finds out that a problem exists or that a certain learning activity is not working, he or she may think that these students are uncommunicative, hostile or insincere if not dishonest, while their students are in fact trying to prevent the teacher or someone else from having a "bad *kibun*."

Fifth, ESL teachers need to understand that East Asians tend not to judge others by their *kibun*. One reason for this non-judgmental attitude may be because of the variety of interpretations that any behavior may be given in Japan or Korea. When students say that they understand something, the teacher should realize that this answer has at least two interpretations: they understand, and they do not. To evaluate the statement on the surface structure could result in the wrong interpretation. The wrong interpretation could then lead to a negative value judgment: the students said they understood, but they did not, so they must be dishonest. ESL teachers need to postpone these judgments and try to figure out through *kan* or *nunchi* how what appears as insincerity or dishonesty might be something else entirely. Without *kan* or *nunchi*, teachers should try to identify culture brokers from among former students or colleagues. These culture brokers can use their *kan* or *nunchi* to try to interpret the inter-ethnic situation. At the least, teachers ought to postpone any judgement about their students until they have the cultural knowledge and understanding to analyze their students behaviors.

Finally, with an understanding of the *kibun* of the East Asian student, the ESL teacher should be able to help bridge the cultural discontinuity between *kibun* in East Asia and mood in the U. S. In curricular activities, teachers would need to help these students to de-emphasize *kibun* and to focus on the American concept of mood in the student's interactions with Americans. For example, East Asian students need to learn to accept negative feedback with less affective response, to give negative feedback rather than polite responses, to pay more attention to what is said directly, to react less to what may be implied or is only perceived visually, and in general to express their personality more through visual channels. In other words, the concept of *kibun* is not only an important part of cross-cultural classroom management for ESL teachers but also helps East Asian students acquire a second culture along with the language.

REFERENCES

Allwright, R. (1980). Turns, topics, and tasks: Patterns or participation in language learning and teaching. In D. Larsen-Freeman (Ed.), *Discourse analysis in second language research* (pp. 165–187). Rowley, MA: Newbury.

Bloom, A. H. (1981). *The linguistic shaping of thought: A study of the impact of language on thinking in China and the West*. Hillsdayle, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Buchanan, L. (1990). Some effects of culture in the ESL classroom and their implications for teaching. *MinneTESOL Journal*, 8 73–87.

Byrd, P. (Ed.). (1986). *Teaching across cultures in the university ESL program*. Washington, DC: NAFSA.

Cargill, C. (Ed.). (1987). *A TESOL professional anthology: Culture*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook.

Crane, P. (1972). *Korean patterns* (3rd Ed.). Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society, Korean Branch.

Damen, L. (1987). *Culture learning: The fifth dimension in the language classroom*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

De Mente, B. (1988). *Korean etiquette and ethics in business: A penetrating analysis of the morals and values that shape the Korean business personality*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook.

Fisher, A. Sugo, K., & Anderson, D. (1991). *Kibun and mood in cultural and educational contexts*. Unpublished manuscript.

Hinds, J. (1987). Reader versus writer responsibility: A new typology. In U. Connor & R. Kaplan (Eds.), *Writing across languages: Analysis of L2 text* (pp. 141–152). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hu, H. C. (1944). The Chinese concept of "face." *American Anthropologist*, 46, 45–64.

Kang, S. P. (1972). *The East Asian culture and its transformation in the West*. Seoul, Korea: American Studies Institute.

Lado, R. (1957). *Linguistics across cultures*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Lado, R. (1988). *Teaching English across cultures*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Martin, E. M., Lee, Y. H. & Chang, S. U. (1967). *A Korean-English dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

McGroarty, M., & Galvan, J. (1985). Culture as an issue in second language teaching. In M. Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Beyond basics: Issues and research in TESOL* (pp. 81–95). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Morain, G. (1986). Kinesics and cross-cultural understanding. In J. M. Valdes (Ed.), *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching* (pp. 64–76). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Park, M. S. (1979). *Communication styles in two different cultures: Korean and American*. Seoul, Korea: Han Shin Publishing.

Pialorsi, F. (1984). Toward an anthropology of the classroom: An essay on foreign teaching assistants and U. S. students. In K. Bailey, et al., (Eds.), *Foreign teaching assistants in U.S. universities* (pp. 16–21). Washington: NAFSA.

Politzer, R. (1954). Developing cultural understanding through foreign language study. In H. J. Mueller (Ed.), *Report of the fifth annual round table meeting on linguistics and language teaching* (pp. 99–105). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Richards, J., & Sukwiwat, M. (1985). Cross-cultural aspects of conversational competence. In J. C. Richards (Ed.), *The context of language teaching* (pp. 128–143). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J., & Schmidt, R. (1983). Conversational analysis. In J. C. Richards & R. W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and Communication* (pp. 117–154). New York: Longman.

Robinson, G. (1985). *Crosscultural understanding: Processes and approaches for foreign language, English as a second language and bilingual educators*. London: Pergamon Press.

Robinson, G. (1987). Cultural diverse speech styles. In W. M. Rivers (Ed.), *Interactive language teaching* (pp. 141–154). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, J. H. (1989). *Implications from Anthropology and Education for ITA Training*. Paper presented at the Second National Conference on the Training and Employment of Graduate Teaching Assistants, Seattle, WA.

Robinson, J. H. (1990a). *Playing things by eye with nunchi: audio and visual cuing in social and educational contexts*. Paper presented at the Seventh Midwest Regional TESOL Conference in St. Paul, MN.

Robinson, J. H. (1990b). Linguistic, cultural & educational contexts of Korea. In *The Korea papers: Profile in educational exchange* (NAFSA Working Papers No. 10). Washington, DC: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs.

Robinson, J. H. (1991a). Teaching across academic cultures: toward an anthropology of the ESL classroom. In M. McGroarty & C. Faltis (Eds.) *Languages in school and society: policy and pedagogy* (pp. 201–228). Berlin: Mouton.

Robinson, J. H. (1991b). *Turn taking in the ESL classroom: An item of cross-cultural dissonance*. Paper presented at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, Lexington, KY.

Robinson, J., Blumhardt, D., Dunham, P., & Eder, N. (1991) *Brainstorming sociolinguistics into the ESL curriculum: Small talk for ESL students*. Paper presented at the MinneTESOL Spring Conference, St. Paul, MN.

Sato, C. (1981). Ethnic styles in classroom discourse. In M. Hines & W. Rutherford (Eds.), *On TESOL '81* (pp. 11–14). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Saville-Troike, M. (1976). *Foundations for teaching English as a second language: Theory and method for multicultural education*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In J. C. Richards & R. W. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and communication* (pp. 156-188). New York: Longman.

Valdes, J. (Ed.). (1986). *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

White, M. (1987). *The Japanese educational challenge*. New York: Free Press.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Test-Taking Strategies on ESL Language Tests

ANDREW D. COHEN
University of Minnesota

This article looks at test-taking strategies in the taking of second language tests. Strategies that have been identified through verbal report measures are described--first for two indirect testing formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and then for two direct formats, summarization tasks and compositions. The focus is on tests of reading and writing skills. Several suggestions which may lead to more effective test taking are provided.

A PROCESS APPROACH TO TEST TAKING

Over the last fifteen years, there has been increasing interest in approaching the testing of language material from the point of view of the respondent going through the process of taking the test.

Tests that are relied upon to indicate the comprehension level of readers may produce misleading results because of numerous techniques that readers have developed for obtaining correct answers on such tests without fully or even partially understanding the text. As Fransson (1984) put it, respondents may not proceed via the text but rather around it. In effect, then, there are presumptions held by test constructors and administrators as to what is being tested and there are the actual processes that test takers go through to produce answers to questions and tasks. The two may not necessarily be one and the same. Students may get an item wrong for the right reasons or right for the wrong reasons.

It may, in fact, be the case that the strategies the respondents are using are detrimental to their overall performance, or at least not as helpful as others they could be using. For example, respondents may plod laboriously through a reading passage only to find that once they reach the multiple-choice questions, they have forgotten most of what they read or failed to focus adequately on those elements being tested. In such a case, the strategy of studying the questions carefully before reading the text may have been more beneficial.

The intent of this paper is to describe test-taking strategy data emerging from studies of respondents taking different kinds of tests. We will start by looking at the purpose for considering the processes involved in test taking. The main purpose is to determine the effects of test input upon the test taker—specifically, the processes that the test taker makes use of in order to produce acceptable answers to questions and tasks. There is a concomitant concern to determine the respondent's perceptions about tests before, during, and after having taken them.

WHAT IS MEANT BY TEST-TAKING STRATEGIES?

For the purposes of this discussion, test-taking strategies will be viewed as those test-taking processes which the respondents have selected and which they are conscious of, at least to some degree. In other words, the notion of strategy implies an element of selection. Otherwise, the processes would not be considered as strategies. At times these strategies constitute an opting out of the language task at hand (e.g., through a simple matching of look-alike information). At other times, the strategies may constitute short cuts to arriving at answers (e.g., not reading the text as instructed but simply looking immediately for the answers to the given reading comprehension questions). Yet in the majority of cases, test-taking strategies do not lead to opting out or to the use of short cuts. In some cases, quite the contrary holds true. One Hebrew second-language respondent in a study of test-taking strategies in Israel determined that he had to produce a written translation of a text before he could respond to questions dealing with that text (Cohen & Aphek, 1979).

While early reference to strategic competence as a component of communicative language use (Canale & Swain, 1980) put the emphasis on "compensatory" strategies—that is, strategies used to compensate or remediate for a lack in some language area, Bachman (1990) provides a broader theoretical model for viewing strategic competence. There is an assessment component whereby the respondent (in the case of language testing) sets communicative goals, a planning component whereby the respondent retrieves the relevant items from language competence and plans their use, and an execution component whereby the respondent implements the plan.

Within this broader framework, it may still be the case that a fair number of test-taking strategies are, in fact, compensatory. Respondents often omit material because they do not know it when put on the spot, or produce different material from what they would like to with the hope that it will be acceptable in the given context. They may use lexical avoidance, simplification, or approximation when the exact word escapes them under the pressure of the test or possibly because they simply do not know the word that well or at all.

Thus, in theory, when respondents are given a situation in which to perform an oral role play, they may first assess the situation and identify the information that is needed in that context. Then, they may plan out their response and go about retrieving from their language competence the grammatical, discourse, and sociocultural features needed for the role play. Finally, they execute the role play. After they finish, they may again perform an assessment to evaluate the extent to which the communicative goal was achieved.

As is the case with any theoretical model, test takers may make differential use of the components of this model when performing specific testing tasks. For example, there are respondents who do not assess the situation before starting the role play and because of this, may violate certain sociocultural conventions. Likewise, there are respondents who plan out their utterances before producing them while others would just start talking on an on-line basis. Recent research involving the use of verbal report directly after the performance of oral role play interaction is beginning to obtain data regarding the extent of assessment and planning actually taking place before the execution of apologies, complaints, and requests (Cohen & Olshtain, in press).

Let us now consider strategies on two more indirect testing formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and then consider strategies for two more direct formats, namely, summarization tasks and compositions. The focus will also be on tests of reading and writing skills. We will end with several suggestions which may lead to more effective test taking.

INDIRECT TESTING FORMATS

Indirect formats for testing—i.e., those formats which do not reflect real-world tasks—may prompt the use of strategies solely for the purpose of coping with the test format. Let us look at two such formats, multiple-choice and cloze, and at some of the research findings regarding strategies used in taking such tests.

Multiple-choice

A study of 40 college ESL respondents used retrospective verbal report to gain insights about test-taking strategies (Larson, 1981 in Cohen, 1984). The students were requested to describe how they arrived at answers to a 10-item multiple-choice test based on a 400-word reading passage. Seventeen students met with the author of the test in groups of two or three within 24 hours after the test, while 23 students met in groups of five or six 4 days after taking the test. The investigator found that the respondents used the following strategies:

1. they stopped reading alternatives when they got to the one that seemed correct to them,
2. they matched material from the passage wit material in the item stem and in the alternatives (e.g., when the answer was in the same sentence with the materal used to write the stem),
3. they preferred a surface-structure reading of the test items to one that called for more in-depth reading and inferencing (Larson, 1981 in Cohen, 1984). It was found that this superficial matching would sometimes result in the right answer. One example was as follows:

    The fact that there is only one university in Filanthropia might be used to show why...

    a) education is compulsory through age 13.

    b) many people work in the fishing industry.

    c) 20 per cent of the population is illiterate.

    d) the people are relatively happy and peaceful.

Students were able to identify *c* as the correct answer by noticing that this information appeared earlier in the same sentence with the information which reappeared in the item stem: "...The investigating travel agency researchers discovered that the illiteracy rate of the people is 20 per cent, which is perhaps reflective of the fact that there is only one university in Filanthropia, and that education is compulsory, or required, only through age 10." They assumed that this was the correct answer without understanding the item or the word *illiterate*. They were right.

In another example, students did not have to look in the text for surface matches. They were able to match directly between the stem and the correct alternative:

> The increased foreign awareness of Filanthropia has...
> a) resulted in its relative poverty.
> b) led to a tourist bureau investigation.
> c) created the main population centers.
> d) caused its extreme isolation.

Students associated "foreign" in the stem with "tourist" in option *b*, without understanding the test item.

It was also found that more reasoned analysis of the alternatives—e.g., making calculated inferences about vocabulary items—would lead to incorrect answers. The following item provided an example of this:

> The most highly developed industry in Filanthropia is...
> a) oil.
> b) fishing.
> c) timber.
> d) none of the above.

This item referred to the following portion of the text: "...most [dollars] are earned in the fishing industry....In spite of the fact that there are resources other than fish, such as timber in the forest of the foothills, agriculture on the upland plateaus, and, of course, oil, these latter are highly underdeveloped."

One student read the stem phrase "most highly developed industry" and reasoned that this meant "technologically developed" and so referred to the "oil industry." He was relying on expectations based on general knowledge rather than on a careful reading of the text. The point is that his was a reasoned guess, not that of, say, surface matching, as in the previous example.

In an effort to investigate the extent to which multiple-choice questions are answered on the basis of prior knowledge of the topic and general vocabulary knowledge, 32 intermediate and 25 advanced Israeli EFL students were given a title and just the first paragraph of a passage appearing on the previous year's exemption examination, and then were asked to answer 12 questions dealing with the portion of text not provided. Two weeks later they were given the text in full along with the questions and once again were asked to respond (Israel, 1982 in Cohen, 1984). The rate of success on the multiple-choice items was still surprisingly high—

49% for the advanced group and 41% for the intermediates. These results were far better than the 25 per cent success rate that would be expected on the basis of change alone. (These results are also consistent with those for native English readers, where the results were far better than chance (Tuinman, 1973-4; Fowler & Kroll, 1978).) When the students were given the test with the complete passage and questions two weeks later, the advanced group now scored 77% and the intermediates 62%. The score necessary for exemption from further EFL study was 60 per cent. The fact that the average performance on the test was low even when the passage was provided makes the results without the passage that much more striking.

In a research study with 30 tenth-grade EFL students—15 high proficiency readers and 15 low proficiency readers, respondents were asked to verbalize thoughts while finding answers to open-ended and multiple-choice questions (Gordon, 1987). She found that answers to test questions did not necessarily reflect comprehension of the text. Both types of reading comprehension questions were regarded by the respondents as "mini" reading comprehension tests. With respect to test- taking strategies, the low-proficiency students tended to process information at the local (sentence/word) level, not relating isolated bits of information to the whole text. They used individual word-centered strategies like matching words in alternatives to text, copying words out of text, word-for-word translation, formulating global impressions of text content on basis of key words or isolated lexical items in text or test questions. The high-proficiency students, on the other hand, were seen to comprehend the text at a global level—predicting information accurately in context, using lexical and structural knowledge to cope with linguistic difficulties.

In an effort to provide immediate verbal report data, Nevo (1989) designed a testing format that would allow for immediate feedback after each item. She developed a response-strategy checklist, based on the test-taking strategies that have been described in the literature and on her intuitions as to strategies respondents were likely to select. A pilot study had shown that it was difficult to obtain useful feedback on an item-by-item basis without a checklist to jog the respondents' memory as to possible strategies.

Nevo's checklist included fifteen strategies, each appearing with a brief description and a label meant to promote rapid processing of the checklist. She administered a multiple-choice reading comprehension test in Hebrew (first-language) and French (foreign-language) to forty-two 10th graders, and requested that they indicate for each of the ten questions on each test the strategy that was most instrumental in their arriving at an answer as well as that which was the second most instrumental. The responses were kept anonymous so as to encourage the students to report exactly what they did, rather than what they thought they were supposed to report.

It was found that students were able to record the two strategies that were most instrumental in obtaining each answer. The study indicated that respondents transferred test-taking strategies from the first language to the foreign language. The researcher also identified whether the selected strategies aided in choosing the correct answer. The selection of strategies that did not promote choice of the correct answer was more prevalent in the foreign-language test than in the first-language version. The main finding in this study was that it was possible to obtain feedback from respondents on their strategy use after each item on a test if a checklist was provided for quick labeling of the processing strategies utilized. Furthermore, the respondents reported benefiting greatly from the opportunity to become aware of how they took reading tests. They reported having been largely unaware of their strategies prior to this study.

Another study of test-taking strategies among non-natives revealed that respondents used certain strategies differently, depending on the type of question that was being asked. For example, the strategies of "trying to match the stem with the text" and "guessing" were reported more frequently for inference type questions than for the other question types such as direct statement or main idea. The strategy of "paraphrasing" was reported to occur more in responding to direct statement items than with inference and main idea question types (Anderson, Bachman, Perkins, & Cohen 1991).

The Anderson, et al. study originated as a doctoral dissertation in which 28 native speakers of Spanish studying at the Texas Intensive English Program in Austin took three measures of reading comprehension: reading comprehension subtest from a test of language skills, a measure of ability to read college-level textbook prose (Textbook Reading Profile), and a second form of the standardized reading comprehension test (Anderson, 1989). After the first two tasks, the participants provided retrospective think-aloud protocols describing the strategies they used while reading the textbook material and answering the comprehension questions. The respondents also provided think- aloud protocols along with the final test. The data were categorized in to a list of 47 processing strategies.

In the follow-up phase of the research, data from the participants' retrospective think-aloud protocols of their reading and test taking strategies were combined with data from a content analysis and an item analysis to obtain a truly convergent measure of test validation (Anderson et al., 1991). The content analysis of the reading comprehension passages and questions was comprised of the test designer's analysis and one based on an outside taxonomy, and the item performance data included item difficulty and discrimination. This study marked perhaps the first time that both think-aloud protocols and more commonly used types of information on test content and test performance were combined in the same study in order to examine the validation of the test in a convergent manner.

Emerging from these various studies on multiple-choice tests of reading comprehension is a series of strategies that respondents may utilize at one point or another in order to arrive at answers to the test questions. Whether these strategies are of benefit depends to a large extent upon when they are used and how effectively they are used. A composite list of some of the more salient test-taking strategies appearing in one or more of the studies mentioned above can be found in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Strategies for Taking a Multiple-Choice Reading Comprehension Test

1. Read the passage first and make a mental note of where different kinds of information is located.
2. Read the questions a second time for purpose of clarification.
3. Return to the passage to look for the answer.
4. Look for the portion of the text that the question refers to and then look for clues to the answer there.
5. Look for answers to questions in chronological order in the text.
6. Read the questions first so that the reading of the text is directed at findings answers to those questions.
7. Try to produce your own answer to the question before you look at the options that are provided in the test.
8. Use the process of elimination—i.e., select a choice not because you are sure that it is the correct answer, but because the

other choices don't seem reasonable, because they seem similar or overlapping, or because their meaning is not clear to you.

9. Look for an option that seems to deviate from the others, is special, is different, or conspicuous.
10. Select a choice that is longer/shorter than the others.
11. Take advantage of clues appearing in other items in order to answer the item under consideration.
12. Take into consideration the position of the option among the choices (a, b, c, or d).
13. Select the option because it appears to have a word or phrase from the passage in it—possibly a key word.
14. Select the option because it has a word or phrase that also appears in the question.
15. Postpone dealing with an item or selecting a given option until later.
16. Make an educated guess—e.g., use background knowledge or extra-textual knowledge in making the guess.
17. Budget your time wisely on this test.
18. Change your responses as appropriate—e.g., in the case where new clues are discovered in, say, another item.

Cloze

Research regarding strategies for taking cloze tests is of interest in that it has helped to determine whether, in fact, such tests measure global reading skills as they are purported to. As more studies have been undertaken on the cloze test, it has become clearer that the instrument elicits more local, word- level reading than macro-, discourse-level reading (Alderson, 1983; Klein-Braley, 1981; Lado 1986), contrary to the claims of its early supporters (see, for example, Chihara, Oller, Weaver, Chavez-Oller, 1977; Chavez-Oller, Chihara, Weaver, & Oller, 1985). It has also become evident that more proficient readers are more skilled at correctly completing those cloze items that do assess discourse-level reading, whether reading in the native or in a foreign language.

Studies on strategies for taking cloze tests have shown that perhaps only a quarter of nonnative respondents read the entire cloze passage before responding (Emanuel, 1982 in Cohen, 1984; Hashkes & Koffman,

786

1982 in Cohen, 1984). A case study shed some light on the issue of reading the text before completing the cloze test (Kleiman, Cavalcanti, Terzi, & Ratto, 1986). Verbal protocol data provided by a 7th-grade Brazilian girl filling in two cloze passages—one as a warm up and the other as the exercise in Portuguese (first language)—indicated that the respondent was preoccupied with local clues from isolated elements of text. What emerged was that she did not use global clues until she had completed a substantial number of blanks on the cloze. In other words, it is easier to read the cloze passage once it has been partially completed and the respondent has some idea of what it is about, much as a child may have an easier time of connecting numbered dots once the picture that the dots are forming becomes clearer.

One of the early studies of strategy use in completing a cloze passage involved indirect assessment of strategies used. The researchers administered a rational deletion cloze with 23 blanks to 39 EFL subjects from three levels (Homburg & Spaan, 1981). One of four strategies was intuited to be necessary in finding a correct word for each of the blanks: recognition of parallelism, sentence bound, forward reading, backward reading. Success at items calling for "forward reading" (çataphora) was significantly associated with success at understanding the main idea. In verbal report studies, it was found that nearly 20% of the respondents did not use the preceding or following sentence for clues to blanks but rather guessed on the basis of the immediate context (Emanuel, 1982; Hashkes & Koffman, 1982 in Cohen, 1984).

Thus, the research on strategies in taking cloze tests would suggest that such tests are more tests of local-level reading than they are measures of global reading ability. Furthermore such tests are more likely to test for local-level reading when they are in a foreign language (see, for example, MacLean & d'Anglejan, 1986).

MORE DIRECT FORMATS

Whereas more direct formats for testing, such as text summarization, are less likely to elicit test-taking strategies at the expense of language use strategies, results on such measures are still influenced by testwiseness. As long as the task is part of a test, students are bound to use strategies they would not use under non-test conditions.

Summarization tasks

In the case of a summary task, the respondent is invariably summarizing a text for a reader who already has a notion of what the summary should look like. In the real world, we usually summarize a text for our own future use or for the benefit of someone who has not read it.

Case-study research concerning the strategies used by respondents in producing summaries on a test has suggested that they might use various shortcut measures (Cohen, forthcoming). One strategy is to lift material directly from the passage in summarizing, rather than restating it at a higher level of abstraction or generality. In such cases, it would not be clear whether the respondent understood the material or not. Furthermore, when respondents are in doubt about whether material should be included or deleted, they might be prone to include it (particularly in the case of one less proficient student), with the assumption that a summary that runs longer would probably be preferred by the raters to one that was too terse. The study found that the respondents spent more time on their strategies for reading the texts to be summarized than they did on the production of their summaries, so not surprisingly, the summaries were not so coherent or polished.

Compositions

The interpretation of essay topics is a problem which is related to inadequate attention to instructions. Usually, an essay topic is presented in the form of a mini-text which the respondent needs to understand and operationalize. Ruth and Murphy (1984) note cases where students misinterpret words in the prompt, such as interpreting the word "profit" as "prophet," thus shifting the meaning of the topic entirely. Perhaps of greater consequence are the strategies the respondents have to size up the nature of the task. Ruth and Murphy give the example of a supposed friendly letter topic wherein what is actually called for is a response at a higher level of performance than might be reflected in an authentic friendly letter. The message here for the respondent is to be extra careful in interpreting these mini-texts.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

We appear to have entered an era where it is more acceptable not only to look at process approaches to language testing, but also to use verbal report techniques to better understand these processes and the test-taking strategies that respondents use. It would appear that the test-taking strategy research can be used to substantiate or refute such claims with respect to a given test in a given test administration with given respondents.

The results of test-taking strategy studies on the cloze tests would also appear to provide crucial information regarding what cloze tests actually measure. The various types of cloze tests have been subject to careful scrutiny in recent years, and of the studies carried out, those that deal with response strategies are perhaps among some of the most insightful. Thus, while the reliability of a given cloze test may be high because the individual items are interrelated, the validity as a measure of global reading ability could be questioned if the respondents indicate that they answered most of the items by means of local micro-level strategies.

It would appear that the nature of test-taking strategies with respect to the more open-ended formats, such as summarization and essays, has yet to be fully investigated. Since the assessment of summaries and essays depend on judgments made by raters, there is a concomitant need for research concerning strategies used in doing the ratings, such as the recent work conducted by Hamp-Lyons (1989), Connor and Carrell (1991), Vaughan (1991), Tedick (1992), and others.

Given the results from test-taking strategy research, those who use tests in research would probably want to consider validating the testing measures that they use through triangulation. Such triangulation would include the collection of test-taking strategy data on subsamples of respondents as in the Anderson et al. (1991) study. Even though the field of test-taking strategy research is a fledgling one, researchers can find descriptions in the literature of techniques for identifying the strategies used by respondents, however much these techniques are still in need of refinement.

The results of the various research studies described above could be incorporated into classroom activities for helping students to improve their test-taking skills. The teacher could take the strategies summarized below and construct a short quiz where, say, one or more of these strategies is crucial for successful completion of the quiz. These quizzes would be worked through in class as part of a test-training procedure. Here are some suggested test-taking strategies:

1. Read the directions carefully and pay attention to the entire item stimulus. Deal with all material both in the item stimulus and in the response options if there are any, guessing where necessary.
2. On multiple-choice reading comprehension tests, it may be advisable to read the questions before reading the text in order to have a better idea of what to read it for.

3. In doing cloze tests, when not sure of the correct completion for a blank, read ahead as well as checking back since clues may be in the next sentence. Also look for clues in the larger context.
4. In performing summary tasks, determine whether it is necessary to restate ideas in the text in your own words, and if so, make an effort to do so, drawing on the language of the text wherever necessary.
5. In preparing compositions, pay careful attention to the language used in the statement of the topic so as to be sure to write the essay that is called for.

THE AUTHOR

Andrew D. Cohen is a faculty member of the Program in ESL in the Institute for Languages and Literatures at the University of Minnesota. He has published numerous research articles on language teaching and learning as well as books on bilingual education, language testing, and, most recently, language learning strategies.

REFERENCES

Alderson, J. C. (1983). The cloze procedure and proficiency in English as a foreign language. In J. W. Oller, Jr. (Ed.), *Issues in language testing research* (pp. 205–228). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Anderson, N. J. (1989). *Reading comprehension tests versus academic reading: What are second language readers doing?* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin.

Anderson, N. J., Bachman, L., Perkins, K., & Cohen, A. (1991). An exploratory study into the construct validity of a reading comprehension test: Triangulation of data sources. *Language Testing*, 8(1), 41–66.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, *1*(1), 1–47.

Chavez-Oller, M. A., Chihara, T., Weaver, K. A., & Oller, J. W., Jr. (1985). When are cloze items sensitive to constraints across sentences? *Language Learning*, 35(2), 181–206.

Chihara, T., Oller, J. W., Weaver, K., & Chavez-Oller, M. A. (1977). Are cloze items sensitive to constraints across sentences? *Language Learning*, 27(1), 63–73.

Cohen, A. D. (1984). On taking language tests: What the students report. *Language Testing, 1*(1), 70–81.

Cohen, A. D. (in press). English testing in Brazil: Problems in using summary tasks. In C. Hill and K. Parry (Eds.), *Testing and assessment: International perspectives on English literacy*. London: Longman.

Cohen, A. D., & Aphek, E. (1979). *Easifying second language learning*. A research report under the auspices of Brandeis University and submitted to the Jacob Hiatt Institute, Jerusalem. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 163 753)

Cohen, A. D., & Olshtain, E. (In press). The production of speech acts by EFL learners. *TESOL Quarterly*.

Connor, U. M., & Carrell, P. L. (1991). *The interpretation of tasks by writers and readers in holistically rated direct assessment of writing*. Indianapolis, IN: Department of English, Indiana University.

Fowler, B., & Kroll, B. M. (1978). Verbal skills as factors in the Passageless Validation of Reading Comprehension Tests. *Perceptual and Motor Skills, 47*, 335–338.

Fransson, A. (1984). Cramming or understanding? Effects of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on approach to learning and test performance. In J. C. Alderson, & A. H. Urquhart (Eds.), *Reading in a foreign language* (pp. 86–121). London: Longman.

Gordon, C. (1987). *The effect of testing method on achievement in reading comprehension tests in English as a foreign language*. Unpublished master's thesis, School of Education, Tel-Aviv University, Ramat-Aviv, Tel-Aviv, Israel.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1989). Raters respond to rhetoric in writing. In H. W. Dechert & M. Raupach (Eds.), *Interlingual Processes* (pp. 229–244). Tubingen: Gunter Narr.

Homburg, T. J., & Spaan, M. C. (1981). ESL reading proficiency assessment: Testing strategies. In M. Hines and W. Rutherford (Eds.), *On TESOL '81* (pp. 25–33). Washington, DC : TESOL.

Kleiman, A. B., Cavalcanti, M. C., Terzi, S. B., & Ratto, I. (1986). *Percepcao do lexico e sua funcao discursivo: algums fatores condicionantes*. Campinas, Brazil: Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

Klein-Braley, C. (1981). *Empirical investigation of cloze tests: An examination of the validity of cloze tests as tests of general language proficiency in English for German university students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Duisburg, West Germany: University of Duisburg.

Lado, R. (1986). Analysis of native speaker performance on a cloze test. *Language Testing*, 3(2), 130–146.

MacLean, M., & d'Anglejan, A. (1986). Rational cloze and retrospection: Insights into first and second language reading comprehension. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 42(4,) 814–826.

Nevo, N. (1989). Test-taking strategies on a multiple-choice test of reading comprehension. *Language Testing*, 6(2), 199–215.

Ruth, L., & Murphy, S. (1984). Designing topics for writing assessment: Problems of meaning. *College Composition and Communication*, 35(4), 410–422.

Tedick, D. T. (1992, April). *An analysis of the factors influencing raters' judgments of ESL students' writing: A report on work in progress*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Tuinman, J. J. (1973-74). Determining the passage dependency of comprehension questions in five major tests. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 9, 206-23.

Vaughan, C. (1991). Holistic assessment: What goes on in the raters' minds? In L. Hamp-Lyons (Ed.), *Assessing Second Language Writing in Academic Contexts* (pp. 111–125). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 10, 1992

Work in Progress

MinneTESOL Journal invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Journal* readers.

Teachers' Reformulations of ESL Students' Responses

JIM DOBSON
University of Minnesota

The concept of "reformulation" is taken from the ethnomethodological concept of "formulation." Garfinkle and Sacks (1970) define "formulation" as talk about talk, which is , "Saying-in-so-many-words-what-we-are-doing." In a topical sense, the "doing" of formulation is an integral part of making conversations preservable and reportable, and it is in this sense that teacher reformulations select or fix what is validated as knowledge in classroom dialogue.

Watson and Young (1980) identify similarities between formulation, and the reformulation process occurring when teachers react to student responses. They define reformulation as, "The repetition (either partial or complete) of student responses, syntactic and/or semantic transformation of student responses, or a mixture of both repetition and transformation" (Watson and Young, 1980). (See examples below; reformulations are in bold print.)

SOFT REFORMULATION

Student:	OK, my first, first language Russian and second language Hebrew. But English I was study from I was eight years old in school in Russia.
Teacher:	**So you started studying English when your were eight?**

HARD REFORMULATION

Student: (pause) mmmmm, I think that, most they, I have the same really. I think you have some very good organized, and uh, uh, I want to say that, the pronunciation is not your problem. You can say very fluently, and uh you also very much good on what, I want to say, it might be some teaching skill, and even I teaching in China over five years, and uh I've been teaching assistant here for two years I still (?) and I think we can still learn some new skill, even we have some experience teaching.

Teacher: **So even if you have some experience in China, there's still some maybe cultural differences or, expectations American students have?**

Student: Yea.

Reformulation practices indicate social information regarding the relationship between teacher and student in terms of the constitutive outcomes of total teacher-student classroom discourse. "Soft" reformulations function mainly to demonstrate or to clarify a point, and the reference for self-confirmation is strong on the part of the speaker of the original utterance. Soft reformulations promote understanding between participants by establishing an intersubjective contextualization of classroom experience. On the other hand "hard" reformulations function to change and transform meaning, and the reference for self-confirmation is less strong. The speaker of the original utterance has to work harder to reject or repair unintended meanings stated in the reformulation. Hard reformulations often promote teacher discourse at the expense of student meaning. (See examples above of "soft" and "hard" reformulations.)

Watson and Young (1980) find that most often, teacher reformulation practices function to stigmatize student responses as deficient. Secondly, they find that much of the semantic work associated with language expansion (generalizing, specification, elaboration, clarifying, and so forth) is performed in teacher reformulations and not in student responses.

PROCEDURES

My study adapts Watson and Young's (1980) basic methodology in an attempt to push the scope of reformulation research horizontally into the realm of ESL, and vertically into the arena of higher education and teacher development. The subjects in the study are two teachers and their eight students in an English language and teacher development program for international teaching assistants. The analysis consists of two phases: a descriptive phase and a critical phase. The descriptive phase involves the identification of reformulations and a linguistic and pedagogical description of reformulations in terms of how teachers affect and/or change student language during the reformulation process. The descriptive phase addresses the following research question:

1. What are the forms and functions of teacher reformulations of student responses?

The critical phase assesses how much control students have in the reformulation of their responses, and the developmental affect reformulation practices have on the expansion of student language and meaning. The critical analysis addresses the following research questions:

2. Are students given the opportunity to confirm of disconfirm reformulations of their responses?
3. What effect do reformulation practices have on the expansion or replacement of student language over the length of the course?

DISCUSSION

This study deals specifically with teacher reformulations in an English language and teacher development program. In a broader sense, the study informs educators about teacher reformulation—a discourse practice that is found in one form or another in most classrooms and at most levels of educational experience. In terms of discourse practices, the results should provide a clearer understanding of the way in which teachers regularly affect student language, meaning, and expression.

In terms of teacher development, this study has implications for the manner in which individual educators are asked to reflect on and evaluate their own teaching, language, and interactive strategies. In terms of models of teaching and pedagogy, this research should make teacher development programs more cognizant that: (a) teacher-student discourse patterns indicate, directly and indirectly, particular sociocultural values, and (b) models of teacher-student discourse that are demonstrated (and thereby validated) during the course of a teacher development program are value laden and therefore in need of ongoing critical review and evaluation.

THE AUTHOR

Jim Dobson is a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota. He taught EFL and Adult Education in Africa for six years before coming to Minnesota. His academic interests include teacher development, the ethnography of education, and classroom discourse analysis.

REFERENCES

Barnes, D., & Todd, F. (1977). *Communication and learning in small groups*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms: research on teaching and learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Edwards, A. D., & Furlong, F. J. (1978). *The language of teaching*. London: Heinemann.

Garfinkle, H. & Sacks, H. (1970). The formal properties of practical actions. In J. McKinney & E. Tiryakian (Eds.), *Theoretical sociology* (pp. 338–366). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Heritage, J., & Watson, R. (1980) Aspects of the properties of formulations in natural conversations: Some instances analyzed. *Semiotica*, 3, 38–56.

Sinclair, J. M. & Coulthard, M. (1975). *Towards an analysis of discourse: The English of teachers and pupils*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Watson, K., & Young, R. E. (1980). Teacher reformulations of pupil discourse. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 3, 37–7.

Young, R. E. (1990). *A critical theory of education: Habermas and our children's future*. New York: Teachers College Press.

796

Acculturation, Ethnicity, and Second Language Acquisition: A Study of Hmong Students at the Post-Secondary Level

SUSAN BOSHER
Amerika-Institut, University of Munich

INTRODUCTION

Almost every textbook in second language acquisition includes a chapter on acculturation, yet the nature of the discussion has progressed little since Schumann's Acculturation Model was first pioneered in the early 1970s. There has been almost no attempt to learn about acculturation from other disciplines—most notably, anthropology, sociology, and psychology—which would greatly inform and enrich the discussion in second language acquisition. And there has been remarkably little research investigating the relationship between acculturation and second language acquisition. Even with regards to Schumann's Model, virtually no attempt has been made to operationalize the social and psychological variables that constitute the model, a necessary first step in any large scale investigation of its usefulness.

A close reading of current theories about acculturation and second language acquisition reveals some interesting contradictions. For example, Schumann's Acculturation Model strongly suggests that assimilation into the target culture, in contrast to either maintenance of native culture or the integration of two cultures, either enhances acquisition of the target language, or is an inevitable result. Proponents of bilingual education, however, claim that maintenance of the first language and culture contributes to the acquisition of a second language from a cognitive perspective, as well as to the overall emotional and psychological stability of the individual.

As the United States and Canada become increasingly multicultural, and as relations between ethnic groups around the world take on serious geo-political implications, it seems a propitious moment to reevaluate our assumptions about acculturation and second language acquisition. What is the relationship between acculturation, ethnicity, and second language acquisition? Can language learners maintain a strong sense of ethnic identity, integrate into the target culture rather than assimilate, and be successful second language learners? Is assimilation an inevitable outcome of proficiency in a second language, particularly for members of a minority immigrant community?

ACCULTURATION AND ETHNICITY

Acculturation has been defined in different ways in different disciplines. In the field of anthropology, acculturation is considered a group process comprehending "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 633).

Social scientists interested in acculturation have focused on relations in society that result when groups of different cultural backgrounds come into contact. Gordon (1964) defined acculturation as the process of cultural assimilation, distinguishing it from social/structural assimilation or the integration of immigrant groups into the clubs and institutions of the host society, a necessary condition for full assimilation to occur. Indeed, acculturation can occur independently of assimilation and does not require either a positive orientation or identification toward the out-group, or a change in reference group and values (Teske & Nelson, 1974).

Psychologists have focused on acculturation as an individual process resulting in changes in behavior, cognition, attitudes, and values. Berry (1980) listed four different strategies for cultural adaptation: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. Assimilation involves relinquishing cultural identity as one moves into the larger society. Integration implies the maintenance of cultural integrity, while at the same time there is movement towards the host society. Rejection refers to self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society, and deculturation to the loss of cultural affiliation with either group, a condition also referred to as "marginality" (Stonequist, 1937).

Numerous research studies have challenged the traditional view of acculturation as a linear, unidimensional process, by which the culture of the immigrant group is replaced by the culture of the host society. Many immigrant and native peoples, in fact, choose some form of biculturalism, in which individuals adapt to the new culture without relinquishing their native culture (Padilla, 1980; Polgar, 1960; McFee, 1968).

Studies have also indicated that one form of acculturation does not necessarily entail others (Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1987). For example, cultural or behavioral assimilation does not necessarily mean a loss of ethnic identity, defined as an individual's allegiance to a specific group with its own language, values, customs, traditions, and beliefs (Masuda, et al., 1970), although an inverse linear relationship is generally assumed;

that is, as acculturation proceeds, there is a gradual erosion of ethnicity. Frequently, immigrants maintain or even enhance their ethnic attachment in order to sustain their sense of security, primary-group satisfaction, social recognition, and identity (Barati-Marnani, as reported in Hoffman, 1989; Hurh, 1984; Rosenthal, 1960; Scott, 1982).

CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND MENTAL HEALTH

Many social psychologists hold that the preservation and enhancement of the self is a basic human need. Individuals who do not have a clear sense of identification with the heritage and culture of their ingroup can suffer from self-hatred and ingroup denial (Lewin, 1948). Maldonado (1975) states that "ethnic self-identity is...central to the development of the personal identity of minority group members" (p. 621).

It follows that assimilation, which leads to a change in reference group, could precipitate a crisis of identity and subsequent loss of self-esteem. Biculturalism or the successful integration of two cultures should, therefore, result in a more positive form of cultural adaptation and one that leads to greater psychological stability in individuals. Indeed, many studies suggest as much (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Dworkin, 1965; Fernandez-Marina, as reported in Vazquez, 1985; Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980). Overall, these studies question the commonly held assumption that highly assimilated individuals are better adjusted than immigrants who have chosen bicultural forms of adaptation.

To what extent, then, is the individual's pattern of adaptation related to self-esteem?

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THEORY

Various theories of second language acquisition have assigned an important role to acculturation, yet they view acculturation as linear and unidimensional.

Schumann's Acculturation Model (1978) states that second language learners in informal language acquisition environments who preserve their native culture will have greater difficulty acquiring proficiency in a second language than those who assimilate into the culture of the target language. In the middle are those who adapt to the culture of the target language without giving up the values and customs of their native culture, an integration strategy which yields varying degrees of second language acquisition.

Schumann's Acculturation Model includes many social and psychological variables, all of which affect either directly or indirectly the degree of social distance between the second language learner and the native speaker community. However, the degree of social contact is but one dimension of acculturation. What about other dimensions, such as behavior, values, and attitudes? How are they related to the dimension of social contact, and to the larger issue of second language acquisition?

Taylor et al. (1977) assert that second language acquisition may be threatening to members of linguistic and cultural minority groups within a majority culture, especially if they identify with their ethnic group and see their language as an important dimension of their ethnicity. They may resist learning the language of the dominant culture for fear of losing their own language and cultural identity. This theory essentially equates acculturation with ethnic identification, but studies have shown that ethnic identification can operate independently from other dimensions of acculturation. Cultural or behavioral assimilation does not necessarily mean a loss of ethnic identity.

Lambert's theory of additive/subtractive bilingualism (1974) assumes that the relationship between first and second language proficiency is linear and inverse. Lambert claims that members of a minority group will inevitably lose proficiency in their first language as they acquire proficiency in the second language, and will eventually assimilate as a result of linguistic and cultural domination of the majority group over the minority group. Additive bilingualism, or the acquisition of a second language without loss of proficiency in the first language or loss in ethnic identity, is according to Lambert's theory only characteristic of majority groups learning a second language. Socioeconomic status, therefore, determines whether the native language and culture of the individual survive, and yet, most sociological studies in acculturation suggest that the lower the socioeconomic status, the more likely individuals will retain their ethnic identity, as well as reject the host culture (Nguyen & Henkin, 1980).

Thus, the prevailing view in second language acquisition theory that first language and culture maintenance, and by implication a strong ethnic identity, prevents or impedes the second language acquisition process, is generally uninformed about the nature and processes of acculturation as discussed in the social sciences. It also reflects quite naïve assumptions about the possibility of racially and culturally distinct groups assimilating into American society, and stands in contrast to the underlying theory of bilingual education, in which acquisition of the second language, particularly in academic areas, is facilitated by the continued development of the first language.

According to Cummins' theory of Common Underlying Proficiency (1981), academic language skills developed in the first language will transfer, and therefore contribute to the development of academic skills in the second language. For this to happen, however, it is important that learners reach a certain level of proficiency in reading and writing in their native language.

In addition, maintenance of the first language and culture contributes to the emotional and psychological well-being of the individual, without which individuals would be less likely to successfully adapt to a new culture or to learn a second language. Indeed, there is considerable evidence from studies in psychology and mental health of the negative social and psychological consequences of assimilation. Ethnic identity serves not only as a grounding force within the individual, but as a survival strategy in a new and bewildering environment.

What is the relationship between acculturation and second language acquisition? This study addresses this question, as well as the relationship between acculturation and self-esteem, and acculturation and academic success. It is hypothesized that bicultural adaptation, rather than assimilation or rejection of the host culture, contributes positively towards second language acquisition, self-esteem, and academic success. The findings of this study should be of interest to educators and policy makers, and should inform the ongoing discussion of the importance of multicultural education.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purposes of this research study are to determine in the Hmong population at the post-secondary level:

1. to what extent acculturation is a significant predictor of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and academic success, and
2. to what extent the demographic variables, age, gender, education, length of residence in the U.S., and age at immigration, affect the above relationships.

A questionnaire was developed to assess acculturation in the Hmong student population. The questionnaire is comprised of four major parts: The Hmong Acculturation Scale was developed using, as well as modifying, portions of existing instruments (Rick, 1988; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wong-Rieger, 1987; Young and Gardner, 1990); a widely used Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965); Can-Do Scales assessing language proficiency in Hmong and English (Clark, 1981); and demographic questions.

The Hmong Acculturation Scale reflects the non-linear, multidimensional nature of acculturation. It includes items assessing five dimensions of acculturation: language use, social contact, behavior, values, and attitudes, both in terms of movement towards the host culture and maintenance of ethnic culture.

The questionnaire will be given to students in English. Research has indicated that less than 50% of Hmong adolescents are literate in their native language, and that literacy has been documented at the intermediate level only (McGinn, 1989). Furthermore, translation into Hmong does not necessarily ensure an accurate rendition of the concepts presented in English, particularly if the concepts relate to experiences encountered in this country. In general and for purposes of this research, therefore, it is assumed that Hmong students at the college level can read and write English at a higher level of proficiency than Hmong, and that the questionnaire in English can be understood and appropriately responded to.

The specific research questions which this study will attempt to answer are:

1. To what extent are the various dimensions of acculturation: language use, social contact, behavior, values, and attitudes, significant predictors of self-esteem, second language proficiency, and academic success?
2. To what extent are the above relationships dependent upon age, gender, age on arrival, length of residence in U.S., years of education in native country, years of education in the U.S. and level of education of parents?

Multiple regression will be used to answer the above questions.

In-depth interviews will be conducted to obtain additional information about the acculturation process, and students' individual experiences and thoughts about various dimensions of acculturation. The interviews will be analyzed based on the procedure recommended by Colaizzi (1978) and Giorgi (1970, 1975), and used in McGinn (1989): a) reading of the protocols, b) formulating meanings of constituents, c) establishing initial categories from the clusters of meanings, d) apprehending themes from the clusters of initial categories, and e) stating the fundamental structure of the phenomenon.

Thus, both quantitative and qualitative data will be used to respond to the research questions above.

PROGRESS TO DATE

Data were collected during Spring and Summer, 1992. Subjects who completed the questionnaire were Hmong students at the University of Minnesota, Concordia College, Lakewood Community College, Mankato State University, University of Wisconsin-River Falls, Minneapolis Community College, Chippewa Valley Technical College, Winona State University, and National College. Approximately 100 students filled out the questionnaire assessing their degree of acculturation, self-esteem, and English and Hmong language proficiencies. In addition, end-of-the-year GPAs and total credits completed were obtained to measure academic progress. The data are currently being analyzed.

Fifteen of these students were interviewed to obtain more in-depth information about the acculturation process. The purpose of the interviews was to corroborate the findings of the questionnaire, as well as to obtain more in-depth information from an insider's perspective about the nature of acculturation and its relationship to second language acquisition in the Hmong student community. The interviews are currently being transcribed.

With the increasingly multicultural nature of North America and the political implications of changing ethnic relationships throughout the world, sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists have had to reconsider the general assumption that ethnic groups eventually assimilate or even desire to assimilate into the culture of the host country. It has become increasingly clear that ethnic immigrant groups vary greatly in their cultural adaptation patterns in the host society, with many immigrants, in fact, choosing some form of bicultural adaptation in which accommodation is made toward the host society, but without relinquishing traditional cultural values and customs.

It is hoped this study will lend support to the importance of first language and culture maintenance as the foundation of successful adaptation to a second culture, acquisition of a second language, and academic performance in the second language. In the increasingly heated political debate about the importance of multicultural education in an increasingly multicultural society, evidence of this kind is essential.

THE AUTHOR

Susan Bosher is a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota. She was Curriculum Coordinator for the Commanding English Program at General College, University of Minnesota from 1988-1992. She is currently a Lecturer in TOEFL/ Applied Linguistics at the Amerika-Institut, University of Munich, Germany.

The author wishes to express her gratitude for all those in the MinneTESOL community who helped her contact students and gather data during Spring 1992.

REFERENCES

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Clark, J. L. D. (1981). Language. In T. S. Barrows (Ed.), *College students' knowledge and beliefs: A survey of global understanding*. New York: Change Magazine Press.

Colaizzi, P. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. Valle and M. King (Eds.), *Existential—Phenomenological alternatives for psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*. Los Angeles: National Dissemination and Assessment Center.

Dornbusch, S. M. (1987). *The relation of high school academic performance and student effort to language use and recency of migration among Asian- and Pacific-Americans*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 286973)

Dworkin, A. G. (1965). Stereotypes and self-images held by native-born and foreign-born Mexican Americans. *Sociology and Social Research*, 49, 214–224.

Giorgi, A. (1970). *Psychology as human science*. New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1975). Convergence and divergence of qualitative and quantitative methods in psychology. In A. Giorgi, C. T. Fisher, & E. L. Murray (Eds.), *Duquesnes Studies in phenomenological psychology* (Vol. 2). Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion and national origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, D. M. (1989). Language and culture acquisition among Iranians in the United States. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 20*, 118–132.

Hurh, W. M., & Kwang C. K. (1984). Adhesive sociocultural adaptation of Korean immigrants in the U. S.: An alternative strategy of minority adaptation. *International Migration Review, 18*, 188–216.

Lambert, W. E. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In F. E. Aboud & R. D. Meade (Eds.), *Cultural factors in learning and education*. Bellingham, WA: Fifth Washington Symposium on Learning.

Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving social conflicts*. New York: Harper & Row.

Maldonado, D., Jr. (1975). Ethnic self-identity and self-understanding. *Social Casework 5*, 618–622.

Masuda, M., Matsumoto, G. H., & Meredith, G. M. (1970). Ethnic identity in three generations of Japanese Americans. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 81*, 199–207.

McFee, M. (1968). The 150% man. A product of Blackfeet acculturation. *American Anthropologist, 70*, 1096–1107.

McGinn, F. J. (1989). *Hmong literacy among Hmong adolescents and the use of Hmong literacy during resettlement*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of San Francisco.

Nguyen, L., & Henkin, A. B. (1980). Vietnamese refugees in the United States: Adaptation and transitional status. *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 9, 101–116.

Padilla, A. M. (1980). The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation. In A. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Polgar, S. (1960). Biculturation of Mesquakie teenage boys. *American Anthropologist, 62*, 217–235.

Redfield, R. Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. J. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149–152.

Rick, K. (1988). *An Investigation of the process of biculturation with Hmong refugees*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado.

Rick, K., & Forward, J. (1992). Acculturation and perceived intergenerational differences among Hmong youth. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 23, 85–94.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). Self-esteem scale. *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosenthal, E. (1960). Acculturation without assimilation: The Jewish community of Chicago, Illinois. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 66, 275–288.

Schumann, J. H. (1978). The acculturation model for second-language acquisition. In R. Gingras (Ed.), *Second-Language Acquisition & Foreign Language Teaching*. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Scott, G. M. (1982). The Hmong refugee community in San Diego: Theoretical and practical implications of its continuing ethnic solidarity. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *55*, 146–160.

Stonequist, E. V. (1937). *The marginal man: A study in personality and culture conflict*. New York: Charles Scribners.

Stopes-Roe, M., & Cochrane, R. (1987). The process of assimilation in Asians in Britain: A study of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh immigrants and their young adult children. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 28, 43–56.

Szapocznik, J., & Kurtines, W. (1980). Acculturation, biculturalism and adjustment among Cuban Americans. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Taylor, D. M., Meynard, R., & Rheault, E. (1977). Threat to ethnic identity and second-language learning. In H. Giles (Ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

Teske, R. H. C., & Nelson, B. H. (1974). Acculturation and assimilation: A clarification. *American Ethnologist*, *1*, 351–365.

Vazquez, J. M. (1985). *The ethnic matrix: A psycho-social perspective, and its implications for human service practitioners.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 267136).

Wong-Rieger, D., & Quintana, D. (1987). Comparative acculturation of Southeast Asian and Hispanic immigrants and sojourners. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *18*, 345–362.

Young, M., & Gardner, R. C. (1990). Modes of acculturation and second language proficiency. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, *22*, 59–71.

Students' Work

Poetry

نزدیک ترین دوست تو می تواند بشود نزدیک ترین دشمن تو.

A close friend can become a close enemy. *(Farsi)*
—Masoumeh Nejati-Namin

[illegible]
[illegible]

Friends always come when you invite them.
True friends will come with no invitation. *(Lao)*
—Linh Nguyen

[illegible]

My dream in my future is to some day have good work to do.
I asked my dad and mom and they said it was true. *(Cambodian)*
—Kinchhe Tuy

Nếu bạn mốun làm việc. lớn. Bạn
phải cố gắng và nhẫn nại, rồi
mai đây bạn sẽ thành công.

If you want something, don't give up your steady effort.
One day you will accomplish your goal. *(Vietnamese)*
—Hoang Ngo

United States

Great sounds of fake silence whisper through the air

Intelligence of the mind wastes away...
the smell of the diploma crumbles.

Throwing junk in the air wastes the money we share.

Money calls to the gamblers, the stock traders,
the drug dealers

The smell of losing is what they fear.

Streets of darkness call to the killers
The racial gangs, everyone in his own group,
everyone in his own life.
Policemen show unlucky fear
lights of darkness go where nobody dares.

Sickness of the heart should be taken seriously
People like you should have the heart to care.

—Yeng Chhoeung

What I Miss in My Country

I miss my old house
where we have coconut, grapefruit, mango,
banana and papaya trees in the backyard.
I miss the weather,
always warm or hot,
never cold or having snow.
I miss my old school
that has no wall except ceiling.
I miss my family and friends
whom I used to have fun with.
I miss my country's food
that I like best, Khauniu and Ceng No May.
I miss the old street where I lived;
it always had kids running around
and singing thei favorite song, "O-duong tram pha."
And I miss my nieces, Thuy and Ai-me,
whom I have never seen in person before.

—Ngoc Nguyen

Looking Back

I look back from where I was
going and see myself like a
mirage on the hot road behind
me.
I look back and see a younger
version of myself, with my shoelaces
untied, crying in frustration, not
being able to tie them.

Mixed feelings.
I try to tie my laces,
and I fumble. My
grandma walks into the room,
kneels on the floor, grabs the laces,
shows me how to tie them, making
a loop, pulling it around, and then
yanking the laces. I now
know how to tie
my shoes.

I look ahead down the road and see a
Big
Question
Mark.

—Carlos Lamas

Secret Forest

The black forest
was a flood of darkness,
Where the sky was never bright.
The clouds are full of lightning,
Where there is never light,
and if you walk
Along the hidden trail,
you won't lose a day.
But if you turn
to look back,
You may never
find your way.

—Kaysone Syonesa

Music is important to me
because it is my first true
love. It could repair
my broken heart.
—Hoang Ngo

When I hear music sometimes I think about
nature.
—Chantha Kouch

Oksana Shvayta

Lorena
Peru

We don't have any
refrigerators in
Guyana, so we have
to shop every single
day. We go home from
school for lunch.
—Zaheeda Nabuilla

These poems were written by students from Metcalf Junior High in Burnsville, Minnesota. Our thanks to their ESL teacher, Connie Evans.

810

Essays

The following essays were awarded first place in the MinneTESOL-sponsored writing contest that formed part of the events scheduled to celebrate ESL/Bilingual Awareness Week (October 17–24, 1992).

What I'd like people to know about being Laotian is...

1st Prize, Grade 3–4

What I'd like speaker to know about being Laos is that we eat on the floor. We eat different food like rice and mango and lots of other foods. Sometime we eat the same foods as Americans. We wear wrap around skirts that matches the scarf. We go to a church that has Buddhas. Buddhas gives you a safe life.

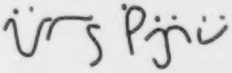
Bounpasith Sounthala,
Madison District 742, St. Cloud, ESL teacher, Mrs. Walker

What I'd like people to know about being Laotian is...

1st Prize, Grade 5–6

...our cultures. We wear different clothing to church, sometimes weddings, sometimes furnerals, and special occasions. There are more places we wear our clothing too. Our parties usually get out of hand and get too wild. Especially birthday parties. We invite almost everybody we know. There is loud music, drinking beer for adults, dancing, playing cards, loud noises and sometimes, it leads to fighting. The birthday parties begin with a good start like, opening presents, eating cake, and children getting all of the attention. When we get to where the adults do all of the stuff, the birthday child/children doesn't get any attention at all. I guess that's it about our parties.

When we eat, we sometimes eat on the floor (not all of the time) with something called pa-tăt. We like to eat with sticky or non-sticky rice. I say that our foods are better in my opinion. We eat noodles, eggrolls (goooooooooooood), chicken wings, papaya, and more. I think that our language is important because if I didn't know any Laos, I wouldn't be able to know about my parents or family because they speak Laos. I do think how I speak (English) has improved. I just can't remember how I started speaking English. And—I just can't believe how we grow up, we speak our languages and how do we know our words right away. I think our writing is special and important because it is so different. Other writing (Chinese, Vietnamise, etc.) is so cool how they write. It's just so NEAT! Even though I don't know how to read Laos that much, I can read and write a little bit. Here's an example:



Laos is a very poor place in some areas. Some areas are wealthy but stingy and selfish. I don't like that. I sometimes cry even to think of how my family was in Laos. We were poor but an OK type of poor. We had homes we built ourselves. We were lucky and safe we made it. How I knew all this was by my mother and father. They told me almost everything about Laos because I wasn't born there. I was born in Thailand.

Sack Insixiengmay, Laotian
Discovery Elementary, St. Cloud, ESL teacher, Nikki Rajala

My First Day to Keewaydin School

On my first day of school it was the most scary thing I did in my life. Imagine me going to school alone with other people who already been in the U.S.A. for a long time. As my uncle walked me to my bus stop in my mind I'm thinking what will happen to me and will I ever return home safe. The more I thought about, my tears wants to come down from my innocent eyes because this is not my homeland that I use to play all day long, it is about getting education in school.

I got on the bus and rode to Keewaydin School. When we arrived in school every students seems to know where to go but except me. I felt frightened and worried. I walked up to the door. I opened the heavy door and got myself inside. As I got in, everyone was gone. The hall was clear and quiet. I was all alone. I can feel my heart beating. I just stood in the middle of the hall way and looking for help. Suddenly, I heard a soft voice from a beautiful lady coming out of the door. She say in Hmong, "What's your name?" I was too scare to answer so I just walked up to her with a frightened face. She took me to the office then a Hmong lady came to me and showed me my first grade class.

I was really puzzled now, because I didn't understand any English. The lady introduced me to my first grade teacher. He had a queer looking mustache, he's very tall and he had a Pinnochio nose.

After lunch the Hmong lady come to my room. She took me to a small room and taught me the American Alphabets and numbers. When she left my first grade teacher gave the class a clay project. The teacher asked me to join the class. He grouped me with some Hmong girls, because I didn't know any English at all. Than the teacher say something in English that I didn't understand. All I can hear and see is that his mouth is moving and he's talking very strange.

The girl explained to me that the teacher wanted every group to use the green clay to make a boat and whoever's boat doesn't sink will received some prizes. I thought to myself, hey that was so hard. So each one of us have our own clay. I make a thin and well shaped boat. I try to put the boat on the water and it didn't sink. My boat float on the water. I told the girls, "Hey, look is my boat working?" The girls was silent and stared at it.

Suddenly, all the girls explained, if I let them have my boat than they will be my friend and if I don't they won't be my friend. I was scare I will not have any friends so I gave them my boat. After I handed them my boat they raise their hands and the teacher came up to them. He saw the boat was perfectly fantastic! The teacher say something to them and I ask what was the teacher saying, one of the girl say he ask you made it and we say we made it.

I felt sad cause they lie to the teacher that they made the boat. The teacher gave them some prizes, like papers, pencils, pens, coloring books, and he didn't give some to me. After the teacher handed out the prizes, everyone start to get their stuff ready to go home. I was glad my first day of school was finally over. It's time for me to go back home so I can be with the people I can communicate.

Khoua Yang, Hmong
Folwell Middle School, Minneapolis, ESL teacher, Linda Bjorklund

The First Day of School

1st Place tie, Grade 9–12

It was a beautiful day, the weather was cool and a little windy. There were beautiful leaves being blown around me as I made my way down the peaceful street to the bus stop. I could smell fall in the air. I was walking in the peacefulness of fall but many things came up in my mind, all of those things were half of happiness and half of worries because that day was my first day of school in the United States.

The first minute in the new school of mine was full of surprises because it looked so strange to me. Suddenly for the first time I felt so uncomfortable because all around me were all the American students and my problem was I could not speak English. I still remember every minute after that. I just walked in the hall as walking in a huge desert with hopelessness to find a little bit of "water." I had nothing to say, did not know where to go, where to start. Everything, everybody was like switching around me. I saw the students talked, played, laughed...but I had no feeling inside of myself as them. Some students asked me something, but I could not answer them because of my English. What I said was only a sentence: "I am sorry, I do not understand English well." Deep inside I knew that all of those things came from the feelings of a new student and with me, an Asian student, in a foreign school would be more difficult for me. I still ask myself why I was so scared of the school bell! One reason might be that after the bell rang then I got lost. I could not find my classrooms, and the answer for me was: I was always late for my classes, even though that I held in my hand the map of Harding!! Lunch time was the only time I felt easier. I sat there at the table in the cafeteria and tried to get all the things that made me worry the first time out of my head, but I could not. It was stuck in my mind until the second week in Harding. My culture and my native language are so different from all the students in Harding. I can say I was scared of everything! I knew that everything would be fine but I still worried. On that day I almost talked to myself and closed myself to the world outside until the bell rang at 2:00 p.m. of September 3rd 1991.

The day of difficulties and uncomfortableness is over, but I will never forget it. I keep it as my best memory of my first time in Harding, keep it to remember there was one time I was scared of everything around me, even the school bell!! It is a beautiful thing for me to remember forever.

Dai Nguyen, Vietnamese
Harding Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Bob Bergstrom

On First Day of School

1st Place Tie, Grade 9–12

I will never forget how excited I was on my first day of school. It was March 1991 when I first came to America. I had an appointment with counselor to register in Burnsville High School. I guess it was lunch period when I entered into the building. In spite of cold weather, school kids in building wore short T-shirt. As soon as I realized how nice and warm inside was. However I looked around quickly. Some were talking and some were laughing. They were full of vitality. I wanted to be part of them some day. By the way, after the meeting was over, the conselor let some girl guide me to my locker. While we walked to my assigned locker, she kept asking me something but it was so hard to understand her fast speaking. She seemed to give up asking anyway. In front of my locker, I had to fight with red locker because whenever I tried to open it with correct combination, it was still locked. When American girl rotated combination just the way I did, it was opened. I felt the locker was discriminated. Gnashing my teeth I tried very hard and so finally I opened it. I made big smile for myself. After this big event, I went to my class also under the guidance of some student. It was drawing class. Teacher said "Welcome to my class" and she gave me a big smile. I felt so comfortable. But this comfort didn't go along with me after class was over because I had to run and run to find out my next class without guidance. More and more students disappeared. When finally bell rang, I panicked and was about to cry as if small kid lost parent in crowded street. Suddenly I saw a boy and I just grabbed him to stop and ask where am I to go. After I found my class, I finally could draw deep deep breath of relief and thought what a great day I started with.

Kyung Bang, Korean
Burnsville High School, Burnsville, ESL teacher, Pat Korb

What I'd like people to know about being Latino is...

1st Place, College

When you want to get in contact with people around the U.S., no matter how many ESL classes you have attended, your accent will show that you are different.

From the very moment a Colombian says the first sentence in a conversation, he or she knows what all the conversation will be about, and is not because of any special power Colombians may have, no magic, no voodoo, no macumba; it is pure and simple experience.

First the person you are talking to will ask ¿Is that the South American nation that produces coffee and emeralds? After that he or she will want to know all about drug cartels and guerrillas. Once again a Colombian will have to fight against tons of partial information that is being spread all around the world about Colombia. I mean partial because it shows only one side of the coin. It is true; we have guerrillas and drug cartels. Every single person that reads the press knows that.

But if you—because of mere curiosity—want to find out who is more popular arround the U.S., you will find that in the list of top five Colombian populars there are more people from drug cartels than from the artistic, sports, or scientific "cartels." The first synthetic vaccine against malaria was developed by a Colombian scientist named Dr. Patarrollo this name is almost unknown at the U.S. but the name of Pablo Escobar Gaviria is quite popular. What a shame.

Columbia has great boxers, foot ball players, and chess players. During the last Olimpiades Colombia got a silver medal in running, but all this information is opaqued by the negative information that can be sell more easily.

During the time I have been here I have met about three persons that want to go to Colombia for vacations, but they are afraid to come back with a bullet on their body instead of a nice tan and lots of handmade souvenirs.

To be a COLOMBIAN means to be strong enough to show that majority is not totality, that even when the highest rate of students leaving school is in hands of Latinos, one as an individual can go as far as an American in his own development, and in what this Latina can give to the American comunity.

Being a Latina means to be responsible of Latin America's image, if it improves the oportunities for future immigrants will improve too. I wish more Latinos could be aware of this responsibility.

We can change that negative image, the U.S. of A. is a great nation that gives everyone the oportunity to show how much you worth.

Paola García, Colombian
Northeast Metro Technical College, ESL teacher, Bette Dean

On My First Day of School

1st Place, Adult

Since I came to Minnesota, I have had to face many difficulties. The problem which I met first was communication with Americans. I had already graduated from the secondary school in the colony. I thought the English that I learned in Hong Kong was enough to talk with someone, but it was not. When I met with Americans, I could not talk with them, because I couldn't hear, and they didn't understand what I was saying.

Every day, I felt too lonely when my daughter and son-in-law went out to work. I stood in front of the windows, counting cars and birds. I tried to improve my English by watching television, but I didn't understand what was happening daily around the world and locally. I listened to a radio, I didn't know even one sentence. Sometimes I tried to see movies, I barely understood their contents. When I went shopping, I could not speak with the sales person very well. For these reasons, I decided to continue my study in English at the Edina Community Center. I studied in an ESL class.

My school is at 5701 Normandale Road, Edina. It is a three-stories building, consisting of many classrooms, and is very quiet. We can learn different subjects inside the school.

When I came to school on the first day, I took an entrance examination. I was admitted to the intermediate class. While I met my substitute teacher, Janet Voettiner, for the first time, I felt that she was so kind. I was too shy to speak to her. During she taught us lesson, she very patiently pointed out the errors in my pronunciation, especially the words ending with "ly" and "ry" such as "happily" and "very." I also found out that British and American accents are quite different.

All the classmates introduced themselves, such as "What are their names?" "Where are they from?" and "How long have they been in the USA?" but I could not remember them clearly. During break time, I discovered that all the Southeast Asians were talking in one group, while the others who were Europeans were talking in another group. I remembered that Janet taught us about the culture and custom of the US, such as greeting each other by saying: "Pleased to meet you," or "It's my pleasure." When I wanted to talk with an American, I stood at least two feet away from him; and this distance is called "personal space." Besides this, she taught us grammar lesson about "tenses" and "prepositions." She also taught us vocabulary. She asked us to use the new words to make sentences, and gave us homework about grammar.

With regards to conversation, I could say only simple words "yes" or "no." Janet urged me to answer it with a complete simple sentence with courtesy.

On my way home, I recalled many words and of some the rules of grammar. I greatly appreciate with teacher and classmates because they helped me a lot to improve my English. Now, my listening, speaking, reading, and writing are getting better. For these reasons, I need to study more diligently in order to get a good result.

Cynthia Wong Fong, Chinese
Edina Community Center, ESL teacher, Janet Voettiner

318

Reviews

The *MinneTESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

What's in a Word? Reading and Vocabulary Building

Samuela Eckstut and Karen Sorensen. White Plains, NY: Longman, 1992. (Removable answer key and cassette of recordings of the unit readings and the text for dictation from the review units are available.)

The often-asked question, "When does a learner really 'know' a word?" has many answers: When s/he can pronounce it, spell it, use it in the appropriate context, produce its other forms, use it with the appropriate preposition, use it in the appropriate situation, etc. The authors of *What's in a Word* obviously had all of these answers in mind when writing this book. Eckstut and Sorensen have produced a text which offers the learner the full-range of practice in really "knowing" vocabulary.

In *What's in a Word*, learners are presented with lexcial items in context as well as given opportunities to meet the new words in many communicative activities such as discussion, games, opinion polls, and information gap exercises. There are also opportunities for reviewing and extending learned vocabulary. For example, in the unit entitled "Politics and Protest," students learn vocabulary related to an election. In the following sections they are given the opportunities to share their opinions about the most important qualifications for a politician, compare their countries' systems of government with that of the U.S. and England, read and discuss an editorial criticizing our current election system and complete a crossword puzzle using the vocabulary words. Finally, in the word study, they focus on prefixes meaning *not*.

What's in a Word has eight such thematic units like "Politics and Protes"t and a review unit found after every three units (four review units in all). In each topical unit, students have the opportunity to learn vocabulary related to that common theme, read it in context, and use it in communicative interaction. The units in the book can be used independently of one another, but the review units would then be unuseable without some modification.

Each thematic unit is introduced with the question "Do you know these words?" followed by a list of ten lexical items (verbs, adjectives and nouns) which are related semantically to the theme of the unit. The unit is further divided into sections with the first being "Presentation." Following the vocabulary list, the "Presentation" section provides warm-up activities introducing the theme, a 1-page reading presenting the 10 vocabulary items in context, and follow-up activities guiding students to an understanding of the words based on their context in the reading, structure, and relationships to other words (e.g., synonyms or antonyms).

The next section, "Expansion," introduces additional words and phrases related to the 10 lexical items. Like the final activity in the Presentation section, at the end of "Expansion" the students have an opportunity to practice many of the new words and phrases in a communicative context.

The final section, "Word Study," asks students to look more analytically at some of the words they have practiced in the unit. It focuses on such areas as the grammar of words, pronunciation, spelling, and collocation. It also helps students develop skills for more efficient dictionary use. The review units give students oppotunities to review the vocabulary and evaluate their own learning. First, learners meet the previously learned vocabulary in a new way—they are asked to decide if the lexical items have a positive, negative, or neutral meaning. Next, they review the derivations of words they have learned or play an association game with the lexical items. Finally, they evaluate how well they "know" the new vocabulary. In a chart, they indicate whether they can use the words correctly, whether they know the meanings, but can't use them, or whether they are not sure about the meanings or simply don't know the words.

I had an opportunity to use this book in an Adult Education ESL class and found it to be very successful in gaining the students' interest and in stimulating interaction. Many of my adult ESL students were interested in improving their reading and vocabulary as well as having an opportunity to speak English. *What's in a Word* provides copious opportunities for interactive practice and short readings which can be read and discussed within the class period. In the unit "Right and Wrong," the "Presentation" section has a survey entitled "What Are Your Values?" Students are asked to state whether they agree or disagree with nine opinions. I recall that this activity in particular sparked a highly-animated small group discussion on values.

I would highly recommend *What's in a Word* as a supplementary text for teachers who want to help (high) intermediate students improve their active and passive vocabularies as well as provide many vocabulary-building strategies. In addition, I would recommend it as a resource book that provides teachers with a model of the range of activities that can be included under "vocabulary practice." It offers many unique ideas to help students "know" a word in all of its dimensions.

THE REVIEWER

Caren Hohenstein Abdelaal is a Teaching Specialist for the University of Minnesota, English Program for International Students, and an Adult ESL Instructor for Wayzata Community Education, Westonka Adult Education

Culture Shock U.S.A.

Esther Wanning. Portland, Oregon: Graphic Arts Center Publishing Company, 1991.

Culture Shock. U.S.A. is a text designed to help newcomers adjust to life in the United States. It consisists of thirteen chapters dealing with American history, entertainment, family, religion, education, and social life. It also includes information about doing business in the U.S. The book itself is very descriptive, giving lots of factual information.

At first glance the book has a readable format, with text accompanied by illustrations. The cartoons are very enjoyable and show the American sense of humor; however, the illlustrations in the book seem dated, and present an almost stereotypical image from the fifties and sixties era.

The author states that she wrote the book to answer questions posited by immigrants during interviews in different states. But there are some methodological questions the reader would like to know. How were these immigrants chosen and what types of questions were asked of them? Without the answers to these questions, the book is rather confusing. One wonders if Ms. Wanning had a specific audience in mind when she wrote the book. It seems as if this text was written for people who have not heard of western manners or who have been brought up in a very different environment. If this is not the case, then the chapters on table manners and bathroom etiquette are boring or worse, patronizing. One assumes that most people who have the proficiency level needed to read this book would be aware of the stated manners and etiquette.

Many chapters seem to support superficial surface level facts about American society. Ms. Wanning repeats a lot of clichés about Americans: Southerners are hospitable, New Englanders are quiet and reserved, New Yorkers have a reputation for being rude. One reads such a book in order to find insightful remarks on the whys and hows of American culture. Sadly, such remarks are often lacking. For example, Wanning talks about American education, SAT scores, and universities, but we never hear about what types of high school students go on to college or what motivates them to continue their education. It is always safe and easy to talk about the more general issues, but more serious topics, such as the common problems that students have in college or the growing liberalization on college campuses never seem to be mentioned.

Likewise, other topics are treated in the same general manner.

Wanning describes the American family in a very traditional way. She does talk of "blended families" where divorced parents marry again and children of both parents start living together. However, nowadays we also see gay and lesbian couples forming families and adopting children. The text neglects to mention some of these more recent (and more controversial) types of unions.

The book definitely lacks cultural and ethnic variety. Wanning describes a society of the successful white middle class. Overall the text is a quick review of how this middle class lives and behaves. Most of the examples given in the book are very short and focus on the responses of this class. Yet the U.S. is not only white middle class. Hispanics, Blacks, and American Indians do exist in the community and any visitor to the U.S. can easily see them. Including interviews with minority groups could have given more substance and vitality to the book. It would have been more than a cookbook of recipe-style information.

Included at the end of the book is a "cultural quiz" composed of case studies intended to sum up or test what has been discussed in the text. While such studies can be useful, they are a superficial way of understanding the culture. Their contribution in cross-cultural training programs is limited.

In sum, because the book does not provide enough information for insightful ideas about day-to-day survival in the U.S., it's best use may be as a quick reference to a superficial look at what Americans are like. Used in this way, the book could provide a point-of-departure for discussion of stereotypes, or it could be compared to other, better references such as: *Habits of the Heat: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* by Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, Berkeley, 1985. Readers might also find *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* by Edward C. Stewart and Milton J. Bennett, Intercultural Press, 1991; and *American Ways: A Guide for Foreigners in the United States* by Gary Althen, Intercultural Press, 1988; and *Cross Cultural Orientation: New Conceptualizations and Applications*, edited by R. M. Paige. University Press of America, 1986.

THE REVIEWER

Deniz Gökçora is a graduate student at the University of Minnesota in Second Languages and Cultures Education. She has taught ESL and Turkish as a foreign language at the same institution.

Back Issues of the *MinneTESOL Journal*

Volume 1, 1981 (60 pages)

- Being with students: Some good advice for teachers ....Joan Hildenbrand
- Current events for advanced conversation ....Leisa C. Huddleston
- Cultural test bias: How does it relate to the LEP student? ....Marge Kaplan
- Listening comprehension in the oral tradition ....Lise Lunge-Larsen
- You have to reach 'em to teach 'em: The beginnings of a bibliography in ESL for children ....Pat Wilcox Peterson

Volume 2, 1982 (50 pages)

- What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language? ....Elaine Tarone
- Hmong refugees in an American city: A case study in language contact ....Bruce T. Downing & Sharon Dwyer
- Designing an ESL program for preliterate adults: An account of one program's development ....Ellen Vaut
- A selected bibliography of work in discourse analysis and English as a second language ....Jeanette K. Gundel

Volume 3, 1983 (73 pages)

- Current events for ESP students: A course description for the teacher...Terry L. Frederickson
- Cultivating the cabbages: An ESP program for refugee students ....Adele G. Hansen
- Hmong bilinguals: How did *they* learn English? ....Lois Malcolm
- Facilitating teacher growth: An approach to training and evaluation ....Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, & William Perry
- An evaluation of a course for foreign teaching assistants: A case study approach ....Mark Landa

Volume 4, 1984 (79 pages)

- Montessori language lessons: The almost silent way ....Ann Eljenholm Nichols
- The excommunicative approach (and how to avoid it) ....George Yule
- Some neglected vocabulary needs of ESL students ....Tom Richards
- The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: Thoughts on teaching relative clauses and other structures ....Eric Nelson

Volume 5, 1985 (83 pages)

- Preparing LEP students for on-the-job training ....Catherine Robinson
- Clinically speaking ESP for refugee nursing students ....John Marston & Adele G. Hansen
- Modifying an ESP course syllabus through a teacher-planned needs assessment ....Karen Sorensen
- Using a sensitive topic in teaching lecture comprehension ....Colleen Meyers

Volume 6, 1986 (74 pages)

- A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades ....Vivian Mann
- Teaching paraphrasing to ESL students ....Patricia M. Odean
- Self-monitoring of articles and verbs in ESL written production .... Barbara Schwartc & Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Volume 7, 1987–1989 (72 pages)

- Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation ....Thomas A. Upton
- Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? ....Lynne Ackerberg
- Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators ....Elaine Tarone
- Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction ....Irene K. Prendergast
- Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition ....William R. Sims

Volume 8, 1989–1990 (114 pages)

- "Back to basics:" Literacy for second language learners in the public schools ....Elaine Tarone
- Geodes like sky blue popsicles: Developing authorship literacy in limited English proficient students ....Lisa Boehlke & Mary Kay Rummel
- Finding a voice: Secondary students write their stories ....Lindsey Allen
- Citizenship education: The three S's,—self, school, and state (Excerpts) ....Michael J. Mullins
- Schemata, strategies, and social construction: Some implications for second language pedagogy ....Paul Prior
- Some effects of culture in the ESL classroom and their implications for teaching.....................................Laura Buchanan
- The role of error correction in the process-oriented ESL composition classroom ....Susan Bosher

Volume 9, 1991 (65 pages)

- Film as a teaching medium .... Diane F. Johnson
- Culture day: Emotional support for ESL students .... Marge Kaplan
- Southeast Asian literature for the ESL classroom .... Carol Quest
- Your textbook is in the library—
  Or you could make your own .... Robyn Peterson

ORDERING INFORMATION

- Individual volumes cost $5.00 each.
- Identify your selection by volume and year.
- A set of Volumes 1–6 costs $25.00.
- Postage and handling is included.
- Please make checks payable to MinneTESOL
- Order from:

Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*
Diane J. Tedick
125 Peik Hall
159 Pillsbury Drive SE
Curriculum & Instruction
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455-0208

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL

Journal

Celebrating Ten Years

Volume 11 1993

827

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 11, 1993

A Journal for Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
MinneTESOL is the Minnesota affiliate of TESOL.

Co-Editors

DIANE J. TEDICK, University of Minnesota
ADELE G. HANSEN, University of Minnesota

Editorial Advisory Board

Beth Easter
Minneapolis Public Schools
Mark Landa
University of Minnesota
Ann Sax Mabbott
University of Minnesota
Thomas Upton
University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire

Grateful thanks is given to our typesetter, Cathy Zemke, and to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD 1993-94

President
Wendy Weimer
First Vice President
Carole Evenrud
Past President
Thomas Upton
Second Vice-President
Suzanne Donsky
Membership Co-Secretaries
Mary Lou Martens
Carmel Murphy
Recording Secretary & Socio-Political Concerns
Lisa Boehlke
Treasurer
John Neumann
Newsletter Co-editors
Cheryl Giddings
Georgia Thalhuber
Regional Liason
Anne Lowe
Communications
Marlys Smebakken
Advertising and Exhibits
Susan Farmer
Vangi French
Resource Center
Shirley Krogmeier
Interest Section Liaison
Nhat Dang

Membership in MinneTESOL

Membership in MinneTESOL is $12.00 and includes a subscription to the **MinneTESOL Journal** and **MinneTESOL Newsletter.** Contact the Membership Secretary, MinneTESOL, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 11, 1993

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

  The *MinneTESOL* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the State of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal*.

- **Manuscripts**

  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

  Submit six copies of each manuscript, along with six copies of an absract of not more than 200 words. **Submission of a computer diskette (labeled with system and software used) is STRONGLY encouraged.**

  Contributions to Volume 12 should be submitted to:

  Adele G. Hansen
  Klaeber Court
  320 – 16th Avenue SE
  Minnesota English Center
  University of Minnesota
  Minneapolis MN 55455

- **Advertising**

  Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 11, 1993

Contents

ARTICLES

The Role of Art in Language Learning
Catriona R. Moore, Judith A. Koller, Maria Kreie Aragó ... 1

Confucian Orthodoxy Meets ESL: Teaching Across Academic Cultures
Patrick J. Dunham, James H. Robinson ... 21

Perceptual Learning Style Preferences of Second Language Students
Patricia A. Eliason ... 39

Friday Prayer: Describing a Process in Arabic and English Writing
Salah Ayari and Elaine Tarone ... 57

Comparing Perspectives on ESL Education: A Case Study of Pine Tree School
Karen E. Duke ... 75

Mainstreaming LEP Students: The Case of the Hmong
Jeff Dufresne ... 95

Breaking Barriers: Three Hmong Women's Perspectives on Attaining Higher Education in the U.S.
Diane M. Rubright ... 123

STUDENTS' WORK

Stories of the Homeland ... 139
Stories of Immigration ... 142
Stories of Life in the U.S.A. ... 144

REVIEW

The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content Area Teachers
Patricia A. Richard-Amato and Marguerite A. Snow, Eds.
Reviewed by Lisa Boehlke ... 147

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 11, 1993

Introduction

As we end our tenure as co-editors of the *Journal*, Adele Hansen and I are pleased to offer you a volume that is rich with articles which should prove to be of interest to ESL educators at all levels. All of the articles are theoretical or research-based and offer strong pedagogical implications. We hope that you find the contributions as stimulating and thought-provoking as we do.

We begin with two articles that deal with issues of expression in language learning. In the first piece, Catriona Moore, Judith Koller, and Maria Kreie Aragó explore the role of art in language learning. The authors review the literature, summarize the results of interviews with language educators, and discuss the outcomes of their own experience with incorporating art-based curricula in a variety of ESL and foreign language settings. Of particular interest is the way in which they show how students of all ages, native language backgrounds, and educational backgrounds benefit from being encouraged to express themselves through art and language.

In "Confucian Orthodoxy Meets ESL: Teaching Across Academic Cultures," Patrick Dunham and James Robinson explore how linguistic expression is based on cultural orientation. In reviewing Confucian orthodoxy, they describe how East Asian students' styles of interaction in academic settings are influenced by cultural philosophies. They explain how ESL teachers can help to minimize the academic culture shock that East Asian students experience by developing culturally sensitive educational materials and strategies that incorporate the academic culture of East Asian students.

The next two articles describe the results of research studies that were conducted with ESL students at the university level. Patricia Eliason compares Japanese and American students in "Perceptual Learning Style Preferences of Second Language Students." In addition to providing suggestions for the application of learning style research in the language classroom, Eliason critiques current methods of assessing learning style preferences, particularly with respect to their applicability across cultures.

Contrastive rhetoric is the focus of "Friday Prayer: Describing a Process in Arabic and English Writing." In this piece, Salah Ayari and Elaine

Tarone report the results of a study they conducted with American and Arab students writing in native and second languages. They investigated the extent to which students' writing reflects the rhetorical conventions of their native languages and the degree to which native language writing skills influence writing in a second language. Of particular interest to ESL educators is their finding that a critical factor for all ESL students learning to write in English is their ability to write in their native language.

The final three articles compliment one another well—particularly because they provide different perspectives related to ESL students (especially the Hmong) and academic achievement. In "Comparing Perspectives on ESL Education: The Case Study of Pine Tree School," Karen Duke examines the case of one elementary school whose ESL population comprises approximately 20% of the total school population. She creates an "academic perspective" by reviewing current literature and contrasts it with the perspectives of the school's principal, a parent, several ESL and mainstream teachers, and a school board member. Her findings are disturbing in that they highlight some of the major misconceptions plaguing ESL education in the metro area.

Also disturbing are the dilemmas highlighted in Jeff Dufresne's "Mainstreaming LEP Students: The Case of the Hmong." Defresne discusses the difficulties immigrant students have and summarizes a compilation of SRA test statistics for Hmong 10th-graders, which reveals the instructional and programming problems faced by ESL students and teachers at the secondary level. He offers a variety of program options that better meet the academic needs of ESL students while also providing support for the students' culture and affective development.

While the Duke and Dufresne pieces uncover many of the problems facing ESL students, Diane Rubright helps us to end on a more positive note by describing the experiences of three Hmong women who beat the odds and found ways to pursue higher education. In "Breaking Barriers: Three Hmong Women's Perspectives on Attaining Higher Education in the U.S.," Rubright provides detailed discussion of indepth interviews that she conducted with three Hmong women who are involved in post-secondary study. Their experiences, comprised of both obstacles and successes, have much to offer all ESL students who aspire to continue their education beyond the secondary level.

The next section of the *Journal* contains poetry, essays, and illustrations done by ESL students in the metro area. We are honored to be able to publish their work and hope that we continue to see it in future volumes.

The last section of this volume contains a book review. Lisa Boehlke provides a most positive review of *The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content Area Teachers*, edited by Patricia Richard-Amato and Marguerite Snow.

Adele and I are grateful for the opportunity we had to serve MinneTESOL in our capacity as co-editors of the *MinneTESOL Journal*. We thank our readership and the members and officers of MinneTESOL for their support.

Diane J. Tedick

Diane J. Tedick

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

The Role of Art in Language Learning

CATRIONA R. MOORE
Saint Paul Public Schools

JUDITH A. KOLLER
Grand Rapids Area Schools

MARIA KREIE ARAGÓ
Minnetonka Public Schools

Art and language are intimately related systems of human communication and representation. This article explores the role of student-created visuals in the process of second language learning, in theory and practice, then suggests specific ways in which art activities facilitate and enrich the second language teaching and learning process. The authors researched existing professional literature, informally interviewed educators, and taught art-based curriculum units in several ESL and foreign language settings. The resulting article is a thorough synthesis of current research and a useful resource for interested teachers.

As teachers of ESL, French, and Spanish, we have become increasingly interested in the role that student-created images play in the language learning process. We have witnessed first-hand the excitement that art creation brings to our students. We have seen how such activities decrease inhibitions and improve the classroom atmosphere. We have learned through artwork about the individual personalities and experiences of our students. We have even watched art develop into language. Therefore, in a time in which learning and teaching theory is urging the integration of academic disciplines, we are especially drawn to the integration of language and art. We see great potential for language success within such a combined setting.

Previous research has provided intriguing reasons to support the integration of art and opportunities for non-verbal artistic expression with second language education. Drawing on this research and our own discoveries, we have written this article with two principal aims: first, to lay a theoretical foundation for the integration of artistically-inspired activities into the second language classroom; and second, to demonstrate how art and language learning may be combined within a broader unit of study.

We recognize the need to clarify our definition of what constitutes art. For the purpose of this study, we recognize that most of the activities to which we are referring are not art for art's sake, but rather art activities: we are not teaching ***about*** art, but rather ***with*** it and ***through*** it for the sake of second language learning. Both forms of activities, however, tap into the affective domain, which is the area that we are seeking to activate. The activities are student-centered and student-initiated, and they involve a great deal of imagination and creativity. Throughout our study, we will refer to such affective activities as student-created artwork, student-created visuals, or student-created images.

WHY USE STUDENT-CREATED ARTWORK IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM?

Many education professionals (Bassano & Christison, 1982a, 1982b; Franklin, 1989; Richardson, 1990; Shier, 1990;) advocate the need to fuse affective and cognitive domains of knowledge in the second language classroom. The affective domain includes emotions, attitudes, feelings, and other intuitive ways of knowing, while the cognitive domain refers to intellectual, rational ways of thinking. Shier (1990) contends that in everyone's daily interactions there are always both affective and cognitive variables at work, and thus effective classroom instruction should automatically address both.

Christison (personal communication, March 24, 1993), believes that student-created images enhance language learning in her ESL classes in three different ways. First, as a result of using student-created images, her students are more involved, confident, and productive. Next, she notes a positive change in the classroom environment that is uninhibiting and conducive to language learning. Finally, she finds that the cognitive level of learning is enhanced through the use of drawing out activities. In this environment, students are able to perform cognitively-demanding tasks, which are less successful without the incorporation of student-created images, and the quality of their written and spoken language shows marked improvement.

It would be difficult to deny the ability of art activities to motivate students to participate and pay attention. By granting their students opportunities for sharing their own artistic creations with classmates, Bassano and Christison (1982a), Shier (1990), and Wright (1989) credit art activities with increasing student motivation. Shier (1990) maintains through her case studies that art more actively engages students in their own learning processes on a personal, intellectual, and physical level. Bassano and Christison (1982a, 1982b) attribute this engagement to the emotional quality of art, suggesting that both actions and reactions to art are emotional. Recognizing the ability of the arts and art activities to engage and motivate students, Allen (1990) believes the process of acquiring language comes naturally when students are involved in activities in which they can find meaning and purpose.

The classroom dynamic also improves as a result of the incorporation of art experiences in the classroom. Shier (1990) suggests that when students have the opportunity to develop their skills in a number of areas, they feel more confident; and when they have the opportunity to share their creations with others and see that everyone's work has its own story, they tend to hold more respect for each other. Bassano and Christison (1982a, 1982b) comment that when students cooperate with each other to create visual images, the class develops a sense of group unity, which in turn serves to enhance the classroom atmosphere. Within this type of environment, individual and cultural differences of the students are accepted. Classrooms that observe, value, and respect differences are better learning environments, suggests Franklin (1989). When students create images and tell their stories together, there is a greater sense of unity, camaraderie, and acceptance in the classroom.

Art-inspired learning experiences provide a focus or context for conversation, discussion, and communication (Andrade, 1990; Bassano & Christison, 1982a; Shier, 1990). Andrade (1990) writes that the arts and artwork can provide an impetus for communication. Such conversation or student oral production is vital in the second language classroom, and in the process of language acquisition in general. Art activities provided Bassano and Christison's (1982a) students with cues for conversation as well as topics for narrative writings and journal work; the authors point out that input for language learning comes from aural, oral, and visual sources.

Similarly, student-created images provide content for language courses (Shier, 1990). A visual created by a student can introduce subject matter that leads to further exploration and study. The content and context introduced by student-created artwork are often very effective in any classroom because they are more real and meaningful to the students. Richardson (1990) suggests that the arts contribute to learning both by adding vividness and by integrating material that is relevant to the students' lives. Bassano and Christison

(1982a) describe the content and context created by student visuals as very real to the students, resulting in dialogue that is both relevant and personal. Similarly, Mann (1988) emphasizes that students' drawings provide a guide for verbal expression: she requires of her students that their writing not contradict their drawing; thus the writing is contextualized and personal.

Second language education goes beyond language itself to the study of culture and society, and here also the integration of art experiences has an important role to play. Shier (1990) suggests that art helps students to link the language they are learning to its culture. She observed her students developing awareness of the culture in which the target language is spoken through their participation in art experiences. This gave them a broader perspective for interpreting cultural materials they heard or read outside the classroom. Steiner (1986) advocates cultivating children's appreciation for the beauty of language by integrating art experiences with language learning in order to help them develop a sense of international and intercultural acceptance.

Through student-created images, the teacher can learn a great deal about the students' personalities, experiences, and interests (Franklin, 1989). Franklin explains that the teacher can study the content and style of the students' artwork in the same way that one would study a master work of art, which can lead to a teacher's greater respect and value for the students. It can also help the teacher learn about the students' literary and aesthetic preferences (Franklin, 1989). Bassano and Christison (1982a) describe how the teacher can become more aware of and sensitive to the attitudes, needs, interests, and personalities of each student. As the teacher gains access to new knowledge about his or her students, it becomes much easier to individualize instruction and to plan lessons and units (Franklin, 1989).

In addition to helping the teacher discover more about his or her students, student-created artwork helps the students to discover more about themselves. Bassano and Christison (1982a, 1982b) contend that such self-discovery can help increase the students' self-esteem as they uncover their unique learning styles and resources and apply them to language learning. This happens in part because through drawings and other artwork, barriers are lowered, and the students feel a freedom from anxiety which makes them more apt to learn (Bassano & Christison, 1982a, 1982b).

HOW CAN STUDENT-CREATED ARTWORK BE INTEGRATED INTO THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM?

Theorists of art education have outlined four steps to integrating art content into the curriculum. Shier (1990) suggests that the first three—history, criticism, and aesthetics—provide subject study and discussion, while production, the fourth step, is a medium of instruction. Art production provides the opportunity for developing writing and speaking skills. Shier stresses that teachers must make a creative and deliberate effort to incorporate student-created art activities so that they are truly integrated rather than merely diversionary. Integrated visual work contributes to the contextualization of written work (Bergstrom, 1991), and encourages the development of critical thinking skills (Andrade, 1990; Shier, 1990).

Franklin (1989) describes her experience with art integration in her second language classroom, with reference to Patricia Carini's (1979, cited in Franklin, 1989, p. 78) process of "reflective observation." The process is specifically designed for the ESL classroom, and it provides the students and teachers with a means of getting to know one another. According to Carini, the process involves three steps: student creation of visual or written work, teacher analysis of student work, and the teacher tailoring instruction to meet the students' needs as revealed by the creation and analysis.

In Franklin's 1989 study, reflective observation was done with kindergarten ESL students whose native language was Spanish. The process involved looking at the conceptual similarities between student artwork and student language, presumably based on the premise that art and language concepts are deeply related and develop in parallel, similar ways. Franklin found that observation of several aspects of children's artistic and verbal styles gave her valuable insights into the children's personalities.

The value of this type of diagnostic reflection is supported by research done in the area of children's aesthetic development. Franklin (1989, p.78) cites King's (1987) contention that for children at this age, "the aesthetic mode is the primary mode of cognition"; children express themselves in a variety of ways including gesture, play, and artworks. Perhaps the underlying theme here is that language and art are forms of representation. When children begin to draw and write, they seek out similarities between a real object and the one they are depicting in their written or visual work (Golomb, 1988).

Finally, Andrade (1990) emphasizes the value of incorporating art and art activities in second language classrooms at the secondary and post-secondary levels, recognizing the need to justify such activities at those levels. She cites increasing evidence that content-based instruction in secondary and post-secondary language classrooms is highly successful.

WHAT IS THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ART AND LANGUAGE?

In establishing the link between language and art, one cannot ignore the similar elements that exist within both. Boyer (1985) points out how language and art were two of the first developments of early civilizations. With their nearly identical components, one wonders if the two naturally develop parallel to one another. Shier (1990) points out that expression of thoughts and feelings, as well as the spontaneity of the learner, are parts of both language and artwork. She also describes the importance of abstract thoughts, creativity, personal experiences, and personal interests to both language and art. Finally, Shier claims that art and art activities provide a unique opportunity for teacher and students to focus in on specific aspects of oral language use, such as intonation and pronunciation, in a way that may not otherwise be possible.

Betty Edwards' two books on drawing instruction, *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain* (1989) and *Drawing on the Artist Within* (1986) are written with the belief that the artist sees and thinks non-verbally in order to create art. Edwards (1989) calls this type of seeing a right-brain activity, one that requires different perceptual skills than those we use with language, which is connected with the left-brain.

In some circumstances, Edwards contends, verbal language can be inappropriate and may even hinder creative thinking. Furthermore, she reminds us that "drawings, like words, have meaning—often beyond the power of words to express, but nonetheless invaluable in making the chaos of our sensory perceptions comprehensible" (1986, p. xiii). For adolescent and adult students, applying techniques for tapping into different modes of thinking and perspective-taking can be valuable in second language learning (Andrade, 1990). Edwards (1989) applies the same belief in her approach to the teaching of drawing.

Christison (personal communication, March 24, 1993) refers to Betty Edwards' book, *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain*, with respect to the "right brain" capacity to see things from a different perspective. By utilizing the types of activities that require the "right brain," where non-verbal reasoning dominates, students are able to approach language and culture from a broadened perspective. Through the creation of images, students have the opportunity to use skills that may be stronger for them than more traditional academic skills, granting students a more balanced, holistic cognitive and educational experience.

For Christison (personal communication, March 24, 1993), there is clearly a visible advantage to creating and perceiving another kind of image. She finds that art activities help teachers and students to take perspectives other than their own. She suggests that we view the world so much from our own experience, that when we go beyond that, it really opens up the doors of communication. The activities used to open these doors include unfinished pictures, self-portraits, cooperative drawings, and cultural collages. Christison finds that all students, even those who are initially hesitant, participate eventually. All the activities are meaningful endeavors through which the students are able to communicate.

As Bassano and Christison (1982a) wrote in their book, *Drawing Out*, the use of student-created visuals has clear benefits in the ESL classroom. They stress the value of these activities for both the teacher and the students. They believe so strongly in their role in the process of second language acquisition that they are now integral, almost second nature, to their teaching.

Gardner (1985, cited in Good & Brophy, 1990) suggests that there are similarities between one's human development and the artistic process, and that the workings of the human mind can be better understood once the artistic process is studied as a form of intellect (Shier, 1990). Shier and Arnheim (1969, cited in Shier, 1990) both consider art a way of knowing in its own right. It is one form of intelligence. Furthermore, Boyer (1985) recognizes artistic creation as a form of knowing, and suggests that children need to use this with other intelligences as tools for learning. Only by utilizing many kinds of knowledge can children reach the full potential of their mental abilities. When teachers integrate a variety of methods in their classrooms, their instruction is more apt to encompass and appeal to individual learning styles. Through this diversification of instructional content, a holistic "learning paradigm" is created (Shier, 1990, p. 314). Andrade (1990) maintains that consideration of multiple measures of intelligence can provide teachers with a wider assortment of effective instructional techniques and students with a more thorough learning experience.

In her rationale, Shier (1990) states that "the capacity of art to both connote and denote provides another way of knowing language" (p. 314). Franklin (1989) supports this idea in suggesting that writing and creating visual art enhance ESL children's learning about both verbal and artistic expression. Bassano and Christison (1982a) state that the creation of visual artworks strengthens students' creativity and their second language verbal skills. Student artwork helps students to develop vocabulary, improve comprehension, and think in the new language. Striker (1992) takes this a step further to suggest a natural connection between art and language. She claims that artistic creation precedes and prepares linguistic development. Striker also stresses the need for teachers to become aware of the relationship between visual representation and verbal expression; teachers can capitalize on this relationship to help students develop literacy skills.

Rhonda Tarr (personal communication, April 13, 1993) believes that affective, artistic activities are one way to achieve balance in education.[1]

Schooling, she believes, tends to be overly mechanistic and technical, and art is a necessary but missing element. According to Tarr, "art speaks to the soul..it opens up people in mysterious ways." Art has the power to transform everything, and it is naturally an essential part of all life. Education without art is "dehydrated education, like a box of Lipton soup, lacking the spirit, authenticity, flavor and spice of grandma's homemade chicken soup."

Teachers have the duty to connect with the whole student: the body, the soul, and the intellect. Education speaks not only to the intellect: it also speaks to the soul. It is clear to Tarr that affective factors are natural and integral to second language learning and to human learning in general. Moreover, classrooms that fail to address this and respond to it creatively and professionally are incomplete at best.

Waldorf Education stresses the incorporation of artistic experiences in all subject areas (Harwood, 1967). With respect to the study of a second language, Waldorf School founder Rudolf Steiner (1986) suggests that the development of a sense of the aesthetic is particularly important to language development. Steiner believes that language is essentially logical, but that on a deeper level, it is creative. For Steiner, learning a foreign language goes beyond grammar: the student must also be encouraged to develop an appreciation for the artistry of language. This may be thought of as one element of Steiner's rationale for the integration of art experiences with language learning.

Ingrid Halverson and Virginie Olson (personal communication, April 30, 1993), foreign language teachers at the Minnesota Waldorf School, confirm the importance of art. According to the Waldorf philosophy, art is seen as the spiritual element of human life, too often ignored in a materialistic society such as ours. Participation in art creation, according to Halverson, has a way of connecting us to certain parts of ourselves that often remain untapped. In the Waldorf School, this artistic or spiritual element is tapped as students and teachers together create art and color, exercising their imagination.

At the Waldorf School, reading is taught through visual images. Halverson believes that this connection has been made because of the historical pictographic development of letters and alphabets. She says that as the students go through the curriculum in a Waldorf School, they experience a type of "evolution of human consciousness." Thus, in learning to read and write, the students go back in time or consciousness to a level where letters and words have "more tangible reality for them." For example, the children will hear a story of "the swan swimming on the sea" and their illustrations of that story will gradually be abstracted to the letter "s." In that way, "s" holds more meaning for the children and is not a foreign symbol. In the second language classes, students are taught orally for three years before learning to read or write. Halverson comments that this results in fourth graders who can read and write German and French at a high level of difficulty from the outset.

The children at Waldorf create their own textbooks throughout the school year, and that activity contributes to their language learning. In the beginning, the students may copy some writings from the board about a story they have dictated to their teacher. Then they make illustrations for their story and form their own books. Later on these books become good references for what the students have learned throughout the year.

Olson advises always having a visual element of what the teacher is trying to express; otherwise the story makes little sense to the students. This can be especially effective if students create their own characters and props. Thus, the students take ownership and show pride and interest in the language. This visual component is very important for younger learners. The children's interest is often lost if the teacher does not do something to "create surprise or tickle them." Students are curious about teacher-created images and they enjoy imitating the illustrations and narratives that go along with them.

Both teachers believe that visuals are a valuable way of communicating in the target language without having to translate to the native language. Olson described how she tells a story, draws it out, and moves visual elements of the story to illustrate action. The story is told completely in the second language!

In discussing their artistic activities in the language classes, Olson and Halverson point out that the projects are successful in that they connect well to work in other subjects. This integration of content at the Waldorf School is often missing in other schools' curricula. One way, then, to see more evidence of the enhancement of language through art is to integrate art throughout the entire school's curriculum. Art not only benefits language learning, it benefits mathematics, science, social studies, and every other subject area that draws the students' interest.

CLASSROOM APPLICATION: ONE CASE STUDY

Incorporating Art in a High School French Class

Koller designed a unit on French Impressionism with several goals in mind. Linguistic goals focused on the development and enhancement of students' speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills. Cultural goals included the exploration and understanding of a significant artistic, cultural, and social movement. Humanistic goals centered on the development of a sense of community, cooperation, and teamwork. But the unit was written with one additional goal in mind: to explore the role of artistically-inspired learning activities in the secondary-level second language classroom. Through the implementation of this unit, Koller sought to answer two questions. The first concerned how students of this age group would respond to being given an opportunity to create art in their language class. The second was whether or not such an opportunity would enhance their language-learning experience.

Because at the secondary level, the existing research on the art/language relationship seemed to be most sparse, we provide a detailed example that specifically targets high school students. High school language programs tend to neglect or, at best, de-emphasize the incorporation of non-verbal forms of expression into the language classroom. Such de-emphasis may be especially true of the visual arts, including drawing, coloring, and painting.

The curriculum unit was implemented with five sections of high school French students at three levels: third year, fourth year advanced placement, and fifth year. The unit combined language skills development with the study of art history and the study of works of art. It required students to complete several writing projects and an original work of art. Students in all five classes were given class time in which to create their art work and to write. Thus the language classroom was transformed into a studio of sorts, and the students became, for a while at least, artists. The use of class time for the creation of artworks permitted Koller to observe and to speculate not only on the work the students produced, but also on the artistic process and the atmosphere of the classroom-turned-studio.

Approximately fifteen students chose to submit their work to Koller for the purposes of this project. Each contributed two pieces of work. The first was a piece of art work done in crayon, colored pencil, chalk, or paint and emulating Impressionist style and technique. The second was a French-language essay in which the students described and reflected upon their art work. The students' visual and written works are varied and personal, each reflective of the individual student's style of self-expression. Observations and reflections are made without regard to individual differences in artistic talent or to personal aesthetic preferences. The findings resulting from the implementation of the unit are summarized on the following pages.

Students' Response to the Art-Inspired Learning Experience

The students in the five classes in which this curriculum unit was implemented knew from the beginning of the unit that they would eventually have the opportunity to try their hands at Impressionist artistic technique. The student-created images in this way provided a long-term goal for the students to anticipate and work toward as they explored French culture, history, artists, and art. The students seemed to look forward to creating their own works of art. When the day arrived for them to begin their artwork, though, some anxiety surfaced. This anxiety centered upon the evaluation of the artwork: some students voiced an understandable concern that their artwork would be graded according to its "quality." Their definition of "quality" was based on a particular concept of what is "good" art: that which is perceived as worthy of being framed, sold, and displayed. To alleviate their anxiety, two steps were taken. First, students were assured that the evaluation of their artwork, in which they would have a part (a self-evaluation is included in the unit), would be based entirely upon effort: their attempts to apply what they had learned about the unique aspects of Impressionist painting. Second, students were encouraged to recall the fundamental belief underlying the Impressionist movement: that personal impressions, or interpretations, are paramount. Such personal works as the students would create would not be judged on the basis of any predetermined notions of what is "good" art or what makes an artist "talented." Once the nature of the evaluation had been established, the students became clearly more relaxed, and displayed a good deal of interest and engagement in the artistic experience.

In getting started on their artwork, the students were asked to recall what an Impressionist artist such as Monet or Morisot might choose as his or her subject: for example, a nature scene or an ordinary person. Next they discussed what the unit activities had taught them about Impressionist style and technique, such as imprecise forms, broad strokes of the brush, the effects of light on an object, and the use of pastel colors. The students then took their knowledge and applied it to their own artworks. They succeeded admirably; that is, they chose subjects and colors appropriate to Impressionist style, and rendered them in techniques reminiscent of Impressionism. The subjects of the students' images included an eclipse of the sun, a pair of ballet slippers, a picnic scene, a bridge over a stream, oceanside cliffs, hills dotted with flowers, sailboats, a chapel at dusk, and sunsets over water.[2] Sunsets were the most popular theme, recurring in several works; this is probably because the students had learned of the Impressionist artists' passion for the effects of sunlight on objects. The popularity of this theme and other outdoor scenes—the image of the ballet slippers was one of the few not incorporating the outdoors—suggests the students' internalization of the essence of Impressionism. Thus, the artworks serve as a vehicle for assessing student learning as a result of the curriculum unit.

Although the students who requested help getting started represented a minority, their concern implies the importance of building context into artistic experiences in the language classroom. Striker (1992) stresses that just as a teacher would not give students a writing assignment without some guidance, students should not be expected to just spontaneously create art. This seems an especially important point with respect to the language classroom, which is for many students a stressful environment. Related to the importance of providing students with a context to guide their artistic creations is the notion of cognitive challenge. Because this curriculum unit focused on a particular artistic genre, the students were required to do more than simply draw a picture. They were expected to demonstrate their knowledge of Impressionist style and technique by applying elements of the genre in their own artwork. All students remained within the established parameters of Impressionist style and technique, yet no two images were alike or even very similar. For example, there were many unique variations on the sunset theme: suns ranged in color from pale yellow to bright pink, setting over water, in forests, or behind cliffs. Similarly, two students diverged from the quintessential Impressionist technique of broad brush strokes to use, instead, the tiny dots of Pointillism; Pointillism is an offshoot of Impressionism, which was also studied over the course of the unit. Students seemed to feel security in the parameters of subject, color, and technique, while at the same time taking pride in the uniqueness of their artistic creations.

That the students cared about their artwork was clear not only from their artworks themselves, but from the artistic process as well. Many students took extra time in choosing their paper; different sizes and textures were provided to assist students in personalizing their artwork. Most were also highly selective of their medium; crayons and colored chalk were provided, but some students chose to supply their own colored pencils and watercolor paints. The students were equally selective of colors: all used pastels, shades which constitute a hallmark of Impressionist-style art, but in unique combinations. For example, one sunset was done all in pale gray and pale brown, while another was a veritable festival of color: vibrant pink, yellow, blue, green, and chartreuse. The time thus spent in planning the images they would create is certain evidence that the students cared about the project they were undertaking.

This positive attitude on the students' part toward their artistic process and products carried over to the general classroom atmosphere. It would be an understatement to say that the students were "on-task" during this part of the curriculum unit. Most were certainly engaged in the process of creating a work of art, demonstrated by, once again, the time they took in selecting their artistic tools. But even more, the experience of working side-by-side in the classroom-turned-studio lent an air of cooperation, sharing, and community to the classroom. For instance, some colors in crayons and chalk were limited in number; to facilitate the sharing of resources, several students moved their desks to form small work tables on which they piled crayons or chalk within the reach of everyone at the table. The students did this on their own initiative.

Even more inspiring, some students could be found on occasion sharing their unfinished images with classmates, and trading opinions or advice. Such behavior was rare for these students, who had not frequently been observed spontaneously sharing opinions on other types of expressive or communicative work, such as essays or oral presentations. The artistic experience thus seemed to encourage a greater penchant for sharing not only work but ideas as well. Similarly, some students were openly admiring of the work of their classmates: on more than one occasion one student called the teacher over to admire the artwork of another. This enthusiasm, admiration, and praise for the work of classmates is a phenomenon seldom before observed in these classes when the task was a verbal one.

To summarize these findings, the key factors in the success of the experience include the following: a clearly articulated and non-judgmental evaluation procedure; a cognitively challenging artistic project; an established context and guidelines; and, finally, the positive attitude and supportive classroom atmosphere that developed along with the creative process.

Second Language Enhancement as a Result of the Artistic Learning Experience

Turning now to the question of second language use, the students' essays provide a vehicle for examining their use of French in response to the artistic experience. While developing their Impressionist-style images, the students were asked to reflect on their work: especially, to consider what inspired them to select a particular subject and particular colors and techniques. The students would, upon completion of their artwork, record their thoughts in a descriptive/reflective essay in French. In anticipation of this essay, the students had earlier in the unit written descriptive essays about famous Impressionist paintings. While no quantitative measure was done to compare the two essays written by each student, observations on the second essays prove insightful regarding the artistic experience and its relation to second language acquisition and use.

Many of the reflective essays were quite lengthy, even those of the less proficient students for whom writing long compositions posed a particularly significant challenge. Several of these essays were noticeably longer than the preceding essays, in which the students described works of well-known Impressionist artists. The increase in the amount written is partly attributable to the nature of the assignment: while the first essay was intended to be mostly descriptive, the second was to be both descriptive and reflective. But the increased length may also be a function of the students' caring about the task. The artworks they created with their own imagination and their own hands became a part of the students' personal experience; it is reasonable to believe that they had many ideas they wished to express about their own works. Whatever the reason, the ultimate benefit to students was increased French writing experience.

Related to the amount of writing students accomplished in their reflective essays are considerations of grammatical accuracy. No quantitative measure of accuracy, such as counting errors, was done, but general observations were made regarding the students' use of French in their writing. Almost without exception, the students drew extensively on new vocabulary learned over the course of the unit. Even where grammatical errors were present, the new vocabulary was consistently used appropriately; that is, it appeared in a context in which it made sense.

In terms of grammatical accuracy, then, the students succeeded in communicating in written French their reflections on their artwork. But more telling than *how* the students communicated in their essays is *what* they communicated. The students all included a description of their work: the subject, the colors, the medium, the artistic techniques used. But more challenging to them was to reflect on their artwork: to explain, for example, why they chose a given subject or why their image was an example of Impressionist art. Many of the students met and exceeded this challenge with truly impressive and intriguing results. From the students' written reflections, four principal themes emerge: interpretation of the symbolism in their artworks; expressions of liking for their artworks; expressions of positive feelings toward the artistic experience; and the identification of self as artist. Each of these themes will now be discussed in turn.

First, some students wrote interesting interpretations of their work, finding in their images not just a subject rendered in pastels, but symbolism. For example, one student used chalk to create his impression of a boat manned by a lone sailor, moving rapidly in the wind; the artist wrote that "*Plus important que le sujet, c'est l'émotion.*" (More important than the subject is the feeling.)[3] Another student described her image of ballet slippers as having "*l'aire gracieuse et équilibrée*" (grace and poise). A third student who also chose to create an image of a solitary person on a sailboat wrote, "*Il va chez lui après une longue journée. Tout se calme.*" (He is going home after a long day.

Everything is calming down.) These personal interpretations suggest that the students genuinely cared about their artwork and had put a good deal of thought into it. The artwork seems to have motivated the students to express their thoughts in writing as well, with the result that they challenged themselves to stretch their use of written French beyond mere objective description.

The second theme common to many of the students' essays is that of appreciation for their own artwork. In one example, the student expressed the conviction that her painting was a good example of French Impressionism. Another wrote that he liked his picture, although he wished to work on it even more. A third student was particularly enthusiastic; she wrote: "*J'adore peindre! J'adore les fleurs et la nature, ainsi, je les ai peintes...j'aime cette composition assez bien.*" (I love to paint! I love flowers and nature, thus I painted them...I like this work quite well.)

Third, other students expressed in their writing positive feelings toward the artistic experience as a whole and to the genre of art they were producing. Several students expressed their love of nature, of pastel colors, and of Impressionist art. Such comments refer to essential elements of the Impressionist genre, and may thus be taken as indications that the students had learned as a result of the unit, and had applied this knowledge in their own artwork. In addition, the positive nature of their comments suggests that the students enjoyed the assignment to create an Impressionist-style work. Ultimately, both the knowledge and the enjoyment gave the students something more about which to write.

Finally, some students identified themselves in their essays as artists, or compared themselves with famous Impressionists. One student, for example, stated that "*Comme Monet, je préfère les sujets de la nature comme les marines et les paysages.*" (Like Monet, I prefer subjects that come from nature, like seascapes and countrysides.) Another opened his essay with the statement, "*Cette peinture a été faite part l'artiste DuPont...Les sujets préférés de DuPont sont du dehors.*" (This painting was done by the artist Dupont...The favorite subjects of Dupont are those that come from the outdoors.)[4] This student went on to comment that the style of his image is "*très impressionniste*" (very impressionist). Regardless of whether or not these students viewed themselves as artists prior to the curriculum unit, the art creation seemed to help them to get in touch with their artistic side. Ultimately, this provided increased engagement in the artistic experience as well as in the writing.

To summarize, it is reasonable to conclude that the experience of creating a work of art was a positive one for these secondary students of French. Almost all of the students responded positively to the opportunity to create their own artwork: they devoted substantial time and effort to the artistic process, and created truly unique and personal images in Impressionist-inspired style. Moreover, the students' positive response to the creation of artworks had implications for the classroom, which became a community of artists sharing ideas and support. Finally, this positive attitude carried over into the students' written self-expression in French. In their essays students not only communicated effectively using new vocabulary, they also went beyond description to provide interesting insights into their artwork.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECOND LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

The theoretical and practical evidence presented in this paper makes a strong case for the integration of art-inspired learning experiences, specifically student-created visuals, into the second language classroom. Such experiences can benefit the total language learning experience. The use of art activities can help build an atmosphere of cooperation and community in the language classroom. In addition, it can increase student motivation and enthusiasm for language-oriented activities. Of paramount importance, art experiences can also lower the anxiety felt by many second language learners. This last point is an especially crucial one, because unchecked anxiety may interfere with students' motivation and their learning. The integration of student-created visuals with language learning helps to focus students on the activity, allowing language to grow within the safety of a non-verbal task.

It may be argued that self-expression through art is also potentially threatening, since it leaves a lasting product vulnerable to criticism. But if students are assured in advance that the evaluation of their artwork will encompass neither "quality," "talent," nor personal aesthetic preferences, they will approach the artistic experience as Koller's students did, with zeal and confidence. It is also fair to argue that the Impressionist genre lends itself to a more relaxed approach to artistic creation, since this genre is by definition a highly personal form of artistic expression. But any artistic genre or movement can have the same positive effects on student motivation and classroom atmosphere. It is up to the teacher to help his or her students realize that within any genre, no two artists produce identical interpretations of a given subject. Artistic expression is always personal, and it should be stressed to students that therein lies the value of art-inspired learning opportunities.

For young second language learners, art activities are generally accepted as appropriate. Beyond the elementary school, however, there is much more skepticism toward the use of art-inspired activities in the curriculum. Once basic verbal literacy has been established, the artistic element is left to whither.

Yet artistic experiences can provide cognitively challenging content for secondary-level language learners. Koller's curriculum unit provides an example of how student-created visuals may be effectively combined with a broader unit of study. The unit's focus on the Impressionist genre provided built-in guidelines for the students' own artistic creations. By adding an element of cognitive challenge, the guidelines rendered the art activity appropriate to the age of the learners. Although Koller's unit focused specifically on foreign language instruction, it suggests clear implications for ESL classrooms. We have had the opportunity to incorporate art into ESL instruction as well, and the benefits reflect those described throughout this article.

Moore, for example, implemented a secondary ESL curriculum unit called "A Nation of Immigrants" while student teaching at Como Park Senior High in Saint Paul. The circular process of writing, illustrating, responding, and revising resulted in a book, *The Call of Freedom*, selections from which are included in the Student Work section of this volume of the *Journal*. Sandra Hall, ESL teacher at Como Park, has been publishing student work in this manner for over ten years. The quality of work from this carefully planned, integrated approach to writing is always excellent.

Used with careful consideration for the age, language proficiency level, needs, interests, and experiences of the students, art-inspired learning experiences can play an invaluable role in the second language classroom. Educators who recognize this can incorporate art activities into their instruction to enliven and enhance language learning. In doing so, they can mobilize the language student's whole learning potential, rather than over-using the verbal thinking strategies upon which most education focuses so one-sidedly. Educators must respond to the fact that human beings express themselves both verbally and non-verbally, and that there is not clear line that separates these domains in real language or real life or real learning.

Teachers of language may do well to ask themselves just what it is about the artistic experience that fosters the development of language as well as the development of positive attitudes toward the language learning experience. Once teachers begin to tap into those factors, they will be able to enhance students' learning in all aspects of self-expression, the verbal as well as the non-verbal and artistic. It is hoped that this paper will inspire future research in that direction.

We firmly believe that art and language are inextricably connected symbolic systems. The words of Boyer (1985) convey the essence of this connection: "the visual arts are languages that reach all people at their deepest and most essential human level. Thus, aesthetic literacy is as basic as linguistic literacy…art is expression that words can't convey" (pp. 8–9).

THE AUTHORS

Catriona Moore, Judith Koller, and Maria Kreie Aragó recently finished the postbaccalaureate teacher preparation program in second languages and cultures at the University of Minnesota. Catriona Moore teaches ESL at Hayden Heights Elementary School in Saint Paul, where she and her students continue to explore the role of art in ESL. Judie Koller substitute teaches in the Grand Rapids area. Maria Kreie Aragó teaches Spanish FLES in the Minnetonka Public Schools.

REFERENCES

Allen, L. (1990). The ESL teacher as researcher. Finding a voice: Secondary students write their stories. *MinneTESOL Journal*, 8, 27–38.

Andrade, C. (1990). Reaction: Integrating the arts in the foreign/second language curriculum: Fusing the affective and the cognitive. *Foreign Language Annals*, 23(4), 315–316.

Arnheim, R. (1969). *Visual thinking*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bassano, S., & Christison, M. A. (1982a). *Drawing out*. San Francisco: Alemany Press.

Bassano, S., & Christison, M. A. (1982b). Drawing out: Using art experience in ESL. *TESL Talk*, 13(2), 33–40.

Bergstrom, S .E. (1991). Medieval pictoral art and medieval Spanish literature: A case in point for the use of visual arts in the literature class. *Foreign Language Annals*, 23(6), 497–505.

Boyer, E. L. (1985). Art as language: its place in the schools. In the J. Paul Getty Trust (Ed.), *Beyond creating: The place for art in America's schools* (pp. 8–9). Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust.

Carini, P. (1979). *The art of seeing and the visibility of the person*. Grand Forks: North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation.

Edwards, B. (1986). *Drawing on the artist within*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Edwards, B. (1989). *Drawing on the right side of the brain*. Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher.

Franklin, E. A. (1989). Encouraging and understanding the visual and written works of second-language children. In P. Rigg and V. G. Allen (Eds.), *When they don't all speak English: Integrating the ESL student in the regular classroom* (pp.77–95). Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English.

Gardner, H. (1985). *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligence*. New York: Basic Books.

Golomb, C. (1988). Symbolic inventions and transformations in child art. In K. Egan & D. Nadaner (Eds.), *Imagination and education* (pp. 222–236). New York: Teachers College Press.

Good, T. L., & Brophy, J. E. (1990). *Educational psychology: A realistic approach* (4th ed.). New York: Longman.

Harwood, A. C. (1967). *The way of a child*. London: Rudolf Steiner Press.

King, R. (1987). The primal mode of aesthetics in children's work and play. *Insights*, *20*, 1–15.

Lozanov, G. (1978). *Suggestology and outlines of suggestopedy*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Mann, V. (1988). A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades. *MinneTESOL Journal*, 6, 7–13.

Richardson, A. (1990). Reaction: Integrating the arts in the foreign/second language curriculum: Fusing the affective and the cognitive. *Foreign Language Annals*, *23*(4), 317–319.

Shier, J. H. (1990). Integrating the arts in the foreign/second language curriculum: Fusing the affective and the cognitive. *Foreign Language Annals*, *23*(4), 301–314.

Steiner, R. (1986). *Soul economy and Waldorf education*. New York: Anthropopshic Press.

Striker, S. (1992, August/September). Whole language and art. *Teaching K–8*, 23(1), 107.

Wright, A. (1989). *Pictures for language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NOTES

[1] Rhonda Tarr, a Ph.D. candidate in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota, is very interested in the relationship of aesthetics, challenge, and a community spirit to language learning. She is currently involved in exploring these issues through the study of Suggestopedia (Lozanov, 1978).

[2] Unfortunately, it was a condition of this research project that no student works, either artistic or written, be included in the paper in either original or

reproduced form.

[3] Where necessary, minor grammatical corrections have been made in the French-language quotations drawn from student essays.

[4] Students who submitted work for the purposes of this project were assured that their identity would be kept confidential; therefore, a pseudonym has been substituted for this student's name.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Confucian Orthodoxy Meets ESL: Teaching Across Academic Cultures

Patrick J. Dunham
International Trade Institute, Hsinchu, Taiwan

James H. Robinson
Saint Cloud State University

Confucian orthodoxy serves as a lasting cultural influence in China, Japan, and Korea, yet often results in "academic culture shock" for East Asian students entering the classrooms of American universities. This paper will show how ESL teachers can help to alleviate academic culture shock through the development of culturally sensitive educational materials and strategies that incorporate the academic culture of East Asian students.

> From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person as the root of everything besides.
>
> Confucius (Legge, trans., 1960, vol. 1, p. 359)

The historical and cultural developments of China, specifically the ancient precepts articulated by Confucian orthodoxy, serve as a lasting cultural influence for a billion and a half people throughout China and Taiwan (Chance, 1987; Yang, 1970), Japan (Rohlen, 1983; Singleton, 1967), Korea (Robinson, 1991), and Vietnam (Erbaugh, 1990). Confucian orthodoxy has been instrumental in shaping the philosophy of education throughout East Asia for nearly twenty five hundred years. The teachings of China's Great Sage, Confucius, and the subsequent body of literature produced throughout the centuries by many of his disciples, referred to as the Confucian classics, have had a principal role in shaping the underlying philosophy of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean education (Carson, 1992: Oliver, 1971). This philosophy, in contrast to Western educational tradition, formally shaped by the philosophy of the ancient Greeks, is fundamentally different in methodology, teaching techniques, and classroom practice (Erbaugh, 1990; White, 1987).

For the East Asian student entering the classroom of an American university, these differences in educational philosophy and subsequent classroom practice can cause a peculiar and unexpected kind of culture shock referred to as "academic culture shock" (Cleverly, 1985; Robinson, 1990). This cross-cultural academic shock stems from the contrasting perceptions of the East Asian student and the American-trained teacher concerning the educational process. For example, substantial research shows that East Asians are oriented toward indirect, or circular patterns of communication, whereas communication patterns in the United States emphasizes more of a direct or linear approach (Cheng, 1987; Kaplan, 1966; Yum, 1991). As a result, this difference in communication patterns affects classroom practice on both sides of the Pacific. Students in East Asia tend to employ indirect patterns of communication within the classroom in regards to classroom discussions or relating to the instructor. Reischauer (1977) concluded that the Japanese embrace an indirect pattern of communication because "they have a genuine mistrust of verbal skills, thinking that these tend to show superficiality in contrast to inner, less articulate feelings that are communicated by innuendo or by nonverbal means" (p. 137).

In contrast, Americans tend to adhere to a direct or linear approach to communication, especially written communication in an academic setting (Kaplan, 1966). As a result, when East Asian students employ an indirect pattern of communication in an American university classroom, they are often thought of as different, peculiar, or even strange. The breakdown in cross-cultural communication results from the tendency to judge the classroom behavior of East Asian students based on Western patterns of direct or linear communication. Students educated in American schools, from an early age, are encouraged to be interactive, aggressive, and critical of the text and subject matter in their respective courses. Consequently, it is not only unfair, but also highly inappropriate to impose Western standards of "successful" communication on recently arrived East Asian students. This often results in misconceptions that exist because ignorance is allowed to persist, even between highly developed and educated societies.

The noted professor of Oriental languages, H. G. Creel (1960) once declared that, "It is not China that is ignorant of or indifferent concerning the culture of the West, but the West that knows almost nothing about China and makes little attempt to learn. And the West is paying and will continue to pay the price of ignorance" (p. 39). Creel was referring to the fact that most educated East Asians have spent a tremendous amount of time studying the historical and cultural traditions of the West, whereas the West has nearly ignored the cultural thought patterns of East Asia. Although the body of literature concerning the theory and practice of communication in East Asia has been expanded in the thirty years since Creel penned those words, the consequence of this ignorance has led to innumerable obstacles in communication between the East and West. This obstruction in communication is very evident when the students and teachers from these two parts of the world interact with each other in classrooms (Robinson, 1991; White, 1987).

The focus of this paper is two-fold: first, the research will show that fundamental differences exist between the academic cultures of East Asia and the United States; second, the writers will endeavor to demonstrate how ESL teachers can develop effective teaching techniques that will serve to bridge the gap between the academic cultures. From the writers' perspective, it is essential that American-educated teachers bridge the cross-cultural communication gap and alleviate the academic culture shock experienced by their East Asian students. This bridge can be made by educating teachers in order to gain an understanding of the communication patterns and academic culture prevalent in East Asia and developing culturally sensitive curricula and educational strategies that incorporate the academic culture of East Asian students. Cross-cultural training will in turn help American-educated teachers become acquainted with the cultural values and communication patterns, essentially the academic culture, of their East Asian students. As a result, educators will be better equipped to develop and implement educational strategies and teaching techniques that can be incorporated into a culturally-sensitive curriculum and used as a part of classroom practice to enhance the learning process of East Asian students.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CONFUCIAN ORTHODOXY

Confucian orthodoxy was a fundamentalist and monolithic view of the interpretation of the Confucian classics (Rohlen, 1983). Essentially, the view was that this moral and ethical canon could only have one true interpretation. Scholars might argue about what interpretation was the true one, but they could never allow for two interpretations—heterodoxy. From the perspective of Confucian orthodoxy, heterodoxy was heresy. Toward the end of the last century, the major philosophical debate in the governments of China, Japan and Korea was whether to maintain Confucian Orthodoxy in spite of the military defeats at the hands of Western powers or to combine Western and Confucian methods— heterodoxy. Scholars lost their lives as one view and then the other became dominate in these countries (Robinson, 1988).

Historically, this world view began with a relatively unsuccessful government official who was almost a contemporary of both the Buddha and Socrates. Confucius (551–479 B. C.), a name derived by Jesuit missionaries from his original name of Kong Fu Ze, possessed great intellectual ability and, through his rationalistic philosophy, made a significant and lasting contribution to the philosophical and pedagogical systems that form an important part of cultural tradition in China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Because of his quest for learning, Confucius later formed a school to develop the mental and moral discipline that he associated with the attainment of knowledge. Creel (1960) suggests that Confucius, as a teacher of mental and moral discipline, became a "transmitter of the Way" (pp. 122–123). Chung (1988) cited Fingarette (1972) in his definition of the "Way" as "the right way of life, the Way of governing, the ideal Way of human existence, the pattern or course of existence that points us to the ideal path of human life" (p. 38). According to Confucius, if people followed the "Way," good moral order could be achieved in society.

While Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle took a critical view of the Hellenistic world in which they lived, Confucius believed that China had once achieved the truly good society and that according to the classics (i..e., *Book of Documents* and *Book of Poetry*), the ideal society would be achieved when people regained the splendor of earlier dynasties (Chung, 1988, p. 39). As a result, Confucius considered learning as essentially imitating and reproducing the wisdom of the ancients, yet he was unconventional in many of his ideas, such as the thought that any man might become a gentleman or scholar (Waley, 1956, p. 78). In effect, Confucius denied no one acceptance as a disciple; the only prerequisite was a hunger for knowledge. He once stated, "I never refused to teach anyone who wanted to learn… (Confucius, *Analects*, Waley, trans., 1938, p. 7). Consequently, China's great Sage probably did more than anyone in preventing education from becoming the exclusive privilege of the aristocracy (Waley, 1938, p. 7). Moreover, Confucius promoted the revolutionary idea of universal education centuries before it was to become a reality anywhere in the world.

As mentioned above, learning, according to the writings of Confucius, essentially entailed copying the ideas, the form, and the way of the ancients (Oliver, 1971, Waley, 1938;). This perspective was later reinforced through the many disciples of Confucius, including Mencius (371–289 B.C.), the most illustrious thinker of the Confucian school. These disciples, and later masters, stressed the appropriateness of ancient models, thus "the study of the Confucian classics became a habit of the student class who held tenaciously to the sayings of the ancient sages" (Kuo, 1915). Consequently, the educational systems of East Asia were more concerned with presenting moral precepts than with the advocation of a method of critical thinking (Cleverly, 1985). "Learning was not a heuristic endeavor but an effort to learn the correct form, the correct answer, the correct way" (Robinson, 1990, p. 6).

Even at the present, the idea that lessons should focus on moral principles remains the traditional function of education throughout East Asia. Cleverly (1985) supports this idea by commenting that the modern-day rulers of China, like their dynastic predecessors before them, "...prize education as a means of ordering relations on earth according to a supreme blueprint, and...want a schooling devoted to ethical and collective ends...." Furthermore, the emphasis of education in Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong is that it should foster the four basic moral principles, which include love of country, service to others, willingness to abide by the group's decisions, and respect for authority (Unger, 1977).

In Japan, the Confucian heritage influenced education by stressing respect for learning and educational endeavors that lead to personal and societal improvement. According to Dorfman (1987), the goals of the educational system in Japan include the following: respect for society and established order; values for group goals above individual interests; diligence and moral commitment; well-organized and disciplined study and work habits; and self-criticism (quoted by Carson, 1992). In this environment, hard work, diligence, and commitment are considered as beneficial to both the individual and society. What Japanese most desire out of life, stability, security, and support, are acquired through effort and commitment; this lesson is stressed from one's youth, both at home and at school (White, 1987).

One can see how the words of Confucius resound in the philosophy of education embraced by the Chinese and Japanese alike, "Do not wish for quick results, nor look for small advantages...If you are led astray by small advantages, you will never accomplish great things" (Confucius, *Analects*, Waley, trans., p. 33).

ACADEMIC CULTURE SHOCK: A DIFFERENCE OF PERCEPTION

The historical background of Confucian orthodoxy provided above allows the Western reader to more fully comprehend the unique differences that exist between the underlying cultural philosophies of the East and West. Given their respective academic cultures, it is evident that students from East Asia will experience certain difficulties upon entering an American classroom; likewise, an American educated teacher will encounter difficulties when confronting the academic culture of East Asia. The underlying differences between the philosophy of Confucian orthodoxy in East Asia and the more heterodoxic views allowed in the United States directly affect academic culture both in the preferred patterns of communication and in the relative importance of groupism or individualism.

Communication patterns are just one area in which teacher- student interaction in the classroom differs between East Asia and the West. For example, communication between the East and West differs in who is responsible for successful communication. That is, should the sender or the receiver take responsibility for the correct interpretation of a message? Specifically, communication in the United States is considered sender-oriented. Meaning is inherent in the message created by the sender, and emphasis is placed on how best to formulate the message, how to improve delivery skills, and how to develop the credibility of the source (Yum, 1991). On the other hand, communication in East Asia is receiver-oriented, where meaning is in the interpretation. In this context, concentration is on listening, sensitivity, and removal of perception (Cheng, 1987; Hinds, 1987). Thus, successful communication in East Asian cultures tends to be the responsibility of the receiver. For Japanese, Lebra (1976) makes reference to what is called "anticipatory communication," in which the burden of communication falls on the message receiver, not on the message sender.

In general, the cultures of East Asia tend to place emphasis on a group-oriented society while the culture of the United States advocates a rugged individualism. The group mentality apparent throughout East Asia is based on maintaining social harmony and the obligation to adhere to lasting social norms. As a result, East Asian students are taught to express what is shared by the group rather than personal views or opinions (Duke, 1986, p. 25). Inamoto (1985) explains that expressing the opinion of the group is based on the Japanese values of *on* (favor) and *giri* (obligation). These cultural values are concerned with meeting group expectations and involve the mutual responsibility of the participants where the emotional connection emphasizes human feelings over logic and reason (pp. 46, 76). An old Japanese proverb illustrates the point quite clearly, "The nail that sticks out gets knocked down."

On the other hand, the ideology of individualism embraced throughout the history of the United States stresses personal independence, fierce competition, and a striving for uniqueness. In contrast to the homogeneous societies of East Asia, the U.S. typifies a unique heterogeneous society in which the concepts of individualism and competition are interwoven into the very fabric of its culture. Varenne (1991) shows that as early as the 1830's, the famous French social philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, believed that individualism was the most notable characteristic of American culture (p. 53). The spirit of individualism is the overwhelming principle that regulates the interaction of relationships in American society.

Consequently, East Asian students experience a peculiar kind of culture shock related to their immersion into Western academia. This "academic culture shock" results from the perceptions and expectations of East Asian students that are in sharp contrast to what is typical classroom practices in the West.

EAST ASIAN CLASSROOM PRACTICE

With Confucian orthodoxy providing the cornerstone of the educational systems of East Asia, classroom practice advocates teacher-centered instruction in which rote learning tends to be the most widely accepted approach for China (Chance, 1987; Erbaugh, 1990; Kuo, 1915; Maley, 1986; Yang, 1970), for Japan (Rohlen, 1983; Singleton, 1967), and for Korea (Robinson, 1980). Almost all teaching is whole group, especially after the primary level and in early secondary levels, and instruction tends to be quite regimented, including the use of drills, with an emphasis on memorization (Unger, 1977). Moreover, choral recitation is often used, with particular attention paid to diction, enunciation, and self-confidence in speaking and performing (Carson, 1992). Students are encouraged to become proficient in their oral skills in order to be productive members of society; this is especially true in China.

Historically, Confucian-influenced classrooms in East Asia generally restricted or treated with disapproval originality, individual initiative, and inventiveness (Oliver, 1971). The structure and order of society as a whole was perceived as more important than the whims and fancies of an individual at any given moment. Reischauer (1977) suggests that cooperativeness and understanding of others are the most admired virtues in East Asian cultures; likewise, group consensus is highly regarded, while displays of self-assertedness are considered as evidence of immaturity (p. 135). As a result, students in East Asian classrooms strive to keep equality among their peers, preferring to maintain the harmony of the group. This results in an interesting method of turn taking among the teacher and students in the East Asian classroom. For example, a student would signal his or her desire to speak by eye movement (perhaps making eye contact), and the teacher would call on a student by nodding the head. This non-verbal exchange is a very indirect and inconspicuous style of communication that contrasts with the more direct exchange in American classrooms, where students would raise their hands or merely call out an answer to a question that the teacher has raised, and where the teacher might call out the name of the student (Kitao, 1985; Robinson, 1990, 1991).

Learning by rote is another example of the influence of Confucian Orthodoxy on classroom behaviors. The lasting cultural traditions of China, Japan, and Korea place emphasis upon detail, precision, and exactness, both in the microcosm of the school and the macrocosm of society, again because the cultures of East Asia traditionally place a higher value on conformity to societal norms and group consensus than on individual subjectivism (Nakamura, 1964). As a result, students in Confucian-influenced classrooms are expected to copy in exact form, with emphasis upon detail, the notes from the text written on the blackboard by the teacher. In fact, it is a common practice in Korean elementary schools that classroom notes are extracted entirely from the textbook (Robinson, 1982, 1991).

In addition, questions from the students, often viewed as a challenge to the position and authority of the teacher, are not a typical part of classroom behavior in East Asian cultures. Rather, questions, used for the purpose of formal instruction, are the responsibility and the duty of the teacher. For example, it is not uncommon, especially at higher levels, for the teacher to ask a rhetorical question, then provide the answer; students diligently copy both the question and the answer in their notebooks (Robinson, 1982, 1988). Students are expected to memorize both the question and the answer even when the meaning is not understood. In this context, critical thinking is reserved only for those teachers who have mastered the Confucian classics. The teacher, according to Confucian precepts, always commands the respect of the students, both in and outside the classroom. This is evidenced in the third of the "Ten Commandments" as put forth by more recent Confucianists: "Thou shalt not forget about the dignity of teachers or show signs of ingratitude" (Hsu, 1967).

AMERICAN CLASSROOM PRACTICE

In contrast to East Asian academic culture, the modern American classroom is marked by the pursuit of self-actualization and self-awareness, thought by many educators as a crucial part of the learning process. These concepts can perhaps best be seen in speech. Americans generally express themselves as the center of nature, while East Asians tend to express themselves as a part of nature (Kitao, 1985). Furthermore, modern American teaching methods strongly encourage critical thinking on the part of students. Learning tends to be student-centered, in which students are responsible to direct and to take control of the learning process (Hsu, 1981). It is primarily regarded as the students' responsibility to learn the material presented in any particular course. Lectures sometimes do not even make reference to texts that are designated as required reading.

In addition, course grades are partially given in direct relation to student participation during class time, which often includes a large amount of verbal activity in both small group and whole class activities (Duke, 1986; Rohlen, 1983). Verbal activity in university classes in the United States takes the form of questions, discussion, persuasion, and even argumentation, and is strongly encouraged, especially at higher levels. On the other hand, direct forms of argumentation and debate are often discouraged in East Asian classrooms because of the position of the teacher and the role of philosophy and religion (Becker, 1986). In the U.S., the emphasis on verbal activity in classrooms is rooted in the main function of communication, which is to assert individualism, actualize autonomy, and achieve self-fulfillment (Reischauer, 1977).

Furthermore, the role of the teacher in the Western educational system, such as the in U. S. and Great Britain, tends to be that of facilitator in the learning process. The instructor, at nearly all levels of education, serves as a resource person whose primary function is to stimulate, facilitate, and challenge each student to achieve individual potential (Maley, 1986). Moreover, students are taught to look within, search themselves, and trust their own instincts in order to enhance creativity and develop originality throughout the learning process. Teachers endeavor to create a classroom environment where learning is active, interesting, and fun. This description of classroom practice in the United States stands in sharp contrast to the function of the East Asian "master" who has been entrusted with passing on the moral precepts of the Confucian classics with detail and in the precise way that the educational system has dictated for over two millennia (Waley, 1938). In addition, teaching methods throughout East Asia stress the development and nourishing of group solidarity in the classroom (Duke, 1986). In short, it is little wonder why East Asian students would experience "academic culture shock" upon entering an American classroom in which student behavior entails asking questions, discussing points of view, and expressing personal opinion and where critical thinking is emphasized and creativity is stressed as an important part of the learning process.

MISCONCEPTIONS

The contrast between the philosophy of education in East Asian countries and that of the United States causes a variety of expectations for both the East Asian student and the American-educated teacher concerning the learning process. These expectations are often polarized. The stark contrast between the educational philosophies of the East and West often results in misconceptions concerning the classroom behavior of East Asian students. According to studies done in several universities in California, Asian American students were found to be more verbally reticent than their Anglo counterparts. Suzuki (1977) suggests that this was partly due to East Asian cultural norms, but the nonverbal tendency was strongly reinforced through the misconceptions and prejudice of American professors (p. 209). Misconceptions arise out of an unfamiliarity and a lack of understanding between academic cultures. They persist because of the tendency to judge the behavior of East Asian students based on cultural standards of Western orthodoxy. Some of the common misconceptions concerning East Asian students are that they are unwilling to participate in classroom activities and discussions; they simply do not understand (or they are dumb); they have no personal opinion; they force a mechanical response; and they do not appreciate individual initiative (Robinson, 1991). At the same time, classroom reports also indicate that East Asian students will participate if the teacher asks them to speak, that their silence does not mean a lack of understanding or that they are dumb, and that these students are very creative if the teacher is patient enough to wait for them to respond. Unfortunately, destructive stereotypes have been fostered and in turn have limited the potential of students from East Asian countries. It is therefore crucial that teachers, especially those in ESL and bilingual education, should receive information on the historical and sociocultural factors that influence East Asian classroom practice.

EXPECTATIONS OF EAST ASIAN STUDENTS

The perceptions and expectations of East Asian students are based on their Confucian-influenced academic culture. As a result, East Asian students enter the American classroom with an expectation of teacher-centered instruction in which the instructor teaches at a regular, even pace, teaching the group as a whole (Duke, 1986). Students follow the lecture in identical textbooks, always on the same page. The East Asian teacher "makes a Herculean effort to keep the whole class progressing in concert" (Duke, 1986, p. 28). Thus, in many East Asian classrooms, the teacher directs her lesson to all students while standing at the front of the class, using questions and examples for explanation and clarification. If questions are asked by the teacher, the East Asian student carries an expectation that the teacher will either call on the student by name in order to provide the answer or will provide the answer, such as in the case of rhetorical questions. Moreover, students understand that questions normally have only one correct answer, and the teacher will not accept other answers as true in part. Furthermore, if a question is directed to a particular student, the expectation is that the student addressed should be allowed "sufficient" time by the teacher and the other students to search for the best way to express meaning (Robinson, 1990). In addition, the East Asian student comes to the Western classroom with a strong background in a prescriptive rather than descriptive approach to language instruction (Robinson, 1991), along with a preference for a teaching method that is repeated with little variety. East Asian students prefer a textbook for reference and memorization and expect the use of a notebook to record information presented in class by the teacher (Duke, 1986). Other cultural traits, such as a reluctance to make eye contact with the teacher, surprise when called upon or asked to participate, and embarrassment (loss of face) when unable to answer a question, all result from the Confucian-influenced cultural philosophies inherent in the classrooms of East Asia.

EXPECTATIONS OF AMERICAN-EDUCATED TEACHERS

American-educated teachers have expectations concerning teaching methodology and classroom practice that are in many cases diametrically opposed to those cited above concerning the East Asian student. Generally, teachers in the United States view each student as an individual with unique talents and abilities. With this in mind, teachers strive to encourage each student to take responsibility and direct their own learning process. For example, in a typical American elementary classroom, students in a reading classroom would normally be divided into homogeneous groups depending upon reading proficiency. The teacher would circulate among the reading groups, providing as much personal attention as needed by individual students, yet allowing groups the freedom to direct the learning process. At various times throughout the semester, the teacher would move students from one group to another if progress is achieved (Duke, 1986). This philosophy of teaching stands in stark contrast to the methods employed by the East Asian teacher at all levels: where a keen sense of group loyalty is consciously developed and where teachers do not readily accept the American innovations of the open classroom or team teaching (Rohlen, 1983).

In addition, standard ESL classroom practice in America tends to focus on process-oriented teaching which incorporates a strong component of free-writing, brainstorming, or role play in order to better convey the lesson, emphasizing hands-on experience among the students. Because of the inherent ideology of individualism described above, the higher one moves through the education system, the more American teachers try to encourage students to express real opinions, sometimes playing the devil's advocate in order to stimulate debate. However, East Asian high school and college students, in particular, tend to reject these practices as "playful wastes of time" (Erbaugh, 1990). Moreover, American-educated teachers, and students alike, think little of questioning the text, often criticizing parts of the text that are controversial. In the context of higher learning institutions, free speech, the ability to express individual opinion and the freedom to question those in authority, whether the text or the teacher, is viewed as a basic right. This is clearly in diametrical opposition to the exalted position of the model text in the East Asian setting. Throughout East Asia, the model even outweighs the position of the teacher. For example, Chinese texts are ordained by the State Commission of Education, thus teachers who criticize textbooks are viewed as ignorant (Erbaugh, 1990).

SUGGESTIONS FOR ESL TEACHERS

Accordingly, as part of the educational process mentioned above, ESL teachers should become well acquainted with the cultural values, communication patterns, and academic cultures of their East Asian students. The following suggestions in teacher preparation and teaching practice should assist teachers in this cross-cultural learning process.

First, ESL teachers need to become more aware of who their students are and what their preferences are in educational practice. One can begin by simply going to the home of an ESL student in elementary or secondary school or, if that is not possible (as might be the case for college students), by attending a festival such as the Chinese or Vietnamese New Year celebration to show one's appreciation for the other culture. Next, one might want to read about the educational system of other cultures in order to understand better the differences in educational practice. For East Asia, the bibliography at the end of this work could provide a beginning. At the same time, one must always reserve judgment until there is further interaction, both verbal and written, with the student. Be careful not to "label" the student based on initial behavior. It might be valuable in some cases to carry out additional diagnostic tests or interviews with the student and his or her family before making any final assessment. This first suggestion, if carried through, would not only assist teachers in their efforts to help East Asian students survive cross-cultural academic shock, but would also go a long way in building bridges between academic cultures and destroying the destructive misconceptions and stereotypes that persist out of ignorance.

Second, ESL educators should develop and implement teaching strategies and techniques that could be incorporated into a culturally-sensitive curriculum and used as a part of classroom practice. The following suggestions would be particularly helpful during the first term that East Asian students have American teachers. In these initial classes, the teacher should:

- use a textbook and follow it fairly closely, so that the student will be more comfortable with the learning situation, as Confucian Orthodoxy uses text almost as catechism;
- when not using a straight lecture method (typical of Confucian influenced education but not of ESL), teach with a consistent

method and introduce new teaching techniques slowly, as the students will not be able to learn with a new method until they learn the method itself and so too much variety could negatively impact language learning;

- with an emphasis on the teacher-centered nature of the Confucian-influenced classroom, use eye contact by students to identify who is ready to answer, and call on students by name rather than waiting for them to volunteer answers, so that, at least, it appears that you, the teacher, chose the student rather than the student chose to speak;
- when encouraging greater participation in class, ask questions for which each student could regard him or herself as the expert (such as asking how Korean women might view a specific phenomenon) so that the student would be encouraged to reply as an expert (someone with at least one answer) from their personal experience and cultural background knowledge;
- in a similar vein, ask questions about their cultural adjustment to the U. S., as each student would then be expert for him or herself and so will have the one answer again;
- use reading and written assignments, such as dialogue or other journals, to initiate topics that will be discussed orally in class, as Confucian orthodoxy emphasized the importance of the written word; and
- in advanced classes, discuss differences in academic culture, as they are encountered in the ESL classroom.

In conclusion, fundamental differences exist in the educational systems and teaching philosophies of East Asia and the West and these differences are manifested in a wide variety of contrasting classroom practices. These differences often result in "academic culture shock" experienced by many East Asian students upon entering the American classroom. However, differences between the academic cultures of the East and West should be kept in perspective. Oliver (1971) reminds us to accept the challenge of these differences "not as barriers to understanding but as invitations to inquiry" (p. 6). Indeed, the challenge for all educators is that bridges of understanding can be constructed that will serve to integrate and unite two seemingly incongruous academic cultures. Kim (1985) denotes clearly and concisely the vision for ESL professionals: "our task is to find our human unity and simultaneously to express diversity" (p. 407).

Cross-cultural academic shock can be alleviated when American teachers allow themselves to become acquainted with the cultural values and communication patterns, essentially the academic culture, of their East Asian students. It is necessary for educators to develop and implement educational strategies and teaching techniques that can be incorporated into a culturally-sensitive curriculum and used as a part of classroom practice to enhance the learning process of East Asian students.

THE AUTHORS

Patrick Dunham has completed his M.A. in TESL from St. Cloud State University and is now teaching at the International Trade Institute in Taiwan.

James Robinson is an Associate Professor and the ESL Director in the English Department at Saint Cloud State University.

REFERENCES

Becker, C. B. (1986). Reasons for the lack of argumentation and debate in the Far East. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. *10*, 75–92.

Carson, J. G. (1992). Becoming biliterate: First language influences. *Journal of Second Language Writing*. *1*, 37–60.

Chance, N. (1987). Chinese education in a village setting. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Interpretive ethnography of education: At home and abroad* (pp. 221–248). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cheng, C. Y. (1987). Chinese philosophy and contemporary communication theory. In D.L. Kincaid (Ed.), *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives*. New York: Academic Press.

Chung, C. S. (1988). Confucianism: Tradition and transformation in Korea. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society: Korea Branch*, *63*, 37–56.

Cleverly, J. (1985). *The schooling of China: Tradition and modernity in Chinese education*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin.

Creel, H. (1960). *Confucius and the Chinese way*. New York: Harper.

Dorfman, C. H. (Ed.). (1987). *U.S. study of education in Japan*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Duke, B. C. (1986). *The Japanese school: Lessons for industrial America*. New York: Praeger.

Erbaugh, M. S. (1990). Taking advantage of China's literary tradition in teaching Chinese students. *The Modern Language Journal*, *74*, 15–27.

Hinds, J. (1987). Reader vs. writer responsibility: A new typology. In U. Connor & R. Kaplan (Eds.) *Writing across languages: Analysis of L2 text* (pp. 141–152). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hsu, F. L. K. (1967). *Under the ancestor's shadow: Kinship, personality, and social mobility in China.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hsu, F. L. K. (1981). *Americans and Chinese: Passage to differences.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Inamoto, N. (1985). *The Japanese and the Americans.* Tokyo, Japan: Kinseido.

Kaplan, R. B. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning,* 16, 1–20.

Kim, Y. Y. (1985). Intercultural personhood: An integration of Eastern and Western perspectives. In L. Samovar & R. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (pp. 400–410). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Kitao, K. (1985). *Effects of social environment on Japanese and American communication.* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 260 579)

Kuo, P. W. (1915). *The Chinese system of public education.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Lebra, T. S. (1976). *Japanese patterns of behavior.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.

Legge, J. (trans.) (1960). *The Chinese classics.* Vol. 1. Reprint. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press.

Maley, A. (1986). XANADU—A miracle of rare device: the teaching of English in China. In J. Valdes (Ed.), *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching* (pp.102–111). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nakamura, H. (1964). *Ways of thinking of Eastern peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan.* Honolulu: East-West Center Press.

Oliver, R. T. (1971). *Communication and culture in ancient India and China.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Reischauer, E. (1977). *The Japanese.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Robinson, J. H. (1980). Spare the rod and spoil the culture. *Korea Quarterly,* 1(3), 6–20.

Robinson, J. H. (1982). Social typing in Korean schools: The effects of differential teacher interactional styles (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 1982). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 43/44* 3562A.

Robinson, J. H. (1988). Confucian orthodoxy and ESL: An analysis of interaction within a cross-cultural education context. *Kentucky TESOL, IX*(1), 6-9.

Robinson, J. H. (1990). Linguistic, cultural, and educational contexts of Korea. *The Korea papers: Profile in educational exchange* (NAFSA Working Papers No. 10). Washington, DC: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs.

Robinson, J. H. (1991). Teaching across academic cultures: Toward an anthropology of ESL. In M. E. McGroarty and C. J. Faltis (Eds.), *Languages in school and society: Policy and pedagogy* (pp. 151–168). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rohlen, T. P. (1983). *Japan's high schools.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Singleton, J. (1967). *Nichu: A Japanese school.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Suzuki, R. H. (1977). Education and the socialization of Asian Americans: A revisionist analysis of the model minority thesis. *Amerasia Journal*, 4(2): 23–51.

Unger, J. (1977). Post-cultural revolution primary-school education: Selected texts. *Chinese Education, 10*, 4–34.

Varenne, H. (1991). *Americans together: Structured diversity in a midwestern town.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Waley. A. (Trans. and Ed.). (1938). *The analects of Confucius.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Waley, A. (1956). *Three ways of thought in ancient China.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

White, M. (1987). *The Japanese educational challenge.* New York: The Free Press.

Yang, M. C. (1970). A Chinese village: Taitou, Shantung Province. In H. Linguist (Ed.), *Education: Readings in the process of cultural transmission* (115–120). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Yum, J. O. (1991). The impact of Confucianism on interpersonal relationships and communication patterns in East Asia. In L. Samovar and R. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* (pp. 66–78). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

In order to better serve Minnesota's
community of second language teachers and learners,
Hamline University proudly announces

The Center for Second Language Teaching and Learning

Programs

- ESL Licensure
- Bilingual/Bicultural Education Licensure
- Masters of Arts in Education or Liberal Studies with an emphasis on ESL or Bilingual Education
- TEFL Certificate Program

Coursework

- About Southeast Asian cultures and languages
- For immersion teachers
- For second language teachers in public schools
- For ABE/ESL teachers

Affiliated Centers

- Minnesota Migrant Education Resource Center (MMERC)

For more information, please call **641-2900**.

HAMLINE
UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Perceptual Learning Style Preferences of Second Language Students

PATRICIA A. ELIASON
University of Minnesota

The concept of learning style has been examined extensively by educators, particularly since the 1960s, and more recently within the field of teaching English as a Second Language. This paper will discuss current relevant issues in learning style, particularly in the area of perceptual learning style, as it relates to ESL students and instruction. A research study will be presented and discussed in which a perceptual learning styles inventory similar to that developed by Reid (1987) was administered to American and Japanese language students. The Japanese students stated a stronger preference for auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile perceptual modes than the Americans; the Americans were higher than the Japanese in visual preferences. The paper calls into question current methods of assessing learning style preferences, particularly cross cultural assessments; suggestions are given for the practical application of learning style research to the classroom.

What exactly is "learning style," and how or why is it relevant to students and instructors? Can a person's learning style be adapted to the environment he/she is in? How important is a "match" of learning style to instruction? Questions similar to these have been examined extensively by educators, particularly since the 1960s, and more recently within the field of teaching English as a Second Language.

The concept of "learning style" is difficult to research for several reasons. Probably the single most pressing problem is that of finding a satisfactory working definition; the term "learning style" has been used in various and sometimes confusing ways in the literature. It is often used interchangeably with the terms "cognitive style," "learning strategy," or "affective style."

Perhaps the most salient definition has been offered by Keefe (1979), who describes "learning style" as a general term for the conglomerate of an individual's *way of learning*, including all of his/her cognitive, affective, and physiological styles. Learning styles are "hypothetical constructs that help to explain the learning (and teaching) process...[and can be defined as] persistent qualities in the behavior of individual learners regardless of the teaching methods or content experienced" (p. 4). In contrast, "learning strategies" refers to the methods employed by a learner in mastering material (e.g., review, monitoring, practice, negotiation of meaning) (Reid, 1987). The idea of pervasiveness or consistency in learning style seems to be a theme common to all the various definitions; according to Schmeck, a learning style is "simply a strategy that is used with some cross-situational consistency" (1983, p. 233).

More research is needed to lead to a more refined theoretical basis for a working definition of learning style (Claxton & Murrell, 1987). The definition as it now stands is still somewhat vague and encompasses multiple factors. It is therefore of utmost importance that anyone writing about or doing research on learning style specify exactly which aspect of learning style is being studied.

Because of the difficulty in defining learning style, there is some vagueness in the literature regarding the issues involved in research, and subsequent difficulty in accurate and consistent assessment of learning style (Claxton & Murrell, 1987). The question of how to ensure content and construct validity (whether the questions on the test accurately represent the material that is being tested, and whether the test is a true reflection of the theory of learning style) and reliability (whether a test is internally consistent, and consistent from one administration to another) is not easily resolved.

With students of English as a Second Language, research becomes even more problematic. Instruments designed for native speakers of English (NSs) may be inadequate for non-native speakers of English (NNSs), even in a translation, because the concepts themselves may be culture-bound.

In spite of these difficulties, the potential for learning style research to enhance the ESL classroom learning experience makes it vital that educators continue to attempt to refine work in this area. Research on learning styles to date has been done almost exclusively from a white, Western middle-class perspective and value system (Claxton & Murrell, 1987). But the research that has been done on other cultures within the United States has shown that students from these cultures may be at a disadvantage in most American schools, which emphasize certain styles of learning that may not be preferred by students from non-Anglo backgrounds (Claxton & Murrell, 1987; Cohen, 1969; Hale-Benson, 1982; Kirby, 1979). Research with speakers of languages other than English has also shown that different modes of thinking (cognitive styles) characterize different cultures, and ESL learners with unique learning style characteristics may expend most of their time and effort just trying to adapt to a new learning situation (Reid, 1987).

Gregorc (1979) in particular writes about the difficulties of *alignment*: some students can align themselves more readily to a given teacher's style, using both natural (inherent) and artificial (learned) means of adapting to the class. Other students are not as adept in this alignment process, and fall behind when their learning styles are mismatched. Often discipline problems can be traced to a mismatch in learning styles.

Research in second language learning before 1987 includes work on some areas of cognitive styles, affective styles, culture-specific modes of learning and cultural factors, and learning strategies (Reid, 1987). Reid's study (1987), however, is the first published research describing the perceptual learning style preferences of NNSs. Perceptual learning style refers to "the variations among learners in using one or more senses to understand, organize, and retain experience" (Reid, 1987, p. 89). R. Dunn (1983) treats perceptual learning style as a sub-category of the physical learning style elements, and divides this sub-category into four perceptual modalities. They are:

1. Visual learning: reading, studying graphs, charts, pictures
2. Auditory learning: listening to lectures, audio tapes
3. Kinesthetic: experiential, total body involvement
4. Tactile: hands-on experience

These perceptual learning style elements are part of the *Learning Styles Inventory* (Dunn, Dunn, & Price, 1975), a comprehensive, self-reporting questionnaire for grades 3-12, and the *Productivity Environmental Preference Survey* (PEPS), designed by Price, Dunn, and Dunn (1982) for adults.

An explanation following Reid's questionnaire (1987) describes and elaborates on the four perceptual modalities of Dunn as follows:[1]

> VISUAL: "You learn well from *seeing words* in books, on the chalkboard, and in workbooks. You remember and understand information and instructions better if you read them. You don't need as much oral explanation as an auditory learner, and you can often learn alone, with a book. You should take notes of lectures and oral directions if you want to remember the information."

> AUDITORY: "You learn from *hearing words* spoken and from oral explanations. You may remember information by reading aloud or moving your lips as you read, especially when you are learning new material. You benefit from hearing audio tapes, lectures, and class discussion. You benefit from making tapes to listen to, by teaching other students, and by conversing with your teacher."
>
> KINESTHETIC: "You learn best by experience, by being involved physically in classroom experiences. You remember information well when you actively participate in activities, field trips, and role-playing in the classroom. A combination of stimuli—for example, an audio tape combined with an activity—will help you understand new material."
>
> TACTILE: "You learn best when you have the opportunity to do "hands-on" experiences with materials. That is, working on experiments in a laboratory, handling and building models, and touching and working with materials provide you with the most successful learning situation. Writing notes or instructions can help you remember information, and *physical involvement in class-related activities may help you understand new information*." [Italics are mine—note here the similarity to the kinesthetic definition.]

A table of results from ten studies by ten different researchers in R. Dunn (1983) shows in each case how native English speakers learned better when taught various subjects through their different preferred learning styles (including perceptual), and conversely, how students who were mismatched achieved significantly less, from elementary school through the college level. "Research has verified repeatedly," states Dunn, "that when new information is introduced through the strongest perceptual strength, reinforced through the second, and used creatively, statistically significant increases occur in academic achievement" (p. 499). Other theorists agree that since perceptual learning style has proved to have a direct impact on how much information is processed and retained, awareness and utilization of an individual's preferred perceptual learning style will lead to more effective learning (James & Galbraith, 1985).

REID'S STUDY AND RESULTS

Reid (1987) reports on a study she conducted to examine perceptual learning style preferences of NNSs and to compare them to each other and to those of NSs. Reid developed a self-report questionnaire of 30 questions with randomly arranged statements (5 each) in six areas of learning style preference; the four perceptual modalities of Dunn—visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile; and two additional areas, individual vs. group learning. Preference means for each set of variables were divided into three categories: major, minor, or negative learning style preferences. The survey was validated by the split-half method and completed by a total of 1,234 students at 43 different university-affiliated intensive English language programs across the United States, representing 98 countries, 29 majors, and 52 different language backgrounds. One hundred and fifty-four NSs from Colorado State University also completed the survey. Reid statistically analyzed these responses along with eight student variables: age, first language, TOEFL score, length of time in the U.S., length of time studying English in the U.S., class (graduate or undergraduate), major, and sex.

The results of Reid's study showed that the ESL students in this study overall strongly preferred kinesthetic and tactile learning styles; native speakers of English, on the other hand, had a lower preference mean in the area of kinesthetic learning (although it was still a major learning style preference), and were less tactile than NNSs of all language backgrounds studied. Most groups also showed a negative preference for group learning; NSs rated group work lowest of all.

It is intriguing to note that the perceptual learning style preferences of the NNSs who had studied and lived in the U.S. the longest more closely resembled the perceptual preferences of NSs in Reid's study. For example, the longer students had lived in the U.S., the more auditory was their stated preference; those who had been in the U.S. more than three years were significantly more auditory in their stated preferences than those who had spent less time in the U.S.

This raises the question, Reid notes, of whether students who have more experience in the U.S. classroom adapt themselves to auditory learning (still an artificial modality for them), or whether they in fact *become* more auditory (changing natural modalities). There is evidence from research done with native speakers of English that perceptual preference evolves for most students from the tactile/kinesthetic modality to the visual/aural modality as the learner matures (R. Dunn, 1981, 1983; Keefe, 1979). Dunn (1981) reports that kindergartners tend to be strongly tactile/kinesthetic; around grade 3–4 the visual modality begins to develop, and by grade 5–6 most children begin to become auditory (girls become auditory earlier and faster than boys). If young NS children experience a change in their preferred learning style as they mature, might it not also be possible, as Reid suggests, that NNS adult learners of English also experience a change in preferred learning style; in fact, might it not be possible that beginning language learners in general could have learning style traits in common that change as they become more proficient in the second language, or more comfortable with the second culture? Further research is needed to address these questions.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study I designed and conducted is a beginning attempt to determine whether or not there are learning style characteristics particular to language learners in general. Although Reid collected data from NSs in her study, the survey instrument was designed for subjects to respond to questions "as they apply to your study of English," and so the NSs responding would not necessarily be using the same frame of reference (second language study) as the NNSs. I felt a follow-up to Reid's study would also be important to address the issues of construct validity and reliability, and to examine the usefulness of translating assessment tools for learning styles of beginning language students.

Subjects

I decided to administer a questionnaire to three groups of students. The three groups were:

1. American students learning French at The American College in Paris, France, or similar French as a Second Language programs in Paris, fall, 1988. Thirty-one American students completed questionnaires that could be used for this study.
2. Japanese students enrolled in the Summer Intensive English Language and Orientation Program (SIELOP), University of Minnesota, summer, 1988. There were 22 Japanese SIELOP students who completed the questionnaire.
3. Japanese teachers of English participating in the University of Minnesota's JET (Japanese English Teachers) program, summer, 1988. These teachers all had a considerable number of years experience both learning and teaching English. There were 21 JET participants who completed the questionnaire.

Instrument

I had misgivings about the wording of some of the questions in Reid's questionnaire. For example, most of the questions use comparatives without the comparative dependent clause: "When the teacher tells me the instructions I understand better." (Better than what? Better than if I don't get any instructions at all?) Reid said she had initially designed the questions with the comparative dependent clause ("better than if I read the instructions," for example) but that when she went through the questions one by one with several NNS informants, she was told that the sentences were too complicated, and would be more easily understood without the comparative dependent clause (personal communication, 1988). I also was concerned about the abundance of ambiguous words such as "something," "someone," "things," e.g., "When I do things in class, I learn better;" and the use of "understand" as in "I understand better when I read instructions," since "understand" could relate to a language problem rather than a learning style preference. I decided to design a self-report questionnaire similar to that designed by Reid, with questions representing the same four perceptual modalities (visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile) as well as group vs. individual learning, but to make some modifications to account for the above concerns. By administering the questionnaire in the subject's first language I hoped to eliminate any misinterpretation of the questions, as well as any bias from students' trying to translate as they took the questionnaire.

I studied the *Productivity Environmental Preference Survey* of Dunn, Dunn, and Price (1979) as well as Reid's questionnaire before deciding on five questions for each perceptual modality. Some questions deliberately contrast one preference with another, as in #16: "I remember more of what I hear than what I read" (+Auditory, –Visual), and #14: "I would rather learn by experience than by reading or hearing about a subject" (+kinesthetic, –Visual, –Auditory). Although this makes these questions longer and more difficult to understand, I hoped this would give information similar to a forced-choice format.

I used the same 5-point scale as Reid, where each item requires a person to choose from 5 responses in a range from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." (see Appendix). I combined group/individual preferences into one category, since they represent opposite ends of the same scale. Questions #1, 6, and 9 on my questionnaire and the accompanying values in scoring are reversed to account for response set (the tendency of some individuals' responses on a value scale to be all on one side of the scale, which suggests they have not read the questions thoroughly and are responding in a "set" mode). Question 6, for example, "I like to stay seated in class," is negative kinesthetic and so a response of "Strongly Agree" in this case would have a score value of 1, and "Strongly Disagree" would have a score value of 5.

I randomly arranged the final set of twenty-five questions into a two-page questionnaire, including an introductory page almost identical to Reid's, requesting background information from the subject (Name, Age, Native Country, Native Language, Sex, Years Studying English/French, Years in the U.S. /France, Major Field or Occupation, Number of Years in College/ Degrees) and explaining very generally what the questionnaire is about. The introduction specifically asks that the respondent answer the questions as they apply to his or her study of the second language.

The next major project was getting the questionnaire translated into Japanese, which I hoped would reduce the chance of error due to students' misunderstanding of the questions. For this I relied on two Japanese graduate students at the University of Minnesota; after a pilot run, we rewrote several sentences and had the questionnaire blind back-translated by an American graduate student fluent in Japanese. Several SIELOP students who took the questionnaire were still not happy with the translation; comments I received suggested that the translation was still awkward, "too literal" in places, and that some questions were ambiguous. One Japanese translator felt that there were two possible explanations: one, the difficulty with translating some of the concepts, which had no practical equivalent in Japanese classroom experience; for example, #7: "When I can get up and move around in class I seem to learn best" is a strange concept to the Japanese, since this type of behavior is not typical for students. The second concern this translator had was with administering a questionnaire to Japanese, who she said are "not good subjects" and who do not like taking questionnaires in general, or who may resist being singled out for study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The questionnaires were scored according to a scale developed by Reid. Each response was given a value from 5–1, with 5 being the response most favorable to the modality being questioned. The five responses for each modality were added, and then multiplied by two. Major learning style preferences were considered to be final totals that were between 38–50; Minor learning style preferences, between 25–37; and Negligible preferences, between 0–24.

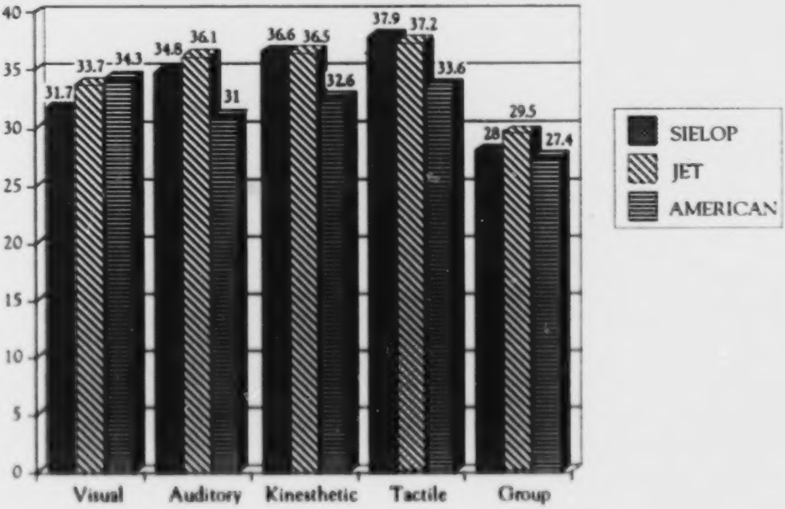
The results are shown in Figure 1.

Preference Means

All three groups (Japanese JET, Japanese SIELOP, and Americans) had all minor preference means, except for tactile learning for the SIELOP students; at 37.9 (rounded up to 38) it was a major preference mean. The Japanese groups were only 0.1 apart on kinesthetic (36.6 – SIELOP, 36.5 – JET) and less than 1.0 apart on tactile preference means

879

(37.9 – SIELOP, 37.2 – JET). Both Japanese groups were higher in auditory, tactile, kinesthetic, and group preferences than the Americans. The Japanese groups were lower than the Americans only in visual preferences (SIELOP – 31.7, JET – 33.7, Americans – 34.3). An Analysis of Variance run on the preference means showed significant differences for auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile learning styles at the . 05 level:



STANDARD DEVIATION

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group
SIELOP	3.87	5.78	6.08	5.33	5.76
JET	5.11	4.92	5.21	5.64	7.24
AMERICANS	6.23	6.83	6.39	7.53	8.32

Figure 1. ***Perceptual Learning Style Preference Means***

Auditory F(2,71) = 5.1946, p = .0078
Kinesthetic F(2,71) = 3.8816, p = .0251
Tactile F(2,71) = 3.4947, p = .0357

Preferences for the other two styles, visual and group, were not significantly different. The Scheffé test resulted in one significant difference at the .05 level (although several others were close): between the Americans and the JET group in auditory learning style preference.

Comparison to Reid's Study

In Reid's study the Japanese had minor preference means in tactile (the highest means), kinesthetic, auditory, and visual learning; group learning had negligible preference means. The English speakers had major preference means for auditory learning (the highest means), and kinesthetic learning; minor preference means for tactile and visual learning, and negligible preference means for group learning. In my study all three groups had all minor preference means except for tactile learning for the SIELOP students when rounded up to 38 (it was 37.9), a major preference mean. In Reid's study the Japanese had higher visual and tactile preference means than the English speakers and lower auditory and kinesthetic preference means. Except for the tactile preference means, this is the reverse of my findings, which show both Japanese groups to be higher in auditory and kinesthetic preferences than the Americans, and lower in visual. Both studies show the Japanese to be higher in tactile preferences than the English speakers, and both studies show group learning to have the lowest preference means for both Japanese and Americans (with Americans having the lowest preference for group work).

Reid found the Japanese to be the least auditory of the language groups tested, whereas in my study their auditory preference means were higher than the Americans'. Reid found the Japanese to be the least kinesthetic as well; the NSs in her study were also low kinesthetic (second to last) compared to the other language groups. But for both groups the kinesthetic means were still high when compared to the other modalities. In my study the Japanese rated kinesthetic learning higher than the Americans did. In both studies the Japanese did not as a group have any major learning style preference. Reid notes that among all the NNS language groups in her study, the Japanese were most frequently significantly different from the others in their preferences.

The results of both Reid's study and my own show that kinesthetic and tactile learning were important to both the Americans and Japanese studied; this is interesting, given that Americans (and Japanese) have been traditionally taught with an emphasis on visual/auditory modes, and Americans have been considered to be primarily visual/auditory learners as adults (R. Dunn, 1981, 1983; Keefe, 1979). The low preference means for group work for NSs and Japanese in both studies also have interesting implications for the classroom, especially given today's emphasis in ESL on group work; as Reid states, "some reexamination of curricula and teaching methods by both ESL and university teachers [in regards to group work] may be in order" (1987, p.

98). At least an awareness of these preferences can help a teacher to be aware of possible resistance to group work, perhaps allowing for a gradual easing into the mode rather than jumping into groups on the first day of class.

EXAMINING THE PROCESS OF ASSESSING LEARNING STYLE

According to Grasha (1984), the ideal instrument for assessing learning style should include a frame of reference; is it to be used in relation to work? school? which class/subject? etc. It should have test/retest reliability, and construct and predictive validity (the ability to predict correctly the performance of the test-taker in some future context). It should be internally consistent. Use of the instrument results should lead to greater learner satisfaction and superior performance. In other words, the instrument should be translatable to instruction.

Recognizing the Limitations of Instruments

In examining the results of the present study, it is important to note that the questionnaire was not normed. Reid (1990) questions the reliability of questionnaires that are normed for NSs and used on NNSs, since she found significant differences in these two groups' responses when she was norming her instrument. A questionnaire that is not normed at all is certainly also open to criticism. It is difficult to write questions that cover each modality without becoming too repetitious; but it is even more difficult to determine what kinds of questions best measure the modality. The question of content/construct validity and reliability comes up again; what can we say is an adequate measurement of, say, a kinesthetic modality? Some items considered kinesthetic ask about activities in the classroom: "When I can participate in classroom activities I remember best;" others focus on seating arrangements, implying less activity if the student is seated: "I like to stay seated in class." But for the Japanese, to whom the idea of moving around a classroom seems strange, this may not be so much a measure of kinesthetic activity as a measure of cultural appropriateness. Similarly, as a measure of preference for group work vs. individual work, how can we determine that items such as: "I like to discuss class materials with a group of students" and "I accomplish more when I study alone than when I study with others" are diametrically opposed? Rather, both may be rated "Strongly Agree" for an individual, and neither may sufficiently discriminate between a preference for group versus individual work.

Another major issue in assessing perceptual learning style preference is in categorizing the modalities being measured. Although R. Dunn (1983) has defined the four modalities used by Reid and myself, Keefe (1979) recognizes three perceptual modes; *kinesthetic* or *psychomotor*, *visual* or *spatial*, and *auditory* or *verbal*. James and Galbraith (1985) distinguish *print* (reading, writing) from *visual*, and include the modalities *interactive* (verbalization) and *olfactory* (smell). Reinert (n. d.) has developed a self-report inventory (Edmonds Learning Style Identification Exercise) based on four perceptual modalities, *visualization*, *written word*, *sound-understanding* (listening), and *feeling* (activity).

None of the researchers offer any justification as to why these categories are sufficient. It may, in fact, be argued that all of the questions posed on various perceptual learning style inventories could be separated into the two categories of *active* vs. *passive* learning (Park, Downing, & Tarone, personal communication, May, 1989). There simply is not a clear rationalization for one set of modalities as yet.

Cross Cultural Assessments

Cross cultural assessments also must take into account the English level of the students and the effect this might have on their interpretation of a questionnaire given in English; for example, the Kolb inventory (1976) relies on choosing between words such as "conceptualization," "concrete," and "reflecting."[2] As I found in my study, even having the questionnaire translated into the first language of the subjects does not necessarily end ambiguities.[3] Cultural factors can play a significant role, as with the Japanese SIELOP students' unfamiliarity with the concept of moving around a classroom. Cultural attitudes towards taking questionnaires should also be taken into consideration.

A factor I found difficult to control for in my study was length of time studying the language vs. length of time spent in the target culture. In my study the two Japanese groups were more similar in preference means to each other than to the Americans studied, even though the JET teachers had studied and taught English for many years. If learning style preferences related to second language study change over time, the critical factor is most likely that of being immersed in the target culture, since then the teaching methodology and other cultural factors would be possible influences. I had originally intended to study beginning language learners immersed in a target culture in order to get data to observe possible change over time. However, the groups I chose to study were made up of individuals who, although they were relative beginners in the second culture (JET teachers were in the U.S. for the first time Summer 1988; SIELOP students were also studying in the U.S. for the first time Summer 1988; most of the Americans in France had been there less than a year), they were not necessarily beginners in studying the second language (the JET teachers had at least nine years of studying and teaching English; SIELOP students had a range of 6–12 years studying English; the Americans ranged from three months to nine years learning French). It would be interesting to control for these variables—length of time in the target culture and length of time studying the second language—to get more data on the possibility of change in learning styles over time.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

Keefe (1979) has diagrammed the school learning process as a triangle of interaction between the learning environment, the teaching style, and the learning style of the student. Each area of the triangle needs to be fully explored and recognized for the role it plays in the process of learning. The problem, according to Dunn and Dunn (1979), lies in trying to isolate and emphasize certain points that are believed to represent "good" or "effective" instruction. Difficulty in objective interpretation, incorrect assumptions about what should be measured, and inappropriate instruments of measurement all contribute to the problem; however, even if these factors could be overcome, inattention to and mismatch of teaching style and student learning style could nullify the effort. "Effective" teaching becomes to some extent a relative notion, dependent on the balance of Keefe's triangle of learning environment, teaching style, and learning style.

The current accepted epistemology, or "way of knowing," in the United States is dominated by objectivism, which emphasizes detachment, analysis, and individual rather than communal learning. But many students coming from backgrounds other than Anglo may be more familiar and more comfortable with relational ways of knowing, depending more on the intuitive and subjective modes, which should also be honored in our schools (Claxton & Murrell, 1987).

Educators need to be aware of the issues surrounding learning style research, and the difficulties inherent in the procedures used to attempt to measure ESL learning style in particular. Problems with content/construct validity, reliability, English language and translations, cultural interference, etc. make anyone attempting research in this area likely to feel more than a little frustration and futility in his/her efforts. So what, then, can be finally said about the applicability of learning style research to the classroom—the *raison d'être*, after all?

In spite of the many ambiguities involved from a research perspective, it may be that from a teaching perspective the outlook is not so pessimistic. It may be most important, in fact, that teachers simply raise the issue of learning style with their students, perhaps using an instrument to assess learning styles, but always with the students validating the results for themselves, discussing in class the implications of differences in teaching and learning styles. This introspection on the part of the students itself may serve the purpose of making students aware of a variety of modalities that exist, and how they may adapt their styles or compensate in order to enhance their classroom learning. As Claxton and Murrell put it, learning *how* to learn is an empowering experience, and the long-term impact learning style discussions can have is to lead to an "increase in achievement and self-confidence that comes about when faculty and students engage in an ongoing dialogue about how the student learns, how the teacher teaches, and how each can adapt to the other in the service of more effective learning" (1987, p. 54).

Claxton and Murrell give examples of how a teacher might design tests with learning styles in mind: for example, during a multiple choice test, impulsive thinkers may not be able to be deliberate enough to carefully consider each question, and reflective thinkers may become immobilized with the task. Pressure seems to intensify a person's reflective/impulsive style, and multiple choice tests may not elicit students' best performance for these reasons. Claxton and Murrell suggest instead questions that require a variety of forms of processing, such as those described in Kolb's learning style categories. Teachers who wish to accommodate a variety of perceptual learning styles in the classroom can make use of a combination of lecture/discussion, individual and small group work, board work, and activities using overhead transparencies, videotapes, audiotapes, role-plays, experiments, etc.

An awareness of differences in learning style can sensitize teachers to potential problems of match/mismatch, especially in an ESL classroom, where culture enters in as well (Reid, 1987). At the same time, making students aware of learning style can help them understand and accept some of the difficulties they may experience in coping with a mismatch; students can also make choices to adapt or compensate for learning style differences. Paige (1987) equates effective learning to a "fit" between the learning style of a person, his/her personal qualities, and the learning style of a culture; he explains how an international student can assess his/her fit, then improve on and adjust his/her fit to the system.

Reid (1987) raises the question of whether teachers of ESL students should attempt to match the learning style characteristics of their students, possibly in order to lower their affective filter, or whether they should encourage NNSs to adapt their preferences to those of NSs. The answer seems to be both. Through the use of an inventory, class discussion, and experience with a variety of learning styles, students and teachers both can come to appreciate and learn from their diversity while making the best possible use of alternative, complementary learning styles.

THE AUTHOR

Patricia A. Eliason researched learning styles for her master's degree at the University of Minnesota. She is currently a teaching specialist in the Minnesota English Center, University of Minnesota, where she teaches reading and composition in the preacademic English program for international students. She also teaches communication and teaching skills in the International Teaching Assistant program at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Claxton, C., & Murrell, P. (1987). *Learning styles: Implications for improving educational practices.* ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 4. Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Higher Education.

Cohen, R. (1969). Conceptual styles, culture conflict, and nonverbal tests of intelligence. *American Anthropologist, 71*(8), 28–56.

Dunn, R. (1981). A learning styles primer. *Principal*, 60, 31–34.

Dunn, R. (1983). Learning style and its relation to exceptionality at both ends of the spectrum. *Exceptional Children*, 49, 496–506.

Dunn, R., & Dunn, K. (1979). Learning styles/teaching styles: Should they…can they…be matched? *Educational Leadership*, 36, 238–44.

Dunn, R., Dunn, K., & Price, G. E. (1975). *The learning style inventory.* Lawrence, KS: Price Systems.

Dunn, R., Dunn, K., & Price, G. E. (1979). *Productivity environmental preference survey*. Lawrence, KS: Price Systems.

Grasha, A. (1984). Learning styles: The journey from Greenwich Observatory (1796) to the college classroom (1984). *Improving College and University Teaching, 22*, 46–53.

Gregorc, A. F. (1979). Learning/teaching styles: Potent forces behind them. *Educational Leadership*, 36, 234–36.

Hale-Benson, J. E. (1982). *Black children: Their roots, culture, and learning styles.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

James, W. B., & Galbraith, M. W. (1985). Perceptual learning styles: Implications and techniques for the practitioner. *Lifelong Learning*, 8, 20–23.

Keefe, J. W. (1979). Learning style: An overview. In J. W. Keefe (Ed.), *Student learning styles: Diagnosing and prescribing programs* (pp. 1–17). Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Kirby, P. (1979). *Cognitive style, learning style, and transfer skill acquisition.* Information series no. 195, Columbus: Ohio State University, National Center for Research in Vocational Education.

Kolb, D. A. (1976). *The Learning style inventory: Self-scoring test and interpretation.* Boston: McBer.

Oller, J. W., Jr. (1979). *Language tests at school A pragmatic approach.* London: Longman.

Paige, R. M. (1987). Unpublished workshop handout on learning styles for international students. Office of International Education, University of MN, 55455.

Price, G. E., Dunn, R., & Dunn, K. (1982). *Productivity environmental preference survey manual* (2nd ed). Lawrence, KS: Price Systems.

Reid, J. M. (1987). The learning style preferences of ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*(1), 87–111.

Reid, J. M. (1990). The dirty laundry of ESL survey research. *TESOL Quarterly, 24*(2), 323–38.

Reinert, H. (n. d.). Edmonds learning style identification exercise. Edmonds School District #15, Lynnwood, WA 98036.

Schmeck, R. (1983). Learning styles of college students. In R. F. Dillon & R. R. Schmeck (Eds.), *Individual Differences in Cognition* (pp. 233–279). New York: Academic Press.

Wederspahn, A., & Barger, N. (1988). Implications for using the MBTI with non-native English speakers. *Bulletin of Psychological Type, 11*, 12, 21.

APPENDIX

AUDITORY

1. When I listen to lectures, I remember most of what I have heard.
2. I prefer to learn by listening to lectures.
3. I learn best by listening to someone lecture or speak on a subject.
4. I remember more of what I hear than what I read. (–V)
5. I like to learn new information by hearing a record, tape, or lecture.

VISUAL

1. I learn more by reading textbooks than by listening to lectures. (A)
2. I remember best what I see or read in books, photos, or diagrams.
3. I like to learn new information by viewing pictures or diagrams.
4. I would rather read than listen to the teacher lecture on a subject.
5. I learn better when I read the instructions than when the teacher tells me what to do. (–A)

TACTILE

1. I like to learn by drawing or making a model of what I'm studying whenever possible.
2. When I can draw or take notes I remember better than if I just listen or just read. (–A,V)
3. I find learning easier when I can make something with my hands.
4. I learn best if I draw or make relevant diagrams while I study.
5. I like to learn by working with my hands.

KINESTHETIC

1. I would rather learn by experience than by reading or hearing about a subject. (–V, A)
2. I enjoy learning in class by doing experiments or role plays.
3. When I can participate in classroom activities I remember best.
4. When I can get up and move around in class I seem to learn best.
5. I like to stay seated in class. (–K)

GROUP

1. In class I learn best when I work with other students.
2. I like to discuss class materials with a group of students.
3. I learn more when I study with a group than when I study alone. (–I)
4. I accomplish more when I study alone than when I study with others. (–G)
5. I study best by myself. (–G)

NOTES

[1] This explanation is credited in part to the C. I. T. E. Learning Styles Instrument, Murdoch Teacher Center, Wichita, Kansas 6720.

[2] Also see Wederspahn and Barger (1988) for a discussion of idiomatic language in the Myers-Briggs questionnaire,and its impact on ESL students.

[3] See Oller (1979) for a discussion of the difficulties inherent in attempting to translate tests.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Joy Reid, Betsy Parrish, and Elaine Tarone for their assistance with this project.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Friday Prayer: Describing a Process in Arabic and English Writing

SALAH AYARI AND ELAINE TARONE
University of Minnesota

The academic writing of many foreign students sometimes deviates from the prevalent American rhetorical pattern, characterized as it is by linearity in text development; this deviation has often been blamed on the negative transfer of different rhetorical patterns characteristic of these other languages. The present study used evidence from the writings of Arab and American students to investigate the extent to which students' writing reflects the rhetorical conventions of their native languages, as well as the extent to which writing skills in L1 constitute a good resource for the ability to produce an acceptable piece of writing in the target language. Based on the compositions of three groups of students (five American students, five Arab students with no background in ESL; and 27 Arab students with a good background in ESL), it has been found that the students in all three groups vary in their ability to organize text materials chronologically. As to the third group (the learner group), there was a positive relationship between the students' ability to organize text materials chronologically in their native language, Arabic, and their ability to do so in the target language, English, suggesting that L1 writing skills can be very helpful (and do not necessarily constitute an obstacle) to the learner's ability to produce a high quality piece of writing in L2.

A great deal of research has been done examining the contrastive rhetoric hypothesis first put forward by Kaplan (1966). Contrastive rhetorical studies of Arabic and English have produced conflicting claims. Some of those who have studied Arabic-English interference at the rhetorical level have suggested that Arabic text organization in general is characteristically circular and non-cumulative (Allen, 1970), and that Arabic writing style is usually characterized by parallelism (Kaplan, 1966, 1987; Ostler, 1988), while American writing style is linear (Kaplan, 1966; Irmsher, 1979). However, not all scholars agree with these generalizations. Sa'Adeddin (1989) shows that a linear mode of text development is in fact common in Arabic literature, while Leki (1991) and others maintain that a linear organization is not the only mode of text development adopted by professional native-speaker English writers.

The aim of contrastive rhetorical studies is to show that mode of text development is influenced by the language being used and the rhetorical tradition of those who use that language. But clearly, one's "mode of text development" must also differ in different genres of writing—some genres may demand more "linear" text development than others, regardless of the language being used. The interaction between the genre and the language of the text can only be studied systematically when these two variables are explicitly controlled and varied. In work on contrastive rhetoric, too many studies have focused solely upon the broad genre of exposition, and not enough upon other genres or more specific types of expository writing (cf. Swales, 1990, for a discussion of this problem). In examining the question of the transfer of rhetorical patterns from one's native language into one's interlanguage performance, it is important to obtain data on writing from a variety of genres and, within expository writing itself, a variety of types of exposition. The study described in this paper takes a modest step in this direction, focusing on the type of exposition called *describing a process*, as this enterprise is interpreted by individuals writing in Arabic (their native language) and English (their interlanguage), and by individuals writing in English (their native language).

Describing a process is seen here as an important type of expository writing because it falls in a natural order of organization, requiring the writer to tell things into a time sequence (i.e., to arrange the material chronologically). According to Donald (1991), the description of a process requires three things:

1. The process is analyzed according to a chronological sequence (first this, second this, next this);
2. The process evolves in a series of steps or stages;
3. The process has a particular purpose or end product.

THE STUDY

The Research Questions

The following research questions were examined in the study:

Research Question 1:
To what extent do native speakers of Arabic evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in Arabic?

Research Question 2:
To what extent do native speakers of English evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in English?

Research Question 3:
To what extent do native speakers of Arabic writing in English evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in their interlanguage?

Research Question 4:
Do native speakers of Arabic use the same organization when describing a process in Arabic (their native language) and in English (their interlanguage)?

The Subjects

This study examines the written performances of three groups of writers who are describing the same process: native speakers of English writing in English (Target Language Group), native speakers of Arabic writing in Arabic (Native Language Group), and native speakers of Arabic writing in both English and Arabic (Learner Group). All the subjects were Muslims.

The TL Group consisted of five university-level native speakers of American English; the NL group were five Arabic-speaking university students at the beginning level of ESL with little or no instruction in English composition; and the Learner group were 27 Arabic students with at least three years of instruction in English, and from three to ten years of study in the United States.

The Writing Task

An important factor in task design, discussed by Brown and Yule (1983), is the familiarity of the students with topic. Because of the diverse backgrounds of the subjects who participated in the study (they were from 10 different countries), the task was selected in such a way as to reflect the same knowledge shared by all of them as Muslims (including the Americans): the procedure followed in the Friday prayer. The writing task was as follows:

> A non-Muslim friend of yours would like to know what the Friday prayer (Salatu-l-Jumua) consists of. Please give him/her a thorough description of the whole process of this weekly gathering of Muslims.

In addition to ensuring the familiarity of the students with the topic, the task clearly specifies as a target audience "a non-Muslim friend of yours," which means that the reader is one who is not familiar with the topic at all. The purpose of this specification is to alert the students to the fact that they should be responsible writers, i.e., writers who do not rely on the reader's cooperation to get their intended message across.

Essential Structure of the Writing Task

The task required the students to describe a process consisting of several steps performed in a sequential order. This task can be analyzed in terms of its "essential structure," which in turn will enable us to make a more systematic comparison of the writing performance of large numbers of subjects across languages. To our knowledge, this is the first time that the notion of "essential structure," first described by Brown and Yule (1983) as useful in assessing spoken skills in English, has been used in a study of writing in the area of contrastive rhetoric. We believe that this notion provides an important tool for contrastive rhetoricians to use in systematically analyzing differences in communicative performance due to both genre and language/rhetorical tradition of the writer.

The steps of the process for which the students were held accountable were the "essential structure" of the task: only those steps which turned out to be mentioned in all the highest-rated essays. The process used to establish the essential structure of the task is described in detail in Brown and Yule (1983). All subjects are given the same communicative task to perform—they are not "guided" or controlled as to the *form* of their response in the task instructions. This permits them substantial freedom to decide how to organize their communication, and often results in substantial variability in subjects' performance. As Brown and Yule (1983) point out, such freedom for the subject has in the past presented a problem for the analyst who is interested in comparing subject performance, sometimes across languages. The notion of "essential structure" is a device which permits the analyst to systematically compare variable learner performance in response to a communicative task.

In determining the essential structure of any given communicative task, each subject's performance on that task is analyzed in terms of the actions and objects mentioned in each performance. The essential structure of the task consists of all those actions and objects mentioned by all or most of the subjects, or by all of that subset of subjects independently designated as skilled. Once those actions and objects have been established, it is possible to compare the ways in which different subjects, or groups of subjects, realized them. Actions and objects *not* included in the essential structure are not penalized: they are merely "extra," points of inter-subject variation which may be of interest for other purposes of analysis. The essential structure of the task provides the analyst with several points of comparison that can be used in an objective scoring procedure to compare the performance of large numbers of subjects across languages in terms of their communicative effectiveness and communicative style.

In this study, the use of essential task structure in the analysis was quite limited; we merely used it for objectivity identifying the five central steps in the process. Future analyses might use these points of comparison to examine the *way* in which these five steps are realized syntactically and pragmatically in the essays.

A preliminary evaluation of the composition written in response to the task was carried out by an English composition instructor, who subjectively rated the essays. It was found that five steps of the process of carrying out the Friday prayer were mentioned by all the highest rated essays as well as by most other essays:

1. Person 1 makes Adhan ("call for prayer")
2. Person 2 gives sermon (Part 1)
3. Person 2 takes break
4. Person 2 gives sermon (Part 2)
5. Persons present pray

These five steps are listed here in the order in which they are actually performed in the Friday prayer service. Students were not penalized for giving other steps directly related to the process being described, even though such steps were not given in the basic scoring matrix (cf. Brown and Yule, 1983, for further discussion on scoring procedures using an essential structure).

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

Criteria for Evaluation

The subjects were compared in terms of whether they supplied all five steps in the essential structure of the task, and the order in which they presented those steps. The best essays presented all five steps in a chronological order: that is, in the order in which the steps occur in real time. Steps were not repeated in the best essays. And, where additional details were supplied in these essays, these details were, in our subjective judgement, relevant details (i.e., details that contributed to a clear understanding of the process being described and did not disrupt the flow of ideas).

We were now able to proceed with a detailed rating of the essays, using criteria based upon this preliminary analysis of the essays. Evaluators were given four separate criteria to use in evaluating the student compositions, with emphasis proceeding in order from the most important to the least important:

1. mentioning all five steps of the process;
2. following a chronological order when describing those steps;
3. not repeating the steps;
4. putting in only relevant details (details that contribute to a clear understanding of the process being described and do not disrupt the flow of ideas).

Evaluating the Essays

Using the above criteria, two evaluators carried out their evaluation based on a scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 being the lowest score, 5 the highest). To facilitate the evaluation procedure for the raters, the criteria for the highest rated essays as well as the criteria for the lowest rated essays were provided along with the grading scale, as illustrated below:

As part of the raters' training on how to use the pre-specified criteria and procedures for evaluation, two sample essays were provided for the two raters, illustrating what was to constitute "good" as well as "poor" writing.

Two bilingual raters assigned scores to essays written in both Arabic and English, and these scores were evaluated to determine the degree of correspondence between the performance of the students in English and their performance in Arabic in terms of their organization of the essays written to describe

Lowest score 1.0	Highest score 5.0
1) Steps of process omitted	1) All steps of process mentioned
2) Repetition of steps	2) No repetition
3) Order not chronological	3) Chronological order
4) Irrelevant details	4) All details relevant

the process involved in the Friday prayer service.

RESULTS

1) The Native Language Group

Research Question 1:

To what extent do native speakers of Arabic evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in Arabic?

The native language group consisted of native speakers of Arabic who wrote only in Arabic and who had not been trained in English composition or in an "English linear organization" that could have influenced their Arabic rhetorical conventions. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table 1:

Table 1

Scores assigned to NL group Arabic essays

Case #	Evaluator A	Evaluator B	Average
1	4.8	5.0	4.9
2	4.0	4.0	4.0
3	3.8	4.0	3.9
4	2.5	3.5	3.0
5	2.2	3.0	2.6

Mean = 3.68
Range = 2.6 – 4.9

Clearly, the students in this group vary quite a bit in their ability to exhibit linear text development in writing in Arabic on this task. Their scores range from an average high of 4.9 to an average low of 2.6, with a mean of 3.68.

2) The Target Language Group

Research Question 2:

To what extent do native speakers of English evidence a linear organization in describing a process in English?

Table 2 displays the scores assigned by the two raters to the compositions of the American students:

Table 2

Scores assigned to American TL students

Case #	Evaluator A	Evaluator B	Average
1	4.8	5.0	4.90
2	4.7	5.0	4.85
3	4.5	4.0	4.25
4	2.7	3.0	2.85
5	2.4	2.0	2.20

Mean = 3.80
Range = 2.20 – 4.90

The mean and range of the American TL group is similar to that of the Arabic NL group. Note that the American TL writers vary even more than the Arabic NL group in the degree to which they use a linear text organization, as illustrated by scores ranging from 4.9 to 2.2.

3). The Learner Group

Let us now examine the written products of the Arabic-speaking students to see to what extent their writings in Arabic and English conform to the principles of linearity in text development, and whether such students use the same organization when writing in their native language (NL) and interlanguage (IL). Tables 3 and 4 below display the scores assigned to the Arabic-speaking students in both languages by the two raters. (The subject numbers in each table represent the same individuals; thus, the same individual is Subject 1 in both Tables 3 and 4, and so on.)

Research Question 3:
To what extent do native speakers of Arabic writing in English evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in their English interlanguage?

In Table 3 we see the learner group's scores in writing in English. It is interesting to note that there is quite a bit of variation in the learners' scores, which range from 1.45 to 4.65. Comparing this range of scores with that of the TL group (2.2 to 4.9), we note that 22 learners fell within the TL range, while seven others achieved scores below this range. In general, the variation in the learner group seems greater than the variation in the TL group. Despite this difference, however, a t-test shows that there is no significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups (p >.05).

Table 3

Scores received by the Learner group: English essays

Subject #	Evaluator A	Evaluator B	Average
1	4.8	4.5	4.65
2	4.2	4.5	4.35
3	4.0	4.5	4.25
4	4.0	4.4	4.20
5	3.8	4.5	4.15
6	3.8	4.5	4.15
7	4.2	4.0	4.10
8	3.8	4.0	3.90
9	3.6	4.0	3.80
10	3.6	4.0	3.80
11	3.5	4.0	3.75
12	3.2	3.5	3.35
13	3.0	3.5	3.25
14	3.4	3.0	3.20
15	3.0	3.0	3.00
16	2.8	3.0	2.90
17	2.5	2.5	2.50
18	2.4	2.5	2.45
19	2.5	2.2	2.35
20	2.0	2.5	2.25
21	2.5	2.0	2.25
22	2.4	2.0	2.20
23	2.2	2.0	2.10
24	2.0	1.8	1.90
25	1.6	2.0	1.80
26	1.8	1.4	1.60
27	1.4	1.5	1.45

Mean = 3.10
Range = 1.45 – 4.65

In Table 4, we have the writing performance of the Learner group in Arabic. We note that there is an even wider range of scores, from 1.00 to 4.75. Thus, there seems to be substantial variation in the writing scores of the Learner group, whether they write in Arabic or in their English interlanguage.

Table 4

Scores received by the Learner group: Arabic essays

Subject #	Evaluator A	Evaluator B	Average
1	4.5	5.0	4.75
2	4.8	5.0	4.90
3	3.4	4.0	3.70
4	4.5	5.0	4.75
5	4.0	5.0	4.50
6	4.4	4.0	4.20
7	3.8	3.5	3.65
8	3.0	3.5	3.25
9	4.4	4.5	4.45
10	3.8	4.25	4.00
11	3.0	4.0	3.50
12	4.0	4.5	4.25
13	2.4	3.0	2.70
14	3.4	3.0	3.20
15	3.0	3.0	3.00
16	3.0	2.5	2.75
17	1.5	1.5	1.50
18	2.2	2.5	2.35
19	1.8	2.5	2.15
20	3.0	3.5	3.25
21	2.4	3.0	2.70
22	2.5	2.5	2.50
23	2.5	1.5	2.00
24	2.0	2.0	2.00
25	1.0	1.0	1.00
26	2.0	2.0	2.00
27	1.4	2.0	1.70

Mean = 3.12
Range = 1.00 – 4.75

Research Question 4:
Do the learners use the same organization when describing a process in Arabic (NL) and English (IL)?

In order to examine the relationship between the writing performances of the learner group in Arabic (NL) and English (IL), we present the correlations among the scores assigned by the two raters to the Arabic essays and those assigned to the English essays.

Table 5

Pearson Correlation Coefficients
Between Raters and Across Languages

Rater A Arabic with Rater B Arabic	r = .92
Rater A English with Rater B English	r = .94
Rater A Arabic with English	r = .86
Rater B Arabic with English	r = .87

From the above correlations, we can make two conclusions: (1) The interrater reliability (i.e., the consistency between the two raters) is very high (r = .92 and .94), and (2) the correlations in Table 5 show that the consistency of the ratings across languages is also very high (r = .86 and .87). This means that there is a strong correspondence between the students' performance in English and their performance in Arabic. Most of the students who succeeded in describing the process of the Friday prayer in a chronological order in their native Arabic also succeeded in doing so in English. Similarly, those who failed to show this kind of organization in Arabic (NL) also failed to do so in English (IL).

Since a statistical and quantitative analysis can sometimes obscure important patterns in the data, we provide two sample essays in the Appendix to this article. One essay is drawn from among the eight highest-rated essays, and the other from among the eight lowest-rated essays. For a detailed analysis of these essays, see Ayari (1992).

Here we will merely point out that the writer of the lower-rated essay (unlike the writer of the higher-rated essay) fails to give a clear idea of the sequence of activities performed in the Friday prayer, thereby making it difficult for the reader to fit these activities into a pattern and recreate the whole process in his or her own imagination. As a matter of fact, the student does not even seem to be very aware of the audience, and uses a writer-based prose, a style that reflects the interior monologue of a writer thinking and talking to himself (Flower, 1981, p. 63). This can be evidenced by statements reflecting his assumption that the reader shares some knowledge with him, e.g., "it is better than the day of Fitr and the day of Sacrifice...." No explanation is given about what the 'day of Fitr' or 'the day of Sacrifice' are.

DISCUSSION

We will examine each of the research questions in turn. First, did the native speakers of Arabic evidence a linear (chronological) order in describing a process in Arabic? The answer to this question is complex. First, some of the Arabic writers (none of whom had had ESL instruction) did use a chronological organization in their native language in describing a process. Second, the degree to which the Arabic writers used chronological organization in describing a process varied a good deal; there did not seem to be one single ' Arabic rhetorical style' revealed on this task. Finally, the range of variation in the Arabic writers' use of chronological organization overlaps substantially with that of native speakers of English.

The next question is, do native speakers of English all evidence a linear organization in describing a process in English? Certainly more of the native speakers of English seemed to adhere to a linear development of the text in describing a process than did native speakers of Arabic writing in Arabic. Nevertheless, it is clear that some of the native English speakers did not conform to the writing conventions of the English discourse community, as these have been described by experts such as Kaplan (1966), and Irmscher (1979). It seems to be the case that in the TL group, as in the NL group, some of the subjects were simply not very good writers (more on this below).

Did native speakers of Arabic use a chronological order in describing a process in English? We have shown that the writing performance of the Learner group and the Target Language group did not differ significantly. This means that the native speakers of Arabic are no less capable of organizing an English description of a process chronologically than native speakers of English. There was variation among the learners in both groups in the degree to which they followed a strict chronology in describing a process, but the speakers of Arabic in general did not differ in this regard from the native speakers of English.

Did the learners use the same organization when describing a process in their NL and IL? The high correlation between the learners' performances in both languages indicates that the learners did use the same organization when writing in their NL and IL; others used non-chronological organization in both their NL and IL. Those writers who followed a non-linear pattern thus

901

cannot be said to be transferring some kind of global rhetorical pattern typical of the Arabic culture into their interlanguage, since no such NL pattern was revealed in any of the Arabic subjects' Arabic writing on this task.

In fact, a strong argument can be made that those learners who used a nonlinear organization in their NL and IL can be simply said to lack writing skills in both languages. Such learners also showed the lack of other basic skills, both in their native language and interlanguage. For example, many students who scored low on linearity, whether in Arabic or in English, also did not use reader-based prose (prose that evidences audience awareness) as opposed to writer-based prose (Flower, 1981), which a skilled writer in any language might be expected to have learned. For example, as can be seen in the sample essay in the Appendix, many of the low-linearity students failed to explain terms they used in their essays—terms such as the "day of fitr' "or the "day of Sacrifice," or "Athan'"—even though they knew very well that they were writing for "a non-Muslim friend."

CONCLUSIONS

This study reveals some important facts about the relationship between L1 and L2 writing skills in light of the writing performances of some Arabic-speaking learners of English. First, in a writing task that required them to describe a process, a number of these learners seemed to possess skills of linear text development, which they employed properly in both Arabic and English. It may be that in tasks eliciting other types of writing, these learners might not follow a linear pattern of text development. But in describing a process in writing , many of them were quite successful. At the same time, some of the Arabic writers in this study did not employ this organizational skill in either Arabic (NL) or English (IL) descriptions of a process. This failure of some of the Arabic writers to produce a chronological process description, we argue, is analogous to the failure of some native English-speaking students and is due to a lack of skills and experience in writing in the native language. What often gets transferred in the written products of many Arabic-speaking students or, for that matter, of many foreign students writing in English, may not be so much a particular writing pattern peculiar to their native languages as to the *absence* of writing skills in the native language—skills which Cummins (1984) might characterize as cognitive, academic language proficiency (CALP) skills. It is at this point, we feel, that our study has implications for teachers of students who have native languages other than Arabic; it is possible that a crucial factor for ALL learners of English as a second language for their success in learning to write in English is their ability to write in their native language.

Nevertheless, it is possible that rhetorical differences between Arabic and English do exist in other genres of writing, and could be responsible for the deviation of Arabic writers from English rhetorical conventions. In order to investigate the nature of this kind of deviation, however, it is important to independently assess the native language writing skills of the subjects in a contrastive study, and to ensure that all subjects in the study are judged as proficient at writing in their native language. Finally, we have attempted, for the first time to our knowledge, to apply Brown and Yule's (1983) notion of "essential task structure" to a study in contrastive rhetoric, and have found this notion to be a useful tool in this sort of study. The notion allows the research to achieve a measure of objectivity in comparing the communicative performance of NL, TL, and IL writers while still allowing these writers a good deal of freedom of choice in performing the communicative task. We hope that other scholars will find this framework a useful one.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank Andrew Cohen and Teirab AshShareef for their helpful comments on early drafts of this paper. Many thanks also go to Adriana Sutherland, Omar Al-Saadoun, Houda Badawi, and Nihad Awad for their assistance in the evaluation of essays.

THE AUTHORS

Salah Ayari is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Minnesota. He has taught ESL composition in the Minnesota English Center, and is currently teaching Arabic in the Department of Afro-American and African Studies. Elaine Tarone is a Professor in the Program in English as a Second Language, Institute of Linguistics, Asian and Slavic Languages, at the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

Allen, H. B. (1970). A monotonous dialogue. In F. Larudee (Ed.), *TEFL in the Middle East* (pp. 93–102). Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Ayari, S. (1992). *Exploring the role of NL in L2 writing: Evidence from Arabic learners of English.* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota.

Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1983). *Teaching the spoken language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cummins, J. (1984). Wanted: A theoretical framework for relating language proficiency to academic achievement among bilingual students. In C. Rivera (Ed.), *Language proficiency and academic achievement* (pp. 2–19). Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.

Donald, R. B. (1991). *Writing clear paragraphs*. Prentice Hall.

Flower, L. (1981). Revising writer-based prose. *Journal of Basic Writing*, 3, 62–74.

Irmsher, W. R. (1979). *Teaching expository writing*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kaplan, R. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in inter-cultural education. *Language Learning*, 16, 1–20.

Kaplan, R. (1987). Cultural thought patterns revisited. In U. Connor & R. Kaplan (Eds.), *Writing across languages* (pp. 9–21). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Leki, I. (1991). Twenty-five years of contrastive rhetoric: Text analysis and writing pedagogies, *TESOL Quarterly*, 25(1), 123–143.

Ostler, S. E. (1988). A study of contrastive rhetoric of Arabic, English, Japanese, and Spanish. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 49(2), 245A–246B.

Sa'Addedin, M. A. (1989). Text development and Arabic-English negative interference, *Applied Linguistics*, 10(1), 36–51.

Swales, J. M. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

304

APPENDIX

(English L2, Comp. #1, Mean rating: 4.65)

Friday is the gathering day for Muslims, the same way Sunday for Christians and Saturday for Jews. This gathering takes place at noon and the time varies according to the seasons because the day in Summer is longer than the day in Winter. When the time is due, a person called (Mu'athen starts the (Athan) which is the Muslim form for calling people to prayer, the words of this Athan are as follows:Allah Akbar (i.e., God is Great,...) repeated 4 times; Ashhadu an la Elaha ella Allah (i.e., I bear witness that there is no god except Allah), repeated 2 times; Ashhadu anna Muhamadan Rasoulu Allah (i.e., I bear witness that Muhammed is the Messenger of Allah), repeated twice; Haya 'ala assalah (i.e., Come to the prayer), repeated twice; Haya 'ala falah (i.e., Come to the success), repeated twice; Allahu Akbar (i.e., God is great), repeated twice, La Ellaha illa Allah (i.e., There is no god except Allah).

Topic statement
1. Athan
Explaining
Atan

Then the Imam (the person giving the sermon and leading the prayer) will stand up and start his sermon by praising Allah and invoking his mercy on the believers till the day of judgement. Then start a topic of his own choice and link it to the the Quaran (the book of the Muslims) and Sunneh (the tradition of the Prophet Muhammed p.b.u.h.). After that he asks the Muslims to make supplications for themselves and the others and sits down for a while, then stands up and starts then second part of the Khutba. He also starts by praising Allah and his messenger and continues the subject. Towards the end the Imam concludes by making supplications loudly and the Muslims say Amin. Then he asks the prayer to start and the person who made the Athen will repeat the same call (almost) and people would stand up and follow the Imam in his prayer. This prayer is called Sallat and consists of two units, eat of them is called Rak'a. In each Rak'a the Imam reads Chapter 1 of the Qura'n and any other chapter (or part of it) of his own choice. He repeats that in both Rak'as, and concludes by turning his head to the right and to the left and in each direction says: "Assalamu alaykum," meaning "peace on you."

2. Sermon
(Part 1)
Explaining the sermon
3. Break
4. Sermon
(Part 2)
Second call to prayer
5. Prayer
Explaining prayer
End of pr.

(English L2, Comp. #22, Mean rating: 2.20)

Friday is the best of the days of the week in which Adam was created. The best of the days is Friday. It is the greatest in the account of Allah. It is better than the day of Fitr and the day of Sacrifice.

- It would be better for those who attend the congregation of Friday to be in the best appearance of dressing and cleanliness.

Preparation for f. prayer

- Friday congregation is a must on Muslims, who are free (well- minded, mentally able), mature, physically capable. As far as those ones who are not obliged to attend Friday congregation would include: women, boy, sick people, traveler and those who have an excuse such as (environmental) rain, mud, cold etc..

People exempt from f. prayer

- Friday congregation consists of two (rak'ahs) and its time is noon. It must be performed in a group that consists of at least two people. It could be performed in any place and could be performed in more than one place.

5. Prayer: its conditions

- Friday congregation must have (Khutbah) speech that starts with praising Allah (saying Shahadhs) and bear witness that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his messenger. The speech consists of two parts. Kateeb sits for a while after the first part. Then stands up and completes the second part.

Sermon

Sermon: 1st

3. Break

4. Sermon

- The time of speech should be shorter than time of Friday prayer itself.
- The speech contains reminding of principles of belief (Iman), in Allah, angels, book, messengers.

Content of Friday speech

- After Khateeb finishes his speech he would lead the Friday prayer and attendance would follow him.
- The importance of Friday congregation would strengthen the ties among Muslims, make sure they are doing well in their studies, work, and in every aspect of their life.

5. Prayer again Importance of fr. pr.

GRADUATE PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS

Second Languages and Cultures Education

- M.Ed., M.A., and Ph.D. programs offered
- Full time and adjunct faculty offering a broad range of expertise
- Courses on a wide variety of issues that meet the needs of today's ESL teacher
  - innovative approaches to curricular development and design
  - multicultural, gender-fair curriculum
  - language assessment and program evaluation
  - critical issues in the education of minority students
  - content-based ESL instruction
  - intercultural communication and international development
- Convenient times for courses, including evening, Saturday morning, and summer offerings
- More parking available with the addition of new parking ramps and lots

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

Graduate Studies
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
College of Education
University of Minnesota
159 Pillsbury Drive SE
Minneapolis MN 55455-0208
612-625-2545

The College of Education
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The University of Minnesota is an equal opportunity employer and educator

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Comparing Perspectives on ESL Education: A Case Study of Pine Tree School

KAREN E. DUKE
Saint Paul Public Schools

This article examines the differences in perspectives on ESL education between the academic community and the members of an urban school community. Based on current literature, an "academic perspective" is constructed, which is in support of bilingual instruction and increased collaboration between ESL and mainstream programs. The academic perspective is contrasted with the perspectives of a principal, a parent, several teachers, and a local school board member from the Pine Tree School community. Within the school community, participants disagreed on the level of priority given to ESL by the district, the desirability of the various models of instruction, and the overall quality of the program. The academic and school communities differed in their approaches to instruction and in their apparent knowledge of the other "world."

In the field of second language education, there has been much research on how best to teach English to speakers of other languages. There have been various models for instruction proposed, usually based on theories of how children learn languages. Researchers, not always in agreement, have advocated numerous characteristics that they believe should be present in ESL programs. During my field experience as a student teacher in an urban elementary school, I did not sense that much theory had actually been applied in the establishment of the program in which I was teaching. Although I learned about the merits of whole language and progressive bilingual models at the university, I found myself overwhelmed by a self-contained ESL class of 25 students. What I was learning about and what I was experiencing seemed like two different worlds.

In addition to the discrepancy between the academic and the "real" world, I noticed a variety of perspectives within the school community where I was student teaching. While some of the staff were quite disturbed about the state of the program, others praised its progress. I sensed similar differences between the principal and some teachers. I began to wonder how parents felt, and what the position of the school board was about the condition of the program.

I decided it would be interesting to examine the differences in people's perspectives on the ESL program at the school. This article, therefore, addresses the question, "What are the differences in perspectives on the issue of whether students' needs are being met in the ESL program at Pine Tree Elementary School?"[1]

In addressing the question, I first review the current literature on ESL education and summarize it into an approximated "academic perspective." I then compare that with the perspectives of teachers, a principal, a board member, and a parent, gathered through interviews conducted with these people at Pine Tree School. In conclusion, I summarize the differences in perspectives and their possible implications.

THE STUDY—METHODOLOGY

The research for this article was carried out with the goal of finding what differences exist in people's perspectives on the ESL program at Pine Tree School. The study consists of two parts. First, literature from the field of ESL instruction was reviewed and synthesized to construct what might be called an "academic perspective." For the second part of the study, interviews were conducted with various people in the school community. Participants included two ESL teachers, one mainstream teacher, the principal of the school, a district school board member, and the parent of a student in self-contained ESL.

Participants were asked 10–12 questions in interviews that ranged from 20 minutes to 1½ hours. The questions were slightly different for each type of participant (teacher, principal, etc.). The parent was asked primarily about her child's success in learning English and about what she believes the goals of an ESL program should be. Educators were asked to comment on their sense of how successful the current ESL program at Pine Tree is, as well as what they believe the priorities for the school and the district should be.[2]

---

[1] The name of the school on which this article is based has been changed to protect participants' anonymity.

[2] For a complete list of interview questions, see Appendix.

THE LITERATURE—WHAT ACADEMICS SAY

Few academics have done much critiquing of current ESL programs, especially English-only immersion programs. Freeman and Freeman (1990) offer case studies, but only in the context of informing mainstream teachers of how to work with children with other native languages. Brown (1991), in his examination of the current issues in the field of ESL, also does not attempt to evaluate the current "state of affairs." Instead, he describes the major themes currently being explored in the world of ESL research. Despite this lack of specifically stated perspectives on whether students' needs are being met, an academic perspective can be approximated based on a comparison of recommendations to reality. For instance, if research supports one model, but that model is not in use, it can be assumed that the researcher would not deem the current model to be as successful. It is in this manner that I construct the "academic perspective," which I later compare to perspectives gathered in field research.

The literature will be reviewed in three categories: opinions on the best models for ESL instruction; communication and collaboration between ESL and mainstream programs and the level of integration of ESL into the school; and the level of priority given to ESL by individual schools and districts. After reviewing the literature in these three areas, I will construct the "academic perspective."

Models of ESL Instruction

There are four main models of elementary ESL instruction: bbilingual, pull-in, pull-out, and self-contained ESL. Currently there is no consensus on which is the best, and all of them are in use. Often schools construct programs with elements from more than one model.

Cummins (1984, 1986) advocates a bilingual education model, where the first language (L1) is used for instruction initially, and the second language (L2) is gradually introduced as a second mode of instruction and communication. He argues that proficiency in L1 and L2 are interrelated, and that literacy skills acquired initially in L1 are transferrable and can therefore aide in L2 literacy acquisition. Saville-Troike (1984) agrees, adding that the use of the L1 for conceptual learning will also enhance later learning in the second language. Auerbach (1993) shows that the use of L1 in English instruction can reduce the anxiety of the language learning process, facilitate the incorporation of the life experiences of learners, and allow for a learner-centered curriculum. Other researchers support similar arguments for bilingual education (e.g., Handscombe, 1989; Walker, 1985).

Unlike bilingual models, the other three, pull-in, pull-out, and self-contained classroom models, do not provide for the use of L1 in instruction. In the "pull-in" model, the ESL teacher is "pulled in" to the mainstream classroom. The pull-in model is based on special education programs where students with special needs are increasingly enabled to remain in the mainstream classroom through the presence of special education staff. In pull-in ESL, language and reading lessons are taught collaboratively, with the ESL teacher focusing on facilitating communication between LEP and English-proficient students. The advantages of such an arrangement are many: students are integrated with English-speaking peers, ESL and classroom staff collaborate regularly, and students can learn from their classroom peers. In addition, language learning takes place in the context of other subject matter (Mabbott & Strohl, 1992). The pull-in model, which is in use in Minneapolis, is praised by Mabbott and Strohl as potentially highly successful in integrating ESL instruction into the "regular" classroom.

While bilingual and integrative models such as pull-in do receive attention from researchers, the pull-out model, where students leave their mainstream classroom for a period of time with an ESL teacher, is rarely mentioned. The main benefit of a pull-out program seems to be that ESL students have a place where their needs are exclusively attended to. This advantage, however, is often outweighed by the disadvantages of the model—scheduling difficulties and a lack of collaboration between mainstream and ESL teachers (Mabbott & Strohl, 1992). An additional disadvantage of the pull-out program is the assumption that the short period of time spent with the ESL teacher *is* the children's learning for that day, and that the rest of the day is spent "marking time" until proficiency is acquired (Handscombe, 1989). ESL pull-out programs are also often viewed as a sort of remedial program for students with "problems," although such attitudes can be prevented by ESL staff encouraging the active integration of ESL students into all aspects of school life (Ovando & Collier, 1985).

The fourth model is the self-contained immersion classroom, which is usually used for students who have little or no English proficiency. In a self-contained classroom, ESL students are together in one classroom with an ESL teacher all day. They receive intensive language instruction as well as instruction in other subjects, tailored to their language level. This model seems to be hardly considered legitimate, as it is rarely mentioned in reviews of ESL models. However, it can be advantageous in that the students, who have often recently arrived in the United States, have a sense of belonging to a group they can relate to. In addition, they learn all content through the L2.

911

The main disadvantage of self-contained ESL classrooms is that the students are usually isolated from the rest of the school (Handscombe, 1989; Mabbott & Strohl, 1992). Despite some efforts at mainstreaming for such subjects as gym and music, they rarely have any contact with English-speaking peers (Handscombe, 1989). Such interaction, even when limited to hearing English used by native speakers, can be highly beneficial to ESL students, who can imitate native speakers' pronunciation and can feel a stronger sense of belonging to the school.

Despite the benefits of English-only programs such as pull-in, pull-out, and self-contained ESL, Auerbach (1993) argues against all models where L1 is not a part of the instructional program. English-only can lead to a sense of exclusion, she claims, especially for students with no school background. Also disturbing is Auerbach's conclusion that the English-only movement, which is widely reflected in public schools, has its origins in the political agenda of dominant groups, and not in pedagogical considerations. Seen from this perspective, the use of English only reinforces current power relations between language groups by not granting legitimacy to other languages.

Although there is no consensus about which of the above models is best, there seems to be a common belief in two factors. First, there is wide support for some use of L1 in content-area instruction for ESL students, such as that which occurs in a bilingual model. Second, it is believed that ESL students should be integrated in some way with their non-ESL peers. Examples of integrated models include two-way bilingual settings, pull-out models (with minimal time outside of the classroom), and the pull-in model.

Communication and Collaboration/Integration of ESL Program

Collaboration among teachers and the integration of ESL programs are considered together in this section because one can affect the other. If collaboration between mainstream and ESL teachers is frequent, it is likely that the ESL program enjoys a more integrated, accepted position in the school community. In addition, with increased collaboration, ESL students are more likely to be an accepted and appreciated part of the student body. When a program is isolated, physically or through lack of collaboration, which can happen especially with self-contained ESL classrooms, the mainstream students are unaware of what happens in "that ESL room." The ESL students are viewed as "extra," outside the main student population.

Researchers seem to agree on the need for collaboration among teachers (e.g., Cazden, 1988; Mabbott & Strohl, 1992), and for the prevention of the fragmentation of curriculum, which often occurs when a child sees many different teachers in the course of one day. But, in a study of mainstream classroom teachers' perceptions of LEP students and ESL teachers, Penfield (1987) discovered that mainstream teachers often know very little about what ESL teachers do. Indeed, in programs such as the pull-out, teachers rarely have time available to discuss the curriculum and progress of ESL students. But despite, and indeed because of, the difficulties, integration and collaboration are crucial. If ESL programs remain isolated, children are limited "by the invisible walls between teachers" that result from categorical funding and separate professional worlds (Cazden, 1988, p. 18). Handscombe (1989) calls for,

> a major effort on the part of the school to indicate clearly to *all* students how much they personally, and the cultural and linguistic group(s) of which they are a part, can contribute to the intellectual and social life of the school. (p. 6)

Level of Priority of ESL in the District

Interestingly, I was unable to find literature that directly addresses the question of the priority placed upon ESL within schools and districts. I could find no researchers who mention the role that school districts and administrators have to play in improving ESL programs. This theme is included here, however, because I will return to it later in reviewing perspectives gathered in field research.

Because the purpose of this article is to compare perspectives, the information gathered in reviewing the literature will now be used to construct an approximated "academic perspective" of whether ESL students needs are currently being met at Pine Tree Elementary. Since it would be impossible to consult every piece of research on ESL education, I have attempted to consult a wide sample of opinions. The reader should keep in mind, therefore, that the "academic perspective" constructed here is based on principles which seem to have widespread support in the academic community.

It is necessary here to briefly describe the characteristics of the ESL program at Pine Tree. Pine Tree Elementary provides instruction in grades K–6 for about 500 students. Of those, approximately 100 students participate in some form of ESL instruction every day. The school is in a district that has been overwhelmed by the influx of thousands of Southeast Asian immigrants, who comprise the vast majority of ESL students in the program.

Pine Tree School has two self-contained ESL classrooms, each with 25–30 students. All instruction in the self-contained classes is in English, except for about one half hour per week spent with a bilingual paraprofessional working with a small group (usually only for "lower level" students). There have been some attempts to integrate students from the self-contained classes with mainstream students for gym, music and science; these attempts have had some success. Students stay in the self-contained classes until they are judged to be capable of functioning in a mainstream classroom. The limit is two years, and many do stay that long. A student rarely enters the mainstream within less than six months. Some students, based on their performance in the integrated kindergarten, where all ESL students receive only pull-out instruction, are placed directly in mainstream classrooms. In addition to the self-contained ESL classes, one ESL teacher staffs a pull-out program, working with small groups of mainstreamed ESL students in grades K–6 for one half hour per day.

In considering the best models for ESL, researchers agreed on two important characteristics for any program: use of the first language and integration with English-speaking peers. At Pine Tree, about half of the ESL students are in self-contained classrooms, where integration is severely limited. Because the self-contained classes are quite homogeneous, students often converse in their native language, using English only to speak with the teacher. However, while they do have the opportunity to speak L1 in school, that interaction is only with their peers. Because there are few L1 teachers, they have limited opportunities to develop conceptual or linguistic knowledge in that language, much less than they would in a bilingual model.

The pull-out program is somewhat different. There, because the children are in mainstream classes, they do have the opportunity to interact with English-speaking peers. (The amount of interaction varies among individual students, and is somewhat affected by how much the classroom teacher encourages and facilitates interaction.) However, they do not receive any instruction from bilingual paraprofessionals. In addition, the ESL pull-out teacher discourages the use of L1 in the classroom. In the pull-out model, then, the students rarely have the opportunity to speak their native languages in school.

Overall, then, on the question of whether the models in use at Pine Tree best meet the needs of the ESL students, researchers would probably say no. They most likely would recommend modification of the self-contained ESL program to make the time spent there shorter. In addition, it might be recommended that Pine Tree employ bilingual teachers to teach ESL students in self-contained classrooms, instead of conducting all instruction in English.

Because of the structure of the ESL program at Pine Tree, collaboration between teachers is difficult. There is no time built into the schedule for communication or team teaching for students who are "pulled out" for ESL classes. The staff of self-contained classes has little immediate reason to collaborate with mainstream teachers. In addition, one of the self-contained classes is in a portable classroom, isolating that class from the rest of the school physically. The researchers would probably favor neither the pure pull-out structure nor the segregation of the students in self-contained rooms. To improve the program, they might recommend adding a pull-in element to the program, as well as increasing the opportunities for students in all-day ESL classes to be integrated for certain parts of the school day.

I will not address the issue here of whether ESL needs to be given priority, except to say that it is likely that researchers would recommend that the improvement of ESL programs be given high priority at both the individual school and district levels. Traditionally, as is the case at Pine Tree, ESL has not received resources at a level consistent with the number of students involved in some form of ESL instruction. It is my opinion that the lack of resources for ESL programs will become more of a political issue, especially as parents of ESL students become more active in the politics of school administration.

In summary, researchers would praise the program at Pine Tree School for its successful integration of ESL students into mainstream classrooms. However, they would probably recommend that integration be increased by further limiting the amount of time spent in self-contained classrooms. Some researchers might even recommend the elimination of self-contained classrooms in favor of extended pull-out or pull-in models, which would enable teachers to collaborate and students to be better integrated with native English-speaking peers. Finally, researchers would recommend the establishment of some form of bilingual instruction, especially for beginning English students, so that students could continue to develop conceptual knowledge as they learn English.

With the "academic perspective" complete, we can now turn to the study conducted to discover the various perspectives on the ESL program at Pine Tree Elementary.

INTERVIEW RESULTS—DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Like the above literature review, participants' perspectives are arranged into three categories: models for ESL instruction; collaboration between ESL and mainstream teachers and integration of ESL students into the student body; and the level of priority given to ESL by the school district. Participants' overall opinions about whether the needs of ESL students are being met at Pine Tree will follow the comparison of perspectives in each of the individual categories.

Models of ESL Instruction

To address the issue of models, participants were asked which of the four main models of ESL instruction they believe is best. All participants seemed to agree that none of the models is appropriate for every situation. As stated by the pull-out teacher, students who have recently arrived in the United States and have no English skills require very different services than students who have been in the country for a longer period of time. Therefore, different models should be used in conjunction within a school's program.

In response to the question of which ESL model is best, the school board member asserted that the actual model is not important. Instead of a certain model, what is needed for a successful ESL program are small class sizes, appropriate and common goals, committed teachers, and sufficient resources. According to the board member, Pine Tree Elementary, and indeed the whole city, does not need a new model to improve the program. Instead of reorganizing the program, the district needs to work on setting goals, providing staff development opportunities for current teachers and hiring new ones, and allocating sufficient resources to create smaller classes.

Although no participant advocated one model for every situation, each had opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of the various individual models (bilingual, pull-out, pull-in, self-contained). Interestingly, only one of the six people interviewed even mentioned bilingual models as a possibility for ESL instruction. The ESL pull-out teacher in this study believes that a bilingual program should be a process of weaning students away from their native languages, and not an additive English program. Although she believes that such a "weaning" program could be effective, she also claimed that there are ways of providing appropriate services for students without bilingual teachers. She advocated the use of more paraprofessional bilingual interpreters to support a basically English-only ESL program.

Self-contained ESL programs seem to be widely accepted as a necessary arrangement for newly arrived students who have little or no English proficiency. While no participant wholly praised this model, all accepted it and explained its advantages and disadvantages. In interviews, the principal, teachers, and school board member all remarked that some form of intensive English-immersion instruction is appropriate for students who do not possess the skills to participate in mainstream classrooms. When those students are in the same classroom, the teacher can work with all of them together. An additional advantage, according to the principal, is that the children have their own community, where they have camaraderie and mutual support with children from cultures and backgrounds similar to their own.

Despite the advantages of self-contained instruction, however, several of the participants cited negative features of the model. The ESL pull-out teacher, the self-contained ESL teacher, and the school board member agreed that the students in self-contained classes do not have enough incentive to speak English. At Pine Tree, both of the self-contained classrooms have almost 30 students; the children use English only with their teacher and the handful of classmates with different native languages. The majority of the day is often spent speaking L1 with their peers. The teacher of the self-contained ESL class in this study also mentioned the problem that her students have too little contact with mainstream children. Their isolation gives them even fewer opportunities to speak in English and, according to the ESL pull-out teacher, slows their language learning progress.

The ESL pull-out model was the model most praised by interview participants, although all agreed that some children still need self-contained ESL instruction before being placed in a mainstream classroom. Once the children are in the pull-out program, though, according to the ESL pull-out and self-contained teachers and the principal, they have the benefit of immersion. Immersion is important, participants said, because they become acquainted with native-English speaking children and cannot rely on using primarily L1. A further benefit of ESL pull-out, according to the pull-out teacher, is that students learn,

> ...social skills that I cannot teach them in class....They have the opportunity to learn how American students deal with problems and how they interact with each other, which I think is a valuable skill for them to learn in order for them to deal with living as adults in American society.

Despite the benefits of the pull-out model, though, the school board member pointed out that there is still somewhat of a stigma for the children, which comes from being "pulled out." ESL can be seen as remedial help, she said, or as something for children who have "problems."

The pull-in model, where the ESL teacher is "pulled in" into the mainstream classroom, solves at least part of the collaboration problem. The mainstream teacher in this study believes that pull-in would be a positive addition to ESL at Pine Tree, although the implementation could be somewhat difficult. Interestingly, though, the example she gave of collaboration was, "Here's what we're working on in class; could you help them out in this area?" Such a request is actually what the pull-out teacher referred to when citing her biggest problem with pull-in programs. She said that ESL teachers are often treated as aides, and that they are asked to teach "mainstream support" instead of English language.

An additional problem which the ESL pull-out teacher cited with the pull-in model is that the theoretical collaboration and team teaching, which are part of the model, would be difficult at best. Especially at a school like Pine Tree, which has only one ESL teacher serving up to 50 students in 12 different classrooms, the ESL teacher would be unable, she said, to spend quality time planning and developing lessons with all of the mainstream teachers. Because she would not have the time to participate in lesson planning, she would be forced into the role of supporting lessons and materials developed by the mainstream teacher.

Overall, interview participants did not agree on one particular model. Pull-out ESL seemed to be most popular, but all cited advantages and disadvantages of each model, including pull-out. Rather than one particular model, all respondents advocated a program made up of components from more than one model.

Communication and Collaboration/Integration of ESL Program

As with the question of models of ESL education, there was some general agreement among interview participants on the issue of collaboration among ESL and mainstream staff. All participants who addressed the issue (ESL pull-out teacher, self-contained ESL teacher, mainstream teacher, principal, and school board member) stated that it is very important for ESL and mainstream staff to collaborate on curricular issues and on individual student progress. Unfortunately, though, as all three teachers pointed out, there is little time in the school day for quality cooperation. As mentioned earlier, the pull-out teacher explained that collaboration is often limited to mainstream teachers asking the ESL teacher to help students complete a worksheet or other assignment from their mainstream classwork. In her opinion, a teacher regularly asking for the ESL teacher to support students in their classroom activities is ignoring the fact that the ESL teacher has expertise in the area of teaching language and that she should develop specialized curriculum for ESL students. The school board member remarked that, because of such misunderstandings about how to work together, the district needs to provide more staff development for mainstream and ESL professionals to teach them how to collaborate most effectively.

In addition to their opinions on staff collaboration, participants were asked to comment on whether ESL students at Pine Tree are sufficiently integrated within the school community, or if they are isolated from their English-speaking peers. There was less agreement among respondents on the integration issue. The principal and mainstream teacher believed that the ESL children are integrated; both said that they are accepted and appreciated by their peers in mainstream classes. However, the self-contained ESL teacher and school board member see the situation differently. They believe that the ESL students in mainstream classrooms do "stick together," but that the bond is natural and is not a negative phenomenon. Even in adult communities, they said, people tend towards others with similar backgrounds and life situations. Friends who are "in the same boat" can give empathy and support which they cannot receive from others.

While mainstreamed ESL students may be somewhat isolated, there is no doubt about the extreme segregation of the self-contained ESL classroom from the rest of the school. Children in the self-contained program, their teacher said, rarely have contact with mainstream students. Their isolation stems from two factors. First, especially in the beginning of the year, the children often cannot speak any English. Therefore, the language barrier is too great (so the reasoning goes) for them to communicate with English-speaking children. As their skills begin to improve, usually around mid-year, the principal explained, the staff does attempt to systematically integrate the children into mainstream classes for gym, music, computer, and science. Their attempts have had moderate success.

The second reason for the extreme isolation of the children in self-contained ESL is the natural tendency for them to want to stay together. The teacher of the self-contained class explained that, even more than their mainstreamed peers, her students cling to the support and security that they derive from the other children in their class.

In short, participants agreed that quality cooperation between mainstream and ESL staff is important, but that the situation at Pine Tree is not ideal. While all seem to want the ESL students to be an integrated part of the student body, there is disagreement about how integrated they already are.

Level of Priority of ESL in the District

Some participants in the study believe that the school district gives high priority to the ESL program. Others believe that it is not important to the district. Still others claim that it is important, but for the wrong reasons.

The school board member stated that ESL is a high priority for her, and that she believes it is a high priority for the entire district. In her words, "It is becoming a very visible issue, so they *have* to care" (emphasis hers). The principal at Pine Tree also stated that ESL is a priority for the district. Like the school board member, he said that, as the parents get more politically involved with the district, the issue will become even more of a priority. He implied that the combination of parental pressure and the district's sense of "moral responsibility" to help ESL students will eventually bring improving ESL education to the top of the district's priority list. Currently, he said, the district is doing all it can, especially considering the limited resources available and the unpredictable numbers of new students in the district each year.

It is interesting to note here that, in discussing the history of the self-contained ESL program at Pine Tree, the principal implied that the program actually is less of a priority than he claimed. He explained that, at one time, the program had almost been moved out of the school to make room for a new magnet program, which was created to attract more "minorities" (his term) to the school. It is in fact typical that the district moves ESL children from school to school as they progress through the various stages of the ESL program. The constant transferring is one of the main complaints of ESL parents, according to the parent I interviewed and to both of the ESL teachers. That the transferring might take place in order to make room for another program leads one to wonder whether ESL really is a priority for the district.

The teachers I interviewed certainly wonder. None of the three—the ESL pull-out, the ESL self-contained, or the mainstream teacher—believes that the district is committed to improving the ESL program. The pull-out teacher stated her belief bluntly: "They have no commitment to our program whatsoever." Examples she gave of neglect included a lack of funds for materials and a lack of clear goals. In addition, when asked who is responsible for planning and evaluating ESL programs district-wide, with a note of sarcasm she replied, "No one."

The teacher of self-contained ESL has a similar opinion. She said that the administration is reluctant to look closely at the program. Instead of being concerned with quality, they are concerned with...maintaining the status quo. In her words, "I get the idea that I could sit back and drink coffee all day and no one would really be upset, even if they knew that." When they do pay attention to the program, she believes that their goal is to maintain a certain level of quality in the mainstream classes so that the middle class does not flee the district. Because middle-class parents are the ones who would complain, she said, they are the ones that the district is most eager to satisfy.

Although not as strongly as the ESL self-contained teacher, the mainstream teacher also stated that ESL does not seem to be a high priority in the district. Her opinion is that, although the district discusses making improvements to the program, they don't back it up. "They talk," she said, "and nothing ever happens." In short, while the principal and school board member claim that ESL is a priority for the district, the teachers in the study disagreed.

To summarize, there are significant differences of opinion about various aspects of the ESL program at Pine Tree School. In this study, opinions about specific issues were used, in addition to responses to direct interview questions, to assess participants' beliefs about whether students' needs are being met overall in the program. With the summary of responses complete, we can now consider the differing perspectives on the actual issue of whether students' needs are being met.

Are Students' Needs Being Met?

As with the specific aspects of the program, there are definite differences of opinion about the overall success of the ESL program at Pine Tree School. The principal appears not to be completely satisfied with the current program. But while he acknowledged that it is a "less-than-perfect" situation, he was not optimistic about it being improved, especially given current budget restraints. The mainstream teacher gave generally good reviews of the program: "I think that here it's great." She criticized only the high student-teacher ratio in the self-contained ESL classrooms. The parent had the same complaint, but she also seemed content with the education her son is receiving.[3]

While the principal, parent, and mainstream teacher are at least somewhat satisfied with the program, the other three participants, including both of the ESL teachers, expressed dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. The school board member put it most mildly: she said that there is an awareness within the district of a need for improvement, and that improvement will eventually come. The two ESL teachers expressed more frustration with specific issues—the entire structure of the program, the large numbers of students with which they are required to work, and the apathy of the administration and the district with regards to ESL. Their comments suggest that they believe that the district could do a much better job of meeting ESL students' needs.

---

[3] This parent is an active member of the Hmong Parent Group, which was organized this year at the school to put pressure on the district to provide better ESL instruction for their children. It is possible that, out of respect for the interviewer, a teacher, and because of a slight language barrier, the parent did not express her full discontent with the program. Of course, it is also possible that this mother is satisfied.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES AMONG PERSPECTIVES

In the course of this study, while examining the perspectives of various members of the Pine Tree community and analyzing the academic research on ESL education, I have attempted to conclude what, if any, generalizations or conclusions could be made about the differences among the considered perspectives. The first and most obvious conclusion is that differences do exist. The main points of disagreement are the level of priority given to ESL by the district, the desirability of the various models of instruction, and the overall quality of the program. As demonstrated, participants disagreed to various extents in all of these areas.

The second conclusion from this study is that there is an enormous gulf between the academic community and the "real" world of Pine Tree Elementary School. The lack of attention given in research to the role of school district politics, and social and economic issues in ESL leads one to believe that the academics are either unaware of these issues or that they have chosen to ignore them. In reality, politics and social and economic issues are prominent in the lives of ESL teachers and district administrators.

The fact that some of the issues most important to teachers and administrators are not addressed in the research may be one reason for the school community's apparent lack of awareness of and interest in the academic perspective. The issue of models of instruction is an excellent example of their ignorance. In this study, all participants were asked to comment on bilingual and additive ESL programs such as those advocated by Cummins (1984, 1986), Saville-Troike (1984) and Auerbach (1993). Not one mentioned the possibility, widely supported by researchers, that students continue to be taught in L1 as they learn English. Although the pull-out ESL teacher did comment on bilingual education, she stated that it should be used merely to wean students away from L1 toward an English-only setting. On other issues as well, the participants of the study seemed to have little awareness of the recommendations and opinions of academic researchers. In short, there appears to be mutual ignorance between the two "worlds" of education. They are miles apart in their approaches to teaching English as a second language.

CONCLUSION

It is beyond the scope of this article to state the implications or consequences of such broad differences of opinion among professionals within essentially the same field. However, if there is indeed a need for improvement in the ESL program at Pine Tree, that improvement could be hindered by the disagreements within the community about the state of the program. A first step, therefore, might be to bring together parents, administrators, teachers, and academics in order to create a common vision. According to Dr. Robert Terry (1993), private consultant and former Director of the Center for Reflective Leadership at the Hubert Humphrey Institute for Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, the most important question that the leadership of any organization must consider, and eventually agree upon, is what the ultimate mission of the organization is. In the field of ESL, that question has yet to be considered. People are still squabbling about the lower-level issues of resources, structure, and power. According to Terry, it is only by first creating a common, realistic mission that an organization such as a school district can begin on the road to real success.

THE AUTHOR

Karen Duke recently completed the Postbaccalaureate Licensure Program in Second Languages and Cultures at the University of Minnesota. She is currently teaching in a self-contained ESL classroom in Saint Paul.

REFERENCES

Auerbach, E. R. (1993). Reexamining English only in the classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 27*(1), 9–2.

Brown, H. D. (1991). TESOL at twenty-five: What are the issues? *TESOL Quarterly, 25*(2), 245–260.

Cazden, C. B. (1988). ESL Teachers as language advocates for children. In P. Rigg & D. S. Enright (Eds.). *Children and ESL: Integrating perspectives.* Washington, DC: TESOL.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Education Review*, 56(1), 18–36.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy.* San Diego: College Hill Press.

Enright, D. S., & McCloskey, M. (1988). *Integrating English: Developing English language and literacy in the multilingual classroom.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Freeman, Y. S., & Freeman, D. E. (1990). New attitudes for new students. *Holistic Education Reivew*, 3(2), 25–30.

Handscombe, J. (1989). A quality program for learners of a second language. In P. Rigg & V. Allen (Eds.). *When they don't all speak English* (pp. 1–4). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Mabbott, A. S. & Strohl, J. (1992). Pull-in programs: A new trend in ESL education? *MinneTESOL Journal, 10,* 21–30.

Ovando, C. J., & Collier, V. P. (1985). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms: Teaching in multicultural contexts.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Penfield, J. (1987). ESL: The regular classroom teacher's perspective. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*(1), 21–39.

Saville-Troike, M. (1984). What *really* matters in second language learning for academic achievement? *TESOL Quarterly, 18*(2), 199–219.

Terry, R. W. (1993). *Authentic leadership: Courage in action.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Walker, C. (1985). Learning English: The Southeast Asian refugee experience. *Topics in Language Disorders, 5*(4), 53–65.

APPENDIX

Interview questions were written so that the respondents' answers would help to determine their overall opinion as to whether students' needs are being met by the current ESL program.

1. Parents
    1. Does your child enjoy school?
    2. Has your child made new friends at school? Same native language or different?
    3. Is your child learning English? How do you know?
    4. What should a child learn in school, in your opinion?
    5. Is your child learning what he/she should, in your opinion?
    6. Are you glad that your child is in the self-contained ESL class, or would you rather have her/him in a mainstream class?
    7. How has the process of working out issues such as lunches, bus transportation, and school assignment with your child's teacher and school office been?
    8. Does your child sometimes act "American"? In other words, do you believe that your child has changed since enrollment in school? How do you feel about this?
    9. Given the choice between the current school and a school in your native language taught by native speakers (the children would learn English), which would you choose? Why?

2. School Board Member

    1. Are you familiar with the different models of ESL education in the area (self-contained, ESL pull-out, ESL pull-in, bilingual)? Which do you see as the most successful? Why?
    2. What is your sense of how satisfied families are with the education their children are getting?
    3. Do you foresee an increase or decrease in the level of parental involvement in their childrens' schools? Why?
    4. What do you see as the most important goals for ESL education?
    5. Do you feel that the district is currently successfully educating language minority students in English and in other subject areas?
    6. If so, what are they doing right? If not, what might students need from schools that they are not currently getting?
    7. What changes could be made in order to fulfill those needs?
    8. How would you characterize the relationship of ESL students to non-ESL students in this district's elementary schools?
    9. Who is responsible for planning and evaluating ESL programs and curriculum?
    10. What is your general sense of the level of commitment of the district to maintaining and improving ESL, measured in terms of resources given in this area (materials, funding, staff time, facilities, etc.)?
    11. How much energy is currently spent by the district considering the state of ESL education?
    12. How much is the school board directly involved? Is this a political issue?

3. Principal

    1. How much of your energy do you spend working on issues directly related to the ESL program at your school?
    2. What is your sense of how satisfied families are with the education their children are getting?
    3. Which model of ESL education do you see as the most successful? Why?
    4. Do your foresee an increase or decrease in the level of parental involvement with the school? Why?

    5. What do you see as the most important goals for ESL education?
    6. Do you feel that this district is currently successfully educating language minority students in English and in other subject areas?
    7. If so, what are they doing right? If not, what might students need from schools that they are not currently getting?
    8. What changes could be made in order to fulfill those needs?
    9. How would you characterize the relationship of ESL students to non-ESL students at Pine Tree?
    10. Who is responsible for planning and evaluating ESL programs, both at the school level and district-wide?
    11. What is your general sense of the level of commitment of the district to maintaining and improving ESL programs, measured in terms of resources given in this area (including materials, staff time, facilities, funding, etc.)?

4. Teacher
    1. What is your sense of how satisfied parents of ESL students are with the education their child is getting?
    2. Which model of ESL education do you see as the most successful? (self-contained, ESL pull-out, ESL pull-in, bilingual, etc.) Why?
    3. What is the level of parental involvement in their childrens' schooling? Do you foresee an increase or decrease in involvement in the future? Why or why not?
    4. What do you see as the most important goals for ESL students, both in English and in other subject areas?
    5. Do you believe that the district is currently meeting those goals?
    6. What changes could be made in order to meet those goals?
    7. How would you characterize the relationship of ESL students to non-ESL students at Pine Tree?
    8. Who is responsible for planning and evaluating ESL programs, both at the school level and district-wide?
    9. What is your general sense of the level of commitment of the district to maintaining and improving ESL programs, measured in terms of resources given in this area (including materials, staff time, facilities, funding, etc.)?

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Mainstreaming LEP Students: The Case of the Hmong

Jeff Dufresne
Saint Paul Public Schools

Focusing on Hmong refugees in Saint Paul, Minnesota schools, this article considers the difficulties faced by recently-arrived refugee and immigrant students and their families, including cultural-generational conflicts as well as academic difficulties. In addition to reviewing important language research, the study presents new data. The author has compiled SRA test statistics for Hmong 10th-graders at a high school in Saint Paul who fit into particular "time-in-country" categories. These statistics highlight instructional and programming dilemmas faced by students and teachers at the secondary level. Implications for programming include bilingual classes, "sheltered" content-area classes, partnerships with outside organizations to offer instructional and cultural support, vocational education, and classes in native language literacy and culture.

They are coming from all countries. Los Angeles school district alone must cope with eighty-one languages. Some immigrant children do well, but the "mass of immigrant children lack the advantages of education. More are coming poverty-stricken, malnourished, ill, or, in the cases of refugees, traumatized by violence they have seen or suffered in their countries.... It is something out of Dickens" (Nazario, 1989).

In the United States, which has experienced waves of newcomers since its inception, immigrant problems have a long history. However, recent years have witnessed a change in the world economy from an industrial to a technological age. The time seems to have passed when those who couldn't speak the language, or lacked education and skills, could support families through assembly line, agricultural or unskilled construction work. Today's emerging new jobs require more education. Given the economy's needs, all schools are stretched to their limits to educate well. But urban schools, with their larger percentages of immigrants and poor, cannot keep up. "Too much diversity and not enough dollars" seems to be the routine answer to the complaint.

It is unclear if our society has ever been able to effectively provide a high level of education to the majority of immigrants or their children. But in the past, more employment opportunities existed for those who simply did not acquire a good education. Today, if a child fails to adequately learn English or cannot do the academic work required to gain an adequate education, it is quite likely that the child will be only marginally employable, perhaps joining the welfare roles. As with all students, the less adequately refugee students are educated the greater the likelihood of future costs to society in the form of unemployment, crime, social welfare, justice programs, rehabilitation, food stamps, low income housing, and fewer tax dollars.

POSITION AND PURPOSE

This article takes the position that the programs and structure of many American schools fit very poorly the needs of many refugee, immigrant and other limited-English proficient (LEP) students, and that as a result, we are indeed undereducating a substantial number of young people. An "assimilation" model underlies the structure of most schools. Schools stress "mainstreaming" as the best way to ensure an equal education for all and to keep at bay the specters of segregation and discrimination. Yet, many LEP students have language, academic, and cultural-adjustment needs which cause them great difficulty in making progress in "mainstream" academic classes—needs which may render the assimilation or mainstreaming model counterproductive under certain circumstances. To put it another way, providing an equal education for all may not be as simple as just putting everyone in the same classroom.

Although this article offers suggestions regarding alternatives or additions to the programs offered in most schools, these suggestions are merely possibilities. This article is not intended as a provision of all the answers or in any sense as a cookbook. Its purpose is to "spotlight" the issues and start discussion regarding ways of ameliorating the dilemmas facing schools and students.

To this end, and for the sake of making a complex problem a bit more concrete, this article will focus on the experience of only one group, Hmong refugees from Laos, in one large city school system, St. Paul, Minnesota. Information will be presented regarding the background and culture of the Hmong, as well as particular difficulties that many students are having, both in terms of cultural or generational conflicts at home, and academic or adjustment problems in school. Current research regarding academic needs of refugees will be reviewed, and recent research by the author will be presented.

The programs available in the St. Paul Schools will also be presented with attention given to the manner in which the approaches taken may ignore or exacerbate the difficulties faced by students and staff alike, that is, the extent to which the programs "fit" the needs of the students. Lastly, alternatives will be considered which may offer the promise of providing a better education for many Hmong and other LEP students.

THE HMONG

Background and Culture

The Hmong began arriving in the United States from Southeast Asia in 1975. Allied with the United States during the Vietnam War, the Hmong were forced to flee their native Laos. Prior to the war, the Hmong had primarily been an agrarian people who kept themselves separate from their linguistically different neighbors. Though money was occasionally used when dealing with ethnically different people, bartering with goods was a more typical way of doing business. Exchanges of goods and services were routine within a Hmong village. All members of the village were constantly aware that cooperation between community members and cohesiveness of the group were paramount in maintaining the social structure that served and protected the community. The cousin who assisted in the planting of crops could count on assistance in the event of sickness or injury. A clan structure evolved which codified the relationships and responsibilities of all members. A proper marriage of one's daughter to a boy of another clan in a neighboring village ensured harmony between groups and strengthened mutual assistance bonds. This sense of cooperation and cohesiveness necessitated a willingness of members to put the good of the family, the clan, and the village ahead of the particular desires of the individual. Discussion, compromise and consensus were important in decision making, and though a village leader might have the last word, group input had to be sought. A leader who appeared to be making decisions not based on group good could easily be voted out. It was, in essence, a democracy. When conflict arose between individuals, great care was taken that it be resolved with discussion and that a just settlement be found. Again, a central goal was harmony of the group. The clan structure, with its responsibilities and obligations, curtailed individual freedoms and choices, but provided both physical and emotional security and helped the Hmong avoid crime, juvenile delinquency, and other social problems (D. Yang, 1990a).[1]

Prior to the Vietnam War, few Hmong received any sort of formal schooling. As of 1984, 68% of the Hmong children in the St. Paul and Minneapolis school systems and 90% of their parents had *no* formal schooling before coming to the United States (Sonsalla, 1984). The few who had attended school generally had acquired only a marginal education in Laotian or Thai schools, studying in a language other than Hmong. Except to the extent that individuals had been exposed to aircraft, radios, and weapons during the war, few Hmong had any real familiarity with the high-tech world most Westerners take for granted (T. Yang, personal communication, August 15, 1992).

Although formal education might have been lacking, children received continual instruction from parents, extended family, and neighbors in the history and traditions of the Hmong people. Social and moral values, the codes of conduct and ethics that acted as the glue of the clan and village system, were taught at the fireside rather than in a classroom. In the absence of television, discussion and storytelling drew adults and children together (D. Yang, 1990a).

As the Hmong fled Laos and were resettled in the United States, they encountered profound differences in language, culture, values, economic life, technology, education, and family structures. Some refugees have adapted to these differences and perhaps find themselves better off financially than they were in their home country. The impact of American culture, however, has had some alarming effects.

Cultural / Generational Conflicts

> Over the last few years, the Hmong refugee community in the United States has been struck by a social phenomenon until now unknown in Hmong traditional society. Some call it a crisis of adolescence; others consider it as an urban problem; still others describe it as a result of culture shock. This social phenomenon is the generation conflict.... Hmong teenagers, uprooted from their own culture and thrown into the middle of an industrial society for which they are not prepared, find themselves torn between two different worlds.... They are buffeted by brutal social changes over which they have no control. This generation conflict is characterized by rebellion of the youth against traditional Hmong social order which, which according to elders, has preserved Hmong social harmony across the centuries. (D. Yang, 1990b)

To their credit, many if not most Hmong young people learn ways of accommodating both the culture of their parents and that of their American classmates, though they are often inadequately prepared to deal very well with either. Unfortunately, for many others, the situation becomes more dysfunctional. While considering themselves "Hmong," they often have little knowledge of traditional ways and moral values. In America, the systems for transmitting traditional culture are missing or impaired, and seldom do these young people avail themselves of the opportunities that might exist to learn "how to be Hmong." Commonly young people reject their parents' concerns and values, feeling their parents know nothing of the new country and therefore have no real advice to give.

A sort of "role-reversal" often occurs which causes children to lose respect for parents. Because children attend school and learn English more quickly than adults, they commonly become the ones the family depends upon for all contact with the English speaking world: social service paperwork, bills, house rent. This creates a role reversal in which parents and other adults of the family are devalued (Hall, 1988).

> The youth lose respect for the elders who, they think, cannot teach them anything about the new world and who cannot help them at all with their adjustment to a new culture. As a result, they seek to impose their own rules at home, doing whatever they want, going out with whomever they please, and coming home at all hours of the night, without any restrictions. If they sense any opposition or receive any reprimands from the family, they may simply quit school and run away from home. (D. Yang, 1990b)

Minnesota's welfare system has also had a detrimental effect on the relationship of young people to their elders. Dao Yang points out that, while economic realities dictate that many Hmong people require some sort of assistance, aspects of the welfare system have been quite negative for the Hmong as a group. Welfare has contributed strongly to the destruction of the solidarity and cohesiveness of the Hmong social system. Welfare, public housing, and medical assistance are provided to individuals or to nuclear families. This frees individuals to ignore social pressures brought to bear by the extended family, the clan, and the greater Hmong community. The individual does not "need" the clan. Protection, security, shelter, and sustenance are provided by the state. Because the clan and greater Hmong community has lost much of its power to assist, it also has lost its power to force people to conform.

In Laos, if the individual ignored the will of the majority (the clan), he/she risked not receiving the assistance of the group at a future time when that help might be needed. In the United States, no such threat exists. Here, at worst, there is the social cost of gossip or backbiting. For teenagers choosing not to listen to their parents or to accept Hmong values, adult gossip may be meaningless; therefore, there are few sanctions which might force them into line. Although corporal punishment was considered reasonable in Laos, in the U.S., Hmong parents voice the belief that they cannot discipline their child in any way or they will be arrested (D. Yang, 1990a).

If a teenager has rejected Hmong values as "old fashioned," the clan is unable to exact any psychological sanctions which might keep bad behavior from ever occurring or which would serve as a punishment. The welfare system may literally reduce the respect of the teenager for the parent who clearly is not providing for the family but is simply being taken care of, like a child (M. Mouachuepao, personal communication, 1989).

A number of thoughtful observers have speculated about the difficulties which might be experienced by a cooperative, agrarian people who are suddenly thrust into a competitive, capitalistic urban setting. It would appear that the Hmong could provide an excellent case study. Presently 60% of Minnesota's Hmong people receive welfare funds and few adults have prospects for employment due to very limited English proficiency and few transferable job skills. Yet, in spite of employment difficulties, *it is the youth problem that most concerns Hmong leaders*.

If some Hmong youth seem intent on rejecting the culture of their parents, we might hope that they at least would embrace American culture, making a rapid, if somewhat painful, transition to their adopted home. Unfortunately, this is often not the case.

Hmong young people attend American schools but often have few close American friends. Much of what they know of American culture is learned from television, which provides a distorted view at best. Many pretend to live the American way of life but often have only a superficial understanding of the American system or American spirit. They often interpret the concept of "freedom" to mean that there are no restrictions on their actions or personal desires. To put it another way, many give up their Hmong values without truly acquiring real American values. Instead of interacting with adults around the fireside, learning traditions and moral values, they ignore the adults, watch TV and talk to other teenagers, usually other Hmong teenagers who are as disaffected as they (D. Yang, 1990b).

Clearly, not everything being absorbed from TV or from classmates has been positive. The number of arrests of Hmong juveniles has skyrocketed in the last four years. Auto thefts in St. Paul nearly doubled in 1989 alone, and based on arrest statistics, this doubling was due almost entirely to the increase in Hmong teenagers who became involved in stealing cars. Gang activity, seemingly nonexistent in 1987, is now accepted as routine, with Hmong gangs of more than 200 members reported. Several gang-related deaths have occurred in recent years (deFiebre, 1992). This rise in gang activity baffles Hmong parents who feel unable to control their children. Hmong police officers and elders feel that while much of this is due to TV and a loss of traditional values, some of it is also a function of the fact that many Hmong live in St. Paul's toughest neighborhoods where they must contend with other non-Hmong gangs. Further, many gang members seem to be those who are having the greatest difficulties with school and therefore seek status and power elsewhere.

> The two leading indicators for Hmong kids being involved in gangs is one, having no father at home, and two, the kids who do very badly in school. We don't know if they join gangs because they are poor students or if they are poor students because of the gang. But most likely, the kids who have no success in school, they want something. If you can't be smart, be tough. (Cha, 1992)

A STUDY OF HMONG STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PROBLEMS

The problems of the cultural/generational conflict are exacerbated by the general difficulties students experience in schools. The Hmong simply have not experienced the type of success some other Asian groups have had in school (Walker, 1988). This is not to say that all Hmong students are doing poorly. On the contrary, some are doing quite well. However, my recent study of tenth graders at a high school in St. Paul indicated that Hmong students who fall into certain categories based upon their time in the U.S. are without question facing an uphill struggle.

Of the school's nearly 1500 students, about 400 are Hmong, comprising roughly 26% of the total enrollment; this is somewhat above the district average of 20% Hmong.[2] Hmong students were surveyed regarding a number of factors which might relate to academic success in high school. The results of SRA (Science Research Associates) standardized test scores were then compiled to be considered as a measure of the success of individual students and as a predictor of future academic success. When the various test scores were compared, the factor that stood out as the strongest predictor of success was the length of time the student had been in the country ($r = 0.845$, Pearson Product-Moment correlation). Scores were then grouped into the following four categories: students who had been in the country eight years or longer, those who had been in the country five to seven years, those who had been here three to four years, and those who had been here two years or less. These categories correspond approximately to the following percentages of the school's Hmong population:

•8 or more years in USA	49%, or roughly half of the Hmong students, about 200
•5 to 7 years in USA	13%, about 50 students
•3 to 4 years in USA	17%, about 70 students
•1 to 2 years in USA	21%, about 80 students

The percentages shown are based on the responses of students surveyed. The student totals are estimates based on the general enrollment of Hmong students, not all of whom took the SRA tests during the 1991-92 school year. An examination of 188 Hmong 10th graders' SRA test scores in each category revealed the results shown in Figure 1.

These statistics reveal that Hmong tenth-graders who started American school in kindergarten, first, or second grade are performing as a group near national averages except in reading where their scores dip to 40%, indicating that these students are about one grade level behind the national average. This lag in reading development might be expected to be the result of a non-English home environment, a lack of English reading materials at home, and the inability of the parents to read to their children or otherwise encourage and assist with their academic development. We might also expect that poorer reading abilities could have a negative effect on progress in other academic courses. Yet, in an overall sense, the academic picture would not appear to be so ominous for Hmong youth who entered the U.S. as young children.

Statistics of this sort, however, tend to ignore the likelihood that by tenth grade, a fairly significant number of Hmong students may have already left school. This appears to be particularly true for Hmong girls who, even after being in the U.S. a number of years, still tend to marry in their middle or even early teens. Figures from the Minnesota State Department of Education (1989) reveal that statewide, 665 students who were classified as "Limited English Proficient" dropped out during the 1989 school year. By comparison, that year 389 LEP students graduated from high school, and 674 LEP students successfully exited from LEP programs to fully mainstreamed programs. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that many young people fail to register for school and simply disappear from the system instead of formally "dropping out." Hmong leaders suggest that these are the very students who are doing most poorly. Further, though the mean of the SRA scores for "8+ years-in-country" group appears to fall in the average range, one-fifth of the students were in fact scoring below the 25th percentile, indicating very substantial academic problems.

As we examine the scores of Hmong tenth-graders who began school in

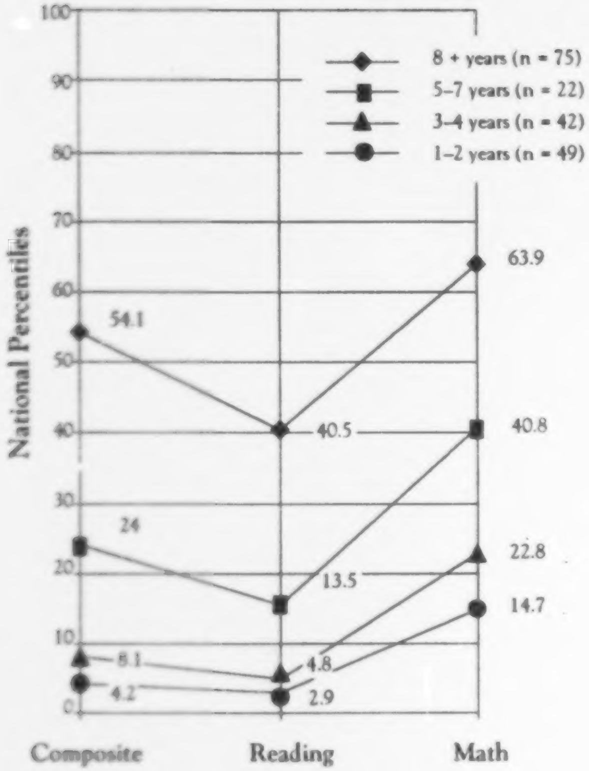


Figure 1: Mean SRA Test Scores of Hmong 10th-Graders at a High School in St. Paul, Minnesota (Fall 1991) (Relative to Time in Country)

upper elementary grades (5–7 years in U.S.), we see students who clearly have not caught up to their American peers. With a "composite" SRA mean of only 24% and a reading mean of only 16%, those students almost certainly encounter difficulties with most academic subjects, lagging at least three grade levels behind their American peers.

The picture looks even bleaker for those who entered U.S. schools even later. Few of them have a realistic hope of competing in a mainstream classroom. With an SRA composite mean of 8% and a reading mean score of

4.8%, these Hmong students with only three to four years of school in the U.S. face mainstream classrooms in which the vast majority of the other students are far better prepared to deal with the subject content than they are. The scores of students who have only been in the U.S. for one or two years are lower still. Students from this group who were interviewed after the test said that they understood very little beyond the section on math computation and that the reading was far too difficult.

It should be noted that for each "time-in-country" grouping, the math scores were the highest of the areas tested. This could reflect the notion that math is less "language-bound" than the other subjects, allowing all to compete more easily. It is also important to note, however, that math is one of the few areas in which St. Paul Schools has allowed a degree of bilingual instruction; that is, Hmong students have often had access to bilingual teachers and aides who could assist them in understanding the concepts and word-problems they encounter in math class.

Overall, these statistics suggest that schools should be most immediately concerned with those students who enter the country in junior or senior high school and perhaps even in late elementary school, and that we should be seeking alternative methods and programs for these students who presently appear to have little chance of catching up to their American peers academically. We should also be concerned about that percentage of Hmong youth who came to the U.S. as young children but have had little academic success and by high school may have become discouraged and disaffected. Though the statistics clearly demonstrate reasons for concern, we might further ask why students are not adapting more quickly.

OTHER RESEARCH ON THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF LEP STUDENTS

For ESL and bilingual teachers, the preceding statistics are not particularly surprising, but for non-specialists, some explanations are in order. The results of the study above parallel those of a larger one done by Collier (1987), who studied the academic progress of students who had entered the country with education levels commensurate to that of their American age-peers. Collier found that students entering the U.S. at ages five to seven generally reached the fiftieth percentile on the SRA before leaving elementary school. She found that eight- to eleven-year-olds were the group which made the most rapid progress, requiring between 2 to 5 years to reach the national average. Twelve- to fifteen-year-olds required 6 to 8 years to reach the fiftieth percentile, though most in this last category would never be able to reach this level before age ended their high school careers. Collier's study pointed out just how long it takes for LEP students to become competitive with native speakers of English, even when the students have entered the U.S. with an educational level equivalent to that of their American peers. Collier's work supports the view of Cummins (1976, 1980, 1981) which is that while basic interpersonal communication (speaking and listening skills) is generally learned within two years, cognitive academic language proficiency (reading and writing skills) takes far longer and that if students have become quite capable of dealing with abstract written language in the first language, these skills are readily transferable to the second language. Collier's findings that older LEP students require more time to "catch up" to native speakers is explained by the fact that the SRA exams become more complex with each grade level, requiring increasing content-area knowledge. Yet, while engaged in learning English for at least the first two years in the U.S., the content-area education of these students is interrupted. They are placed in a difficult position, analogous to trying to jump on a moving train which continually gathers speed. It is easiest to do at the beginning and becomes increasingly difficult as time passes.

Since Collier's subjects entered the U.S. with a fairly good prior education, it should not be surprising that as much difficulty as they had, they nevertheless did much better than the Hmong students of St. Paul, who, for the most part, have entered American school with little or no prior education. Without this education, students have no academic reading skills to transfer into the new language, little background knowledge of the various subject areas to bring into the new reading situation, and are even unable to translate unfamiliar words with bilingual dictionaries. Without this background knowledge, with few reading-comprehension skills, and with a limited vocabulary, much of the material they are expected to absorb is, in fact, incomprehensible.

Ironically, in spite of the fact that the students are surrounded by spoken and written English in mainstream classrooms, very little progress is made in reading, the crucial element in academic success. This irony is explained by related theories of linguists and reading specialists. The "Threshold" theory (Cummins, 1980; Laufer & Sim, 1985) suggests that below a certain reading and language competence level, or threshold, students are unlikely to apply effective reading strategies. This threshold reflects the students' background knowledge and has also been referred to as "receptive competence" (Tudor & Hafiz, 1989). The message of a given text is rendered useless if the receiver does not have the skills or background to understand it. Krashen's work (1989) suggests that "comprehensible input" appears to be responsible for far greater increases in vocabulary and reading comprehension than any sort of direct instruction of vocabulary or language structure. Students whose receptive competence is very low, however, are unable to absorb and understand the writer's input, which therefore remains incomprehensible. "Schema theory" (Brandsford & Johnson, 1973; Rummelhart, 1982) suggests that as we read, we access schemata that seem to relate to what we are trying to understand. Some of these are syntactic schemata; others are information-based. The more knowledge we have of given topics and language structures, the better we understand new but related material. The more limited our background, the more likely it is that we will simply not understand what we are trying to read and will gain little from the experience except frustration.

Whether it is called comprehensible input, receptive competence, threshold, frustration level, schema, or simply "background knowledge," it all simply means that students who bring little into the reading or educational experience are not in the position to get much out if it. Elementary and reading teachers are aware of this and tend to do a variety of context and background building activities to generate interest, make up for deficits students may have, and improve comprehension. Some of the methods which have shown promise include story-mapping or charting to teach organization of stories (Gordon & Braun, 1983; Pearson, 1982); macro-cloze and scrambled stories which encourage students to finish stories or put them in sensible order (Whaley, 1981); advanced organizers to focus on structure and context of the reading material (Swaby, 1983); inferential strategies to encourage prediction based on what is known (Hansen, 1981); and a variety of questioning techniques which focus students' attention on the material, on the context, or on what is known or can be inferred (Aulls, 1978; Herber, 1978; Raphael, 1982; Tabs, 1975).

These are all worthwhile methods which focus on building background knowledge prior to the reading experience or which otherwise improve comprehension. Unfortunately, most are used only by elementary school teachers who know the needs of individual students very well and define their job in terms of building basic reading skills and basic knowledge. In secondary schools, teachers commonly see themselves as teaching a subject rather than a basic skill. They know the needs of individuals less well because they see 150 students per day instead of 30. The increased volume and abstract nature of the reading makes it more difficult to do pre-reading activities or walk the students through the written material. Secondary teachers assume that, although there will be a certain range of abilities, most students will have basic skills and knowledge on which to build, and of course, this is generally the case. If some students are remarkably deficient in skills or background, secondary teachers often feel it is beyond their abilities and/or job description to remediate them, which it may well be. LEP students "mainstreamed" into these classrooms are quite unlikely to receive needed additional assistance.

Into this situation come the Hmong, who in terms of academic background, have had precious little to bring into the American school experience. It should, therefore, not be surprising that they have met with difficulties, particularly at the secondary level. In fact it should be surprising that they have done as well as they have, considering their lack of formal education in the home country, the persecution they have endured as refugees, their poverty, and their minority status in the U.S.

ST. PAUL SCHOOLS: MAINSTREAMING + ESL

Prior to 1978, St. Paul had so few LEP students that they could be pulled out of their regular school and transported to an elementary school for a portion of every day for special tutoring and instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL). After 1978, large influxes of Hmong and other refugees forced the district to establish ESL programs in various schools. Because there were so few people available who were trained to teach ESL and virtually no bilingual staff, teachers from a variety of subject areas were pressed into service to teach ESL. Some self-contained ESL classrooms were created at the elementary level, though the majority of students were dealt with on a pull-out basis, receiving one to five hours of ESL per week in addition to their mainstream instruction. At the secondary level, students were given one to three hours of ESL per day depending upon their level and mainstreamed into classes deemed most appropriate by counselors. In some schools, counselors tended to give the new Hmong students exactly the same required courses as all other students, while in other schools, students were assigned less academically challenging mainstream classes such as art and physical education, until it was deemed appropriate to place them in science, social studies, and more difficult reading-intensive classes. The only bilingual classes created were in math and health and these only in a few schools. In 1983, Minnesota mandated ESL licensure and from that point on, the district began to seek and hire trained ESL teachers (Dufresne, 1984).

Except for the fact that most of the ESL staff are now licensed, the LEP program in St. Paul today is largely unchanged from that of 1979. Because of the great difficulties that Hmong LEP students have had in certain academic subjects, ESL staff have often found themselves teaching or assisting with "content-material," such as science and social studies, within the framework of ESL classes. In some schools, this occurs within the context of regular ESL classes, whereas in other schools, ESL teachers have actually created "LEP social studies" classes. Still other schools have created "resource classes" which are devoted to assisting students with the problems they are having with mainstream classes. While many ESL teachers have been willing to do this necessary task, they have been concerned about the precious time this takes away from the crucial job of teaching language. ESL staff and members of the Hmong community therefore requested that bilingual classes or LEP-targeted content-area classes (often called "sheltered classes") be created with staff licensed in those subjects. The concern was strong enough that a committee of all secondary ESL chairpersons brought the issue to the attention of the office of the superintendent. For these ESL teachers, experience had verified the theories discussed above; the Hmong students were simply not benefiting from the mainstream content-area classes, nor were the mainstream classes having any discernible positive effect on English acquisition. The ESL teachers hoped to see classes created where students with similar problems could receive instruction at a level and rate they could understand, with attention paid to their needs for extra background information and language development.

Though St. Paul has had a court-mandated Spanish-bilingual program since 1976, Hmong-bilingual programs have remained available only for math classes in four buildings. The school district has chosen not to endorse the creation of sheltered content classes using the certified personnel of the mainstream departments. ESL teachers in some schools have been allowed to teach sheltered social studies classes though permission has been inconsistent. While the rationale behind the policies has never been published by the school district, my discussions with various district administrators revealed the following concerns:

1. Special content classes just for Hmong or other LEP students could be construed as segregation, a situation which might cause the district problems with the Office of Civil Rights or other governing agencies and could perhaps lead to a lawsuit.
2. The district would be doing a disservice to Hmong students by *not* mainstreaming them fully. The students would feel "inferior" if they were placed in a special class away from the native speakers. Special classes would just delay the inevitable jump into the mainstream and in fact would provide an inferior education.
3. Some administrators revealed that they believed that bilingual classes were simply "Hmong language classes." Simply put, they did not believe that the students would learn English if they were receiving instruction in Hmong. Again, the view was that the child was being shortchanged and that English acquisition would be delayed.

4. Students should learn and come to embrace American culture and values. When issues of the school's role in maintaining the traditional values of the Hmong child were raised, the feeling was that this task is outside the role of the school.

5. ESL and bilingual classes are viewed as short-term solutions that should not be allowed to overly disrupt the regular school schedule. Prior to 1978, these classes were not an issue, but some administrators seem to feel that when Hmong immigration stops the problem is likely to go away. Unfortunately this attitude ignores the fact that other groups with problems similar to the Hmong (e.g., lacking prior education in their native language) will continue to arrive: Ethiopians, Central Americans, etc. Furthermore, St. Paul Schools now have a 22% Asian population which is not about to go away.

Many ESL teachers and some members of the Hmong community remain frustrated at the school district's failure to consider the research of Cummins, Collier, and others, and to alter its approach to education of the Hmong LEP students. At the 1990 MinneTESOL conference, a panel of linguists, ESL and bilingual teachers, and Hmong students concluded that the failure to embrace bilingual education and/or sheltered content classes has had the following ongoing effects in St. Paul and other districts:

1. *ESL teachers focus on vocabulary development and content area information, and spend inadequate time on crucial language structure issues*. ESL teachers become responsible for a wider variety of tasks than are normally expected or can effectively be done with limited time. As language teachers, they are normally expected to impart the basic structures of English, provide the students with the opportunity to practice these structures in oral and written forms until they are fluent in the language, and teach enough high frequency words to give meaning to the structures so students can communicate or converse in an ordinary manner. However, when students enter with large knowledge deficits, have few transferable reading skills, and cannot use bilingual aides to help themselves, the ESL teacher often finds it necessary to deal extensively with reading and vocabulary development. Furthermore, teachers must spend additional time teaching content area facts and concepts in order to assist the students in understanding the material being read and to deal with mainstream classes they are in (or soon will be in). A common result: inadequate time is spent on crucial language issues. Students often

never completely understand the structure of the language and exhibit ongoing speaking and writing problems and related reading-comprehension problems.

2. *Students exit ESL with inadequate general knowledge and vocabulary background.* In this case, students flounder in mainstream classes, expending much effort with little gain because the language level of the coursework is so far beyond them that they can understand little and cannot use bilingual materials to help themselves. Commonly students sit quietly, study hard (though ineffectively), copy answers from classmates or the text to hand in for homework, and are given passing grades because of conduct, attendance, attitude, and hard work.[3]
3. *ESL students pass mainstream content classes without truly understanding the material and are unprepared to deal with more difficult academic or work-related tasks.* Some are allowed to speak and write ungrammatically throughout high school and are thereby precluded from effectively continuing higher education and are excluded from many employment possibilities.
4. *Many ESL students become jaded or disaffected due to continual frustration, sometimes exhibiting behavior problems or choosing to drop out.* These become prime candidates for gangs.
5. *Mainstream teachers face great frustration and additional work when encountering LEP students in their classrooms. Either they ignore the special problems of the LEP students and teach the main body of students the appropriate material or spend large amounts of time in remediation of LEP students, perhaps ignoring the needs of others.* If the LEP students are quite deficient in language and general knowledge, if the gap is too great between LEP and regular students, the teacher is very likely to give up. More often than not, it is the LEP student who will lose out.
6. *ESL students are either allowed to flounder in classes over their heads or are continually scheduled into classes with little academic substance: physical education, art, industrial arts, home economics.* In either case, they are being denied the opportunity to learn skills and information needed for more advanced education or better jobs (Bosher et al., 1990).

The above dilemmas and difficulties can be explained by the research of

Cummins, Collier and others regarding the dynamics of academic language development and the lack of prior education of Hmong students. Additional factors also contribute to poor academic success and exacerbate the cultural/generational conflicts the students experience at home. Like most American secondary schools, those of St. Paul stress independence, individualism, and competitiveness rather than those elements that are strong components of traditional Hmong culture: interdependence, cooperation, and group cohesiveness. Each student is sent to six different teachers; they are remixed with a different set of students every hour; classes and teachers are changed at the semester. This structure does not encourage the formation of close, long-term helping relationships with either teachers or peers. In fact, helping one another is often viewed as cheating. Students are individually evaluated with grades which may place them in competition with one another, grades which are likely to be interpreted by each individual as his/her level of personal success or failure. This system fails to make use of the cultural strengths that Hmong students are likely to bring to class, and in so doing, slows their academic progress and increases their sense of frustration and inability. Further, the system gives the message that those elements so integral to Hmong culture really aren't very valuable.

While ESL, bilingual, or LEP "sheltered" classes are likely to be tailored to the cultural and academic needs of Hmong students, mainstream classes are not. Ironically, a central rationale used to support mainstreaming is that it lessens the chance of discrimination. Yet, for many Hmong students, mainstream classes are *more* discriminatory, not less, because they do not meet the students' needs—linguistic, academic, or cultural.

SUMMARY

While it is perceived by the public that Asian immigrants in general do well in school, in fact a substantial number are encountering great problems. An examination of Hmong refugees in St. Paul reveals that *those students who do not enter American school before fourth or fifth grade have little chance of successfully competing in high school academic classes*. The difficult and lengthy task of learning academic English is, for these students, exacerbated by having little or no prior education in their native language before coming to the U.S. Language and reading research tells us that background knowledge and general cognitive academic skills, even in another language, are crucial to English reading comprehension.

The "mainstreaming plus ESL" approach of St. Paul schools appears to poorly fit the needs of this particular group of students, who, because of their limited backgrounds, must be given particular assistance in content-area classes as well as in general language and reading development.

For Hmong students who enter in early elementary school, the gap in background knowledge between themselves and their American peers is not so great, and perhaps because of having additional years in school, it appears that the majority are able to eventually catch up and compete with their American-born classmates, at least by the time they reach high school. The mainstreaming approach seems to be fairly successful for this group of Hmong students, though for a sizable number of them, there appears to be a price.

That price seems to involve strong cultural and generational conflicts between the students and their parents. This may be due to the students' loss of cultural identity and ethnic pride, loss of traditional values, lowered self esteem, confusion about American values learned mostly from the media, and frustration and feelings of failure caused by always being behind the other students in class. Many of these students drop out or join youth gangs even in late elementary school.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING

The academic difficulties encountered by Hmong and other LEP students who first enter American schools at late elementary and secondary levels require attention unless the public is willing to accept the likelihood that these students in the future will be unemployed or under employed. Presently, over thirty percent of St. Paul's Hmong students fit this description, at least six percent of the district's total enrollment. The unique needs of many Hmong and other LEP students suggest several programming possibilities, some of which run counter to the general mainstreaming trend.

- *Bilingual classes in key content areas.*

The work of Cummins, Collier, and others seems to clearly establish the link between first language academic proficiency (ability to read and do academic work in the native language) and the development of second language academic proficiency. Much of this work reflects a very simple idea: the more the learners already know about a topic, the easier it is for them to absorb and comprehend additional information, no matter what the language of instruction. This research strongly supports bilingual education, in which key concepts and vocabulary can be clarified, sentences explained and questions answered in the native language. For students like the Hmong, who enter with such a poor academic background, this would seem to be particularly important. Either native language or English might be dominant in class depending upon the English proficiency of the student, but the stress on English would increase as classes progressed during the year.

Bilingual classes would build the knowledge base in particular subjects while also building vocabulary and language skills. For many students, this would provide the needed step towards taking more difficult academic classes. For others, the later arrivals, it might be their only realistic chance for acquiring some of this content-area information at all. Bilingual classes would allow for a more efficient use of ESL staff, who would be free to concentrate on dealing with the structure of the language, seeing to it that students would be able to speak and write correctly rather than spending time on content area materials and specialized vocabulary.

Less measurable but perhaps equally important is the fact that bilingual classes can tailor instruction to the culture and learning style of the students. Bilingual classes often have the effect of building cultural pride and solidarity, maintaining traditional values, and creating positive self-awareness. In addition, parental involvement is increased because parents, whose English may be poor and who feel intimidated in their dealing with the schools, are often quite comfortable with the bilingual teacher with whom they share language and ethnicity. Because of the bilingual teacher's closer links with the community, because of parental involvement, because the students have greater chance of success in the bilingual class, and because the students' culture is given value, there is an increased likelihood that students will remain in school and put effort into their studies. In this manner, schools may prevent problems from occurring.

- *LEP-specific or "sheltered" content-area classes*

Sheltered content classes serve a purpose similar to that of bilingual classes but generally do not use bilingual techniques. Books and materials are selected according to the receptive competence of the students. Special attention is given to language development needs and the building of background information. Prior knowledge would not be "assumed." Vocabulary that might be overlooked in mainstream classes would be deliberately taught.

Sheltered classes are generally taught only in English unless the teacher or an aide is able to answer individual questions in the student's native language. Optimally, the teacher should be a native-English speaker licensed in the appropriate content area. Many of the instructional dilemmas of mainstream content classes would disappear. Teachers could tailor methods and materials to the language needs of the students. This would allow for a more effective, efficient, and less-frustrating use of time for both students and teachers. The teacher would not have to choose between boring the mainstream students or losing the LEP students. One advantage sheltered classes have over bilingual classes is that children of several language groups can be taught together, the only issue being the English level of the student and their prior academic background.

In either bilingual or sheltered classes, it is generally found that students become more actively and productively engaged in their coursework. With material aimed at their level and vocabulary and concepts explained, students are likely to understand more and feel that their efforts are worthwhile and productive. Students experience more success. Surrounded by others with similar problems, students are more likely to ask questions. Fewer students become frustrated, disaffected, and jaded.

Establishing classes of this sort takes into account the fact that students' time is limited. They need to learn important content area information as rapidly as possible because they are not five years old and do not have the luxury of starting at grade one. The object of the classes would be to teach information, concepts, and skills—not simply to fit a student into an existing class schedule structure.

The criteria for placement into either bilingual or sheltered classes would be language need. If tests or teacher evaluations determine that the child can indeed read and comprehend English at an appropriate level, he/she should be fully mainstreamed. (An exception to this might be for particular students who could be retained because of affective concerns; e.g., students who are likely candidates for gang activity or emotional difficulties if not kept close to a strong ethnic role-model such as a bilingual teacher.) It should be further emphasized that even from the beginning, these students should be mainstreamed into classes in which the amount and level of the reading is not overwhelming. It appears that classes such as physical education, art, home economics, typing, industrial arts, and choral music are very appropriate classes in which LEP students can mix successfully and beneficially with native-English speaking students.

- *Partnerships with outside agencies and organizations to offer tutoring and/or cultural support.*

The experience of one school, St. Paul's Highland Park Secondary Complex, may offer insight into ways in which partnership programs might be structured. Concerned about the academic and cultural-adjustment difficulties encountered by Hmong and other LEP students, teachers and administrators at Highland worked with voluntary agencies and ethnic mutual assistance associations (MAAs) to offer tutoring, counseling, specialized classes, and/or cultural activities both during and after school hours.

Starting in 1987, Lao Family Community, a Hmong MAA, came to Highland twice a week to offer counseling and special classes for Hmong students to encourage academic achievement and cultural adjustment. A pregnancy prevention program paired with health classes was a major component aimed at keeping more girls in school. Similarly, Hmong-American Partnership, a domestic MAA spin-off of the American Refugee Committee, offered after-school tutoring and assisted with Asian culture-club activities. Hmong Youth Association cooperated to offer an evening tutoring program and a "dial-a-tutor" service. Khmer Youth Leadership Project and Refugee and Immigrant Resource Center, both Cambodian MAAs, provided similar services for Cambodian students.

Workers from the above organizations cooperated with an in-school tutoring program administered and staffed by the Institute for Education and Advocacy (I.E.A.), another spin-off of American Refugee Committee. In lieu of the school district's mandatory study hall, LEP students at Highland could register for I.E.A.'s tutoring class. Tutors were recruited by I.E.A. staff from both inside and outside school. Highland mainstream students could earn credit by taking over a daily tutor group supervised by the I.E.A. teacher. Many of these tutors were Hmong, Cambodian and Vietnamese students who could assist their "tutees" bilingually if needed, but who themselves did not need ESL assistance. I.E.A. also recruited adult-volunteers to act as tutors and mentors. College students who were looking for "pre-student teaching" experiences proved to be excellent tutors. Ben and Irina Lasoff are examples of retirees who have also volunteered and brought with them a lifetime of skills and experiences to the tutoring sessions. He a retired psychologist and she a former fine-arts instructor, they are in their fourth year of tutoring. Irina Lasoff describes her experience:

> This [tutoring] is the high point of our day. It has just been marvelous to meet with these young people and feel like we're giving them a little boost. They're such nice kids and they have a tough road ahead... We talk about our students and plan what we're going to do. It's really good for us too; there's a sense of purpose. (personal communication, May, 1992)

The tutoring classes offered by I.E.A. have also provided a framework for the MAAs mentioned above to offer assistance. Students do not need to be pulled from established mainstream classes to get special assistance. The bilingual workers from the MAAs often assist students in the I.E.A. classes, as do the bilingual educational assistants hired by the school district. During the 1991-92 school year, the three I.E.A. tutor classes served about a hundred LEP students per semester.

While these tutor classes have received positive response from students, community members and school personnel, the program faces many difficulties. Joan Hill Dehzad, I.E.A. executive director explains:

> Presently, we are providing these services entirely with private grant money; the schools aren't putting up anything. But funders need to see a commitment from the schools in the form of a more formal partnership and at least some sort of cost sharing. Our central cost in each school is the teacher we provide to recruit, organize and direct the tutors. Perhaps part of this person's salary could be paid by the district. Even a limited share would impress the funders. Otherwise, eventually, it'll be tough to keep it going.... A formal partnership is important also because then we become a more official part of the school; we'd have a few more rights and responsibilities toward one another. We'd like to be able to take over where the schools leave off, even going into after-school or weekend activities. We've created Saturday mentor programs already. But to be successful outside of school, you really need to be involved in the school, too, to build connections with the kids. The connections are important. These programs can't function in isolation from one another. (personal communication, July 16, 1992)

District critics of LEP tutoring programs point out that there are many native-English speaking students in the schools who could also benefit from tutoring programs and that by targeting LEP students the programs discriminate against others while isolating the LEP kids. Proponents counter that opening the programs to all causes a loss of focus and purpose. Outside agencies, particularly MAAs, are much less willing to become involved in programs which are not intended for the population they represent; for example, Cambodian MAAs are interested in assisting Cambodian children and are willing to provide their limited resources and personnel to that end. If asked to instead provide services for African-Americans, Vietnamese, or Whites, the MAA will choose to use its resources in a different location or a different manner. More importantly, it is the focus of the program which provides its strength and value. Hmong children are drawn to the bilingual classes, to the sheltered classes, and to the tutorial programs *because* they are designed for their needs with special consideration for their culture. Opening the programs up would simply result in a loss of Hmong students. Proponents argue that perhaps similar programs should be created that cater to the special needs of other groups. Perhaps trying to include everyone means assisting no one.

Due to its large LEP enrollment and role as St. Paul's "newcomer center," Highland Secondary Complex was allowed more freedom to experiment with programming not otherwise endorsed by the district, within its ESL department and was provided with three bilingual educational assistants through a Title VII grant. Some "sheltered" content classes were created in science and social studies by the ESL teachers themselves using a bilingual component. Bilingual math classes which included geometry were available. These ESL and bilingual classes combined with the limited partnership arrangements with the MAAs and voluntary agencies appear to have had positive results. Outside consultants hired to evaluate the Title VII program discovered that, in spite of large class sizes, Highland was the only secondary school in the district in which LEP students had made statistically significant improvement in SRA scores from fall to spring in *any* of the three fields analyzed (reading, language arts, and math); Highland had done so in *all three*, at all grade levels tested. Further, surveys revealed a high level of student satisfaction and comfort with the bilingual aspects of the program (McCormick & McCormick 1989, 1991, 1992). The ESL staff as well as the evaluators were aware that it was indeed difficult to pin-point the reason for the success. Though the evaluation was for the Title VII program, in fact, the students had received assistance through a number of the programs described above. Nevertheless, some or all of the approaches described above appear to have had a positive effect.

Highland's enrollment of Hmong and other Southeast Asian students grew over a four-year period apparently because of the popularity of the ESL, bilingual, and tutorial programs. The district's open enrollment policies allowed students to come to Highland who might have attended a school nearer to their homes. Other schools also had ESL programs but were more constrained in their course offerings. Because of the large numbers of Southeast Asians, district officials determined that Highland's minority ratio was out of compliance with OCR guidelines and that students should be transferred to other schools in spite of the open enrollment policy. Staff were transferred out of Highland's ESL department, which was also constrained from offering "sheltered" courses that might be construed as "segregation" of Asian students. Thus ended some of Highland's attempts to create a better fit between programming and the needs of many secondary LEP students. Nevertheless, the popularity and success of what was attempted suggests that similar programming should be considered in other schools.

- *Vocational education and apprenticeships*

Some refugee students and parents have complained that students entering schools in their middle to late teens have few options within school. The focus of the American high school is largely the completion of credits needed for graduation with the goal of college held out to those who are most capable. Often, many of the required classes offer little of direct value to the students, either because the classes are well beyond their abilities (science, social studies) or because they don't particularly contribute to solving the pressing language needs of the student (physical education, art, home economics). For some students, high school graduation is not a realistic possibility, or if achieved, may reflect only the completion of a set of minimal, watered-down, and mostly non-academic subjects. The statistics offered previously indicate that for many of these students, college is not at all a realistic possibility. Perhaps a different model is in order, one which simply starts with the needs of the group in mind rather than a concern about "state requirements." For many of these older students, the most pressing needs involve only English and vocational training. They could be treated as adults except to the extent that their ages allow for more extended training than might be available to an adult learner. Students could be given a regimen of ESL, some bilingual instruction in areas of greatest job-related concern, vocational training, and perhaps apprenticeship programs. The suggestion here is not that every student entering the country as a teenager be forced into this track, but that such a program be a possibility for those who could benefit from it and desire it.

- *Classes in native language literacy and culture*

The generational conflict within the Hmong community described earlier may well be due to a devaluing of native language and culture in the eyes of the young. The negative ramifications of this in terms of increased gang activity, juvenile delinquency, and school problems have led to suggestions that perhaps traditional culture and native language should be given support within the schools, starting as early as the primary grades. Research of Cummins and others suggests that simply on the basis of academic language development alone, native language literacy and bilingual education are needed from the beginning of school. However, affective concerns may be just as important. A focus on native language literacy would preserve rather than extinguish an important skill, would provide a format in which the traditional culture and positive values could be supported, and would provide for the student the sense that his/her people and culture had merit. Classes could be offered with the cooperation and assistance of ethnic MAAs who have as their goals the preservation of native language and culture and the success and cohesiveness of their people.

The suggestions made above are simply possibilities of programs which might assist in better meeting the needs of LEP students.

CONCLUSIONS

The programs offered in most school districts tend to focus on getting students into fully mainstreamed classes as quickly as possible, using ESL as the bridge. Though affective concerns are given little attention, the "mainstream + ESL" approach appears to work adequately for students who begin school in the primary grades, and perhaps for students who enter at secondary levels with an educational background commensurate with their American peers. However, many LEP students have had little or no education in their home countries and therefore require additional support and attention particularly as regards reading development and academically demanding content area classes.

A number of programs offer promise of better meeting the academic needs of LEP students while also providing support for the students' culture and affective development: bilingual classes, sheltered LEP content classes, tutoring programs, partnerships with outside organizations such as MAAs and voluntary agencies, native language literacy and culture classes, and targeted vocational training programs. By definition these programs segregate students for some portion of the school day, as do ESL classes, and therefore run counter to the principle of mainstreaming and its concern for the integration of minorities. While the situation represents a true dilemma, it is the position of this article that the first priority must be to provide as good an education as possible, particularly for those students most at risk.

THE AUTHOR

Jeff Dufresne has taught ESL since 1978 for St. Paul Schools as well as in the refugee camps of Thailand. He holds an Ed.D. in educational leadership from the University of St. Thomas and has research interests including ESL-related topics and Southeast Asian political history. A version of this article was presented at the convention of the University Council for Educational Administration, October 1992.

REFERENCES

Aulls, A. S. (1978). *Developmental and remedial reading in the middle grades.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bosher, S., Dufresne, J., Eliason, P., Hall, S., Her, S., & Thao, L. (1990, May). *Thriving vs. surviving*, Symposium presented at the MinneTESOL Conference, Hamline University, St. Paul, MN.

Bransford, J. D., & Johnson, M. K. (1973). Considerations of some problems of comprehension. In W. C. Chase (Ed.), *Visual information processing* (pp. 383–434). New York: Academic.

Cha, S. (1992, August). *Building bridges across cultures: Cultural conflict and youth.* symposium presented at the Pillsbury Asian Heritage Conference, Minneapolis, MN.

Collier, V. (1987). Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*(4), 617–639.

Cummins, J. (1976). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: A synthesis of findings and research hypotheses. *Working Papers on Bilingualism, 4*, 25–69.

Cummins, J. (1980). The entry and exit fallacy in bilingual education. *NABE Journal, 4*(3), 25–69.

Cummins, J. (1981). The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. In Office of Bilingual Bicultural Education, California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework* (pp. 3–49). Los Angeles: California State University.

deFiebre, Conrad. (1992, June 10). Fifteen-year-old fired shots. *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*. p. 1B.

Dufresne, J. (1984). *A comparison of two English as a second language programs: The Consortium of Phanat Nikhom Refugee Camp, Thailand, and St. Paul Public Schools, Minnesota.* Unpublished master's thesis, Mankato State University, Mankato, MN.

Gordon, C. J., & Braun, C. (1983). Using story schemata as an aid to reading and writing. *The Reading Teacher*, 37, 116–121.

Hall, S. (1988). *Hmong kinship roles: Insiders and outsiders.* Unpublished manuscript, Hamline University, St. Paul, MN.

Hansen, J. (1981). An inferential comprehension strategy for use with primary children. *The Reading Teacher*, *34*, 665–669.

Herber, H. L. (1978). *Teaching reading in the content areas* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Krashen, S. (1989). We acquire vocabulary and spelling by reading: Additional evidence for the input hypothesis. *The Modern Language Journal, 73*, 440–464.

Laufer, B., & Sim, D. D. (1985). Measuring and explaining the reading threshold for English for academic purposes texts. *Foreign Language Annals, 18*, 405–411.

McCormick, J., & McCormick C. (1989). *An Evaluation of Title VII ESEA Bilingual program for junior/senior high school Hmong and Cambodian students*. St. Paul: Educational Operations Concepts, Inc.

McCormick, J., & McCormick C. (1991). *An Evaluation of Title VII ESEA Bilingual program for junior/senior high school Hmong and Cambodian students*. St. Paul: Educational Operations Concepts, Inc.

McCormick, J., & McCormick C. (1992). *An Evaluation of Title VII ESEA Bilingual program for junior/senior high school Hmong and Cambodian students*. St. Paul: Educational Operations Concepts, Inc.

Minnesota State Department of Education, LEP Unit. (1989). *Minnesota LEP Program Report: School Year 1988-89*. St. Paul: Author.

Nazario, S. L. (1989, March 31). Failing in 81 Languages: Los Angeles's huge immigrant community puts colossal stress on its school system. *The Wall Street Journal Reports*. pp. R21–22.

Pearson, P. D. (1982). *Asking questions about stories*. Columbus, OH: Ginn.

Raphael, T. E. (1982). Question-answering strategies for children. *The Reading Teacher*, 36, 186–191.

Rummelhart, D. E. (1982). Schemata: The building blocks of cognition. In J. T. Guthrie (Ed.), *Comprehension and teaching: research reviews* (pp. 3–26). Newark: International Reading Association.

Sonsalla, D. R. (1984). *A comparative case study of secondary programs for Hmong refugee students in the Minneapolis and St. Paul Public Schools*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Swaby, B. (1983). *Teaching and learning reading*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Tabs, H. (1975). *Teacher's handbook for elementary social studies*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Tudor, I., & Hafiz, F. M. (1989). From input to intake: The effect of simplified readers on ESL development. *Journal of Reading, 32*(8), 688–693.

Walker, W. D. (1988). *The other side of the Asian academic success myth: The Hmong story.* (Qualifying paper for doctorate in education, Harvard Graduate School of Education). (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 302 609)

Whaley, J. F. (1981). Story grammar and reading instruction. *The Reading Teacher*, *34*, 762–771.

Yang, D. (1990a, January 5). *Cultural compromises*. Video interview by author. Minneapolis, MN.

Yang, D. (1990b, January 20). *Generation conflict among the Hmong*. Symposium presented at the Asian-American Conference, Mankato State University, Mankato, MN.

NOTES

[1] Dao Yang was the first Hmong to earn a Ph.D. (Paris, 1972). An economist and sociologist, Dr. Yang is a leading authority on the Hmong, having an "insider's" knowledge as well as academic credentials. In writing this article, I have chosen to rely extensively on information obtained from interviews with Dr. Yang, rather than papers done by Westerners, who themselves tend to quote Dao Yang extensively. For those well acquainted with the Hmong, much of the information presented here regarding the culture and the adjustment problems of the Hmong is virtually common knowledge.

[2] St. Paul's overall minority count for the 1991–92 school year was 45%.

[3] Evaluations of St. Paul's Title VII refugee-assistance program revealed that very few students ever are given failing grades, with the average grade being being perhaps "C+," in spite of the fact that students often report that they really don't understand the subject and often fail all their tests. Program evaluators speculate that good attendance, completed homework and good behavior is rewarded by many teachers.

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 11, 1993

Breaking Barriers: Three Hmong Women's Perspectives on Attaining Higher Education in the U.S.

DIANE M. RUBRIGHT
University of Minnesota

A review of the literature shows that few Hmong high school students are able to access post-secondary education in the United States. A series of ethnographic interviews of Hmong women who were successful in obtaining a higher education were undertaken by the researcher to get a clearer sense of the obstacles and successes these students experienced. As part of a generation who grew up in the U.S., yet strongly identifies as Hmong, this group has done much problem solving alone, yet has much to share to benefit more recent refugees.

> One obstacle that this group faces is that their needs have not been publicized. All we hear about are the valedictorians and the gang members.
>
> (Ranard, 1989, p. 7)

Ranard's quote rings true for those of us who care to learn more about why many Hmong students drop out of high school and why a majority of Hmong high school students never make the transition to post-secondary education. In the vast literature which looks at minority success and obstacles associated with obtaining higher education in the United States, comparatively few sources address these issues vis-a-vis Southeast Asian refugee students.

The goal of this pilot research project is not only to examine the existing literature which does relate to the Hmong experience within higher education, but also to get a more in-depth sense about what factors—in addition to the obvious financial ones—contribute to the successful access to higher education from the perspectives of three Hmong post-secondary students. Two central questions guide this research: (1) How do students who have attained or are attaining a higher education view that education? and, (2) What were the obstacles and opportunities which helped these students obtain a post-secondary education? For the purposes of this research paper, higher education and post-secondary education will be used interchangeably and will signify any formal education beyond high school.

BACKGROUND

History: Hmong and the U.S.

Since the beginning of the mid 1970s, more than 6,000 Hmong have been airlifted out of Laos to the United States (Strouse, 1989, p. 22). When the Southeast Asian War extended into Laos, the CIA recruited Hmong and Mien to serve as mercenaries against rebel forces in that region. The Hmong, like the Mien people also of that highland area of Laos, lost more than one-half of their people due to combat, to ongoing bombing in the area, and to disease associated with displacement (Strouse, 1989; Walker, 1991). After the rebels "won," the Hmong were forced to leave their homeland for their own protection. The United States absorbed the majority of these hilltribe peoples.

According to Strouse (1989), the United States government drew up a plan for the "absorption" of the Hmong, which allocated financial assistance for their first 18 months in the country and encouraged church sponsorship to reduce any perceived burden to receiving communities. Public schools were regarded in the plan as the key in long-term adjustment to life in the United States. Strouse explains that "the job of the schools was to find the means to reach across this [cultural] gap and provide access to the larger society" (p. 5).

Despite this initial plan, statistics attest that illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty continue to be major issues for the Hmong people in the United States today. Over a decade after the first wave of Hmong arrivals, 85 to 90 percent of Hmong still have less than three years of formal education and a mere five percent of 18- to 24-year-olds attend college (Tokuyama, 1989; Yang & North, 1988). *Profiles of the Highland Lao Communities in the United States: Final Report* documented that the average one-working Hmong family earns $13,038 (while the non-Hmong, one-working refugee family earns $13,760), and in the three most concentrated states with Hmong people, only one highland family in 19 owns its own home. The study also showed that 37 percent of Hmong families nationwide are self-sufficient (Yang & North, 1988).[1]

Perhaps a part of why these issues continue to be prevalent for Hmong living in the United States is that our government has failed to fully take into account the cultural and educational background and traditions of these people. Unlike nuclear families in the United States, the Hmong family unit of the highlands was "the unit of subsistence production. Economic, social, educational, religious, and domestic activities were integrated and mutually reinforcing in a manner seldom found in industrial settings" (Goldstein, 1988, p. 8). These closely-knit agricultural tribes organized around kin and community membership, according to Goldstein, centered around the welfare of the group as well as around collective identity and action. Opposing this collective identity, Walker (1991) and Bullivant (1987) explain, are the concepts of "self" and "adolescence" as a rite of passage into adulthood, which are norms of western, industrial cultural behavior. It is not surprising, then, that the construction of possible occupational scenarios, the learning of obligations, rights, and expectations typically associated with the adolescent period in the U.S. would pose cultural conflicts with the collectively-oriented background of the Hmong. Similarly, cultural conflicts arise around gender roles and expectations of adolescents.

In the highlands of Laos, gender roles were clearly divided around labor. Men were responsible for the delivery of crops and the negotiation of their exchange which necessitated some travel to nearby communities. Fighting in the war and hunting were also part of men's roles. Few men were sent away from the village for schooling: traditionally, the Hmong did not have formal schools in their communities.

While men were decision makers in the public sphere, Hmong women's primary responsibilities included maintenance of the family, household, and the growth and harvest of cash crops (Goldstein, 1988; Walker, 1991). Goldstein goes on to say that the "good" Hmong woman was one who gave birth to many sons (important to prosperity in the public sphere), knew how to work hard, and married within the Hmong community.

Literature Review: Hmong and Higher Education

An estimated 900,000 Southeast Asian refugees have relocated to the United States since 1975 (Goza, 1990). Reflective of this influx, the 1990 U.S.

---

[1] A self-sufficient family is defined as one that does not receive cash assistance.

Census documented that the overall, minority portion of the population had grown steadily due to increased minority births and the dramatic increase in Southeast Asian immigrants since the 1980 U.S. Census (Nettles, 1991). Despite the increase in the minority population in the U.S., Richardson and Bender (1987) argue that this has resulted in little change for American minorities' attainment of higher education:

> Even though [urban minorities'] participation increased dramatically during the sixties and seventies, there has been little change in economic and social class mobility for minorities because their curriculum choices have been so concentrated in the career and vocational areas. Minority attainment of associate degrees has been limited, and their subsequent progress to the baccalaureate remains relatively unchanged (pp. 1–2).

Although Asian-Americans are one of the most rapidly growing populations to access higher education, underrepresentation in post-secondary institutions is still a reality for Southeast Asians who were not born in the United States. That 60 percent of Asian college students are enrolled in four-year colleges and universities (according to a 1987 report issued by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the U.S. Department of Education) is a very misleading barometer of access or success for all Asian American college-aged students (Nettles, 1991). This figure skews opportunities for scholarships and access to special programs for newer, non-American born Southeast Asian refugees who are lumped into a larger Asian-American pool and are forced to compete with native born Asians (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988).

There is widespread agreement in the literature that societal intervention, which focuses on the quality of education for non-native Southeast Asian refugees, needs to occur in elementary and secondary schools as less educated youth are more likely to do relatively poorly in school and are more likely to have fewer occupational options later in life. One of the largest studies of Southeast Asian high school-aged students who have lived in the U.S. for a minimum of five years to date (undertaken by Rumbaut & Ima, San Diego, 1988) found Hmong students the least likely to drop out, but the most likely not to continue on to obtain a post-secondary education (Ranard, 1989). This is hardly surprising since 94 percent of Hmong in that area live below the poverty level and would thus be unable to support their children's education (Ranard, 1989). Ranard says that the most difficult problem facing Hmong is the transition from high school to college. In addition, the San Diego study, *The Adaption of Southeast Asian Refugee Youth*, surveyed 24,000 Southeast Asian teenagers and found that all girls outperformed boys in high school with the exception of Hmong girls. The authors of the study, Rumbaut and Ima (1988), attribute the lower academic performance of Hmong girls to early marriage and childbearing, which affect economic self-sufficiency prospects. They expound:

> ...the insistence on patrilineality and the associated devaluing of female children further undermines an educational investment in their daughters, thus adding to the economic burden on families, very poor households. All this frustrates motivated Hmong girls out of going to college and fulfilling higher occupational aspirations (p. 21).

The San Diego study also found that longer length of stay in the U.S. is positively associated with higher levels of achievement and adjustment to high school, and that refugee children have fared better academically than those who arrived in the U.S. in their teens with little previous formal education.

In addition to early child bearing and marriage, Rumbaut and Ima found some of the largest obstacles to graduating from high school to be: the lack of access and knowledge of jobs and careers; family instability; a lack of role models for students; economic constraints that frustrate the achievement of educational and occupational goals; low levels of English, and a lack of bicultural strategies (1988, p. 18). For successful students, they found that access to cultural resources and the development of coping strategies facilitated retention in addition to a strong family belief in the value of education, self-discipline and hard work, respect for authority—both teachers and parents—and a family system which finds collective solutions to problems. Hsia's (1988) work in comparing access to post-secondary institutions among minority populations corroborates Rumbaut and Ima's work, indicating that length of residence, location, English proficiency, prior educational experience before arriving in the U.S., and family socioeconomic status are all factors that impact success. Newer refugees, according to Hsia, need to devote around six years to becoming proficient enough in English to be academically competitive with their classmates. He also points out that the newer group is less apt to have had the time to develop the kind of extracurricular experience valued for admissions by colleges and universities.

In *Barriers for Teenage Refugee Women's Education in the United States: A Comparison of Hmong and Mien Hilltribe Women*, Walker (1991) explores obstacles specific to Hmong women. She explains that although Hmong girls married older men when they were physically and sexually mature in Laos, Hmong and Mien women are currently torn between this traditional role and an adolescence free from adult responsibilities, which is an inherent assumption in American schooling. Walker states that comparatively, Hmong girls are in less of a position to challenge the moral authority structure that Hmong men possess, adding that the only power Hmong women hold is over their daughters-in-law and over children. It is because of the perceived loosening of morals and lack of supervision associated with American schooling that many Hmong parents have begun to fear American schools and to demand their daughters prompt return home after school. Goldstein (1988) feels that this accounts for willingness to let Hmong girls drop out of school for domestic activities. Goza (1990) attributes low enrollment of Hmong women to isolation and to the consequently slower progress in English they experience.

Despite appearances, Goldstein (1988) notes that moving between two cultures in the United States has itself created some challenges to traditional Hmong gender roles. These students learn dominant societal concepts of gender roles and expectations at school through their literacy skills, observations, and exchanges with others. With new and/or contradictory information acquired at school, these girls introduce change into the home. They often challenge inherited expectations, according to Goldstein.

METHODOLOGY

After interviewing three Hmong women from what Rumbaut and Ima (1988) refer to as the "1.5 generation" (for their unique situation of neither having been born in the U.S. nor having been the first generation like their parents), I decided to regard this study as a pilot for a much larger potential study on Hmong post-secondary students: the three, one-and-one-half-hour interviews generated enough field data, and consequent themes, to analyze for a project with a much broader scope. My original intent for this research project remained the same: to interview Hmong post-secondary students over eighteen years of age to learn more about occupational and/or educational factors that may have contributed to their success in accessing and obtaining a post-secondary education.

To test and refine my research questions before entering the field, I received consent from and conducted an interview with one Hmong graduate student that I did not utilize in the project. All interviewees read a consent form approved by the Human Subjects Committee of the University which described the interviewing process to them, and they had an opportunity to ask any questions of me, the interviewer. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed to each participant in the research. Pseudonyms have been used to replace names in all written research findings. Both the voluntary nature of the project and the acceptability of skipping any questions with which they were uncomfortable were articulated as well.

Largely based on the research results of a study on Southeast Asian refugee youth's educational and occupational aspirations in the Twin Cities by Baizerman and Hendricks (1988), in order to ascertain age, educational institution currently attending, work status, country of birth, languages spoken and written, and sex, the final research questions utilized in each interview were as follows:

1. What were your educational aspirations or vision when you were in elementary school, junior high, and senior high?
2. What were your career aspirations or vision when you were in elementary school, junior high, and senior high?
3. What goals for education and employment did you have when you graduated from high school?
4. What attitudes and values do you have about your own achievement currently? Are these attitudes the same or different from your family's or the Hmong community's attitudes and values?
5. What were your family's expectations of you in regards to education and work during your schooling and after high school?
6. Where did you go to school? In what city (cities)?
7. When did you come to the United States?
8. What kind of work do/did your parents do? (I added "did" to get at occupational status in Laos and because it is not safe to assume that everyone has parents.)
9. What kind of strategies have you pursued in obtaining education or work?
10. What do you remember about learning English? (I added this question after my initial trial interview because any information gained in this area could be helpful to the ESL field, and also because English proficiency seems an obvious factor in post-secondary access.)

FINDINGS

The three Hmong women interviewed for this research project will be referred to, heretofore, as Judy, Phoua, and Bao. Judy is 24 years old and is currently attending law school in the Twin Cities. Previous to law school, she studied at a small, four-year, liberal arts college in the area. Phoua is 25 years old. She is now finishing her third year of seminary school in the area. Her graduate studies fell upon the heels of four years of liberal arts education at a small liberal arts school in Minnesota. Like Judy and Phoua, Bao is studying at a small four-year liberal arts college in the Metropolitan area. Her major is biology, although she is increasingly interested in finding a job in medical administration after she graduates. Bao is 21 years old. Each of the women started their undergraduate educations immediately following high school. Judy and Bao arrived in the United States when they were seven years old, whereas Phoua arrived when she was ten. Two of the interviewees' families were sponsored and resettled by the Lutheran Church in their area. Each spent their formative years in a small town in the Midwestern region of the United States after having spent some time during their childhood in Thai refugee camps. Judy, Bao, and Phoua remember their pasts in Laos and in Thai refugee camps to varying degrees. Bao shared fond memories of her grandparents whom she said were responsible for her informal education in Laos. Phoua said her earliest memory of education was when she very successfully passed a "French-style, end of the year exam" in the Thai camp and was elevated to the next level. "I was thrilled. The UN programs gave us pencils and presents, and our parents came for a special event," she relayed about the experience.

Linguistic Background

I asked each of these women what their experiences had been like learning English and if they knew any other languages besides Hmong and English. Bao and Phoua told me that they speak bits and pieces of other Asian languages due to their experience in the Thai refugee camps. In addition to Hmong and English, Judy speaks and writes some Spanish and German and has spent time abroad in Switzerland and in French-speaking Africa. Much the same, their parents speak a smattering of Asian languages in addition to English and their first language, Hmong. When asked what they remember about acquiring English as a second language in the United States, each responded that it was a complete mystery to her. They all pointed out the fact that they were part of the first wave of immigrant children and that because of this, the schools were not equipped for them in terms of providing ESL instruction. Although Judy said that she does not feel "adversely affected" by learning English in an immersion situation, she does remember sitting in classes observing for a while and mainly succeeding in areas like math and art, where English proficiency mattered less. Judy and Phoua did remember being pulled out of class once a week for some individualized instruction in English with their brothers and sisters who were also attending the same elementary school. In Judy's case, her tutor read lots of fairy tales which she says, reflectively, were important in teaching her about the "Anglo mind and moral system." Bao said that the benefit of being "immersed in English society" was that in one-half year's time she was already conversant enough to interpret for her family and receive compliments on how good her English was. Phoua explained that this immersion situation changed rapidly in the schools with the influx of Southeast Asian refugees to her area. By the time she was in sixth grade, most refugee students took ESL classes.

Bao and Phoua reminded me that they are still acquiring English as a second language. Phoua said that her American husband is constantly teasing her about her inventions in English and her occasional misuse of grammatical forms. Bao disclosed with some frustration that writing in English is still very difficult for her. She said that she approached her advisory teacher in high school about this difficulty and did not receive any extra help or direction. Consequently, she took high school classes where she could avoid writing. She said that she feels that writing is so foreign to her because the Hmong come from an oral tradition where it is natural to become a good verbal communicator. In her third year of college, Bao planned to attend a special summer class at a nearby community college, which is financially more accessible and which will offer her some specific assistance in writing. She said that instructors at the college she is currently attending could improve in their sensitivity to Hmong issues, such as the difficulty of writing for those who come from an oral tradition. Of ESL, Bao said:

> I have never had ESL or taken ESL classes. I sat in on one at [my college]. I felt that it was not for me. I've acquired a certain reading and speaking proficiency and the only thing I need to improve is writing. Her class was not structured for students like me. My sister and brothers take ESL. The impression given to me is a derogatory message that they are stupid because they are not with the rest of the group. There is a lack of attention. They are stigmatized.

Bao concluded by saying that the ESL teaching community is blameworthy for not making its intent or the value of ESL clearer to the Hmong community. Each woman interviewed articulated that a lack of English proficiency remains a major obstacle in achieving a post-secondary education in the U.S. and contributes to the ongoing isolation felt by many of their elders, who speak very little English.

Breaking Barriers

Following what American peers did may be the single most important strategy that these Hmong women developed around the college admissions process. Bao said that there were no teachers, role models, or cousins to explain to her how or when to apply to college, largely because as the eldest daughter, Bao was "breaking barriers" in her family. Phoua agreed that there was "no tradition to help us through" the process of obtaining a higher and formal education. Less like Bao and Phoua, who mainly took their cues from American friends vis-a-vis the college admissions application timing, Judy credits a high school counselor who was very encouraging and arranged for her to be part of a "Work A Day" program in which she shadowed a district attorney. Although these women point to the lack of written tradition and formal education among the Hmong as an obstacle to knowing how to crack the system in the United States, they all agree that their families' informal educational and occupational status in Laos had a positive influence on their educational aspirations. Phoua spoke of how her mother's brothers were sent away to school in Laos and that her father—who died when she was three years old—was both a military leader and shaman in their village. About her educational aspirations, Phoua said, "my family background gave me energy."

One gets the sense that Judy's parents have inspired her aspirations. She talked proudly of how her mother acquired English and pursued an education in the United States, allowing her to work as a dental assistant. On the side, her parents run a non-profit organization in the Midwest which coordinates social activities for Hmong elders. Judy's father maintains a leadership role within the Hmong community in that area. Judy said that she feels that she was influenced to become a lawyer because she was an argumentative child, but also because she takes after her father, who mediated and resolved community members' familial disputes at their home. Judy concluded by saying that she and her parents' viewpoints and value of education have been pretty much the same.

In contrast, Phoua said that post-secondary education was a vague wish of her mother and brothers:

> I wasn't expected to achieve much but marriage as a good daughter. Like I said, high school and a good husband were expected by the Hmong community and my family. [Pause.] Pretty rigid notions of what a girl can be. In my own family I have a sister and her husband who arrived two years before we did and who helped sponsor us and,

> therefore, there was more support from them than other girls would have. Despite these notions, my family was fairly encouraging about education.

Phoua attributed the lack of encouragement to obtain a post-secondary education within the Hmong community to the fact that it has not made sense for the daughter's own family to actively support it, as any acquired skills would only benefit the husband's family. After marriage Hmong women move in with the husband's family. She believes that this is starting to change because more Hmong people are beginning to see the connection between education and greater job possibilities in the U.S. system.

Bao went to a private high school for "bright" students. She described her high school and college both as permissive environments. "My parents knew nothing of the importance of education and of higher education in general and of how to apply. They let me decide even before high school; they let me decide my courses," she explained. She credits her parents continued support in part for her academic motivation. "I rebelled a lot. I learned from books and learned to challenge. I got my way. I always know how to get around arguments." Although her parents knew little about the admissions process, they have really come to understand the importance of post-secondary education to an "improved life" in the United States. She said that this is because she had numerous talks with them before she left for college about the need for such an education. Bao said that she explained to her mother that marriage and post-secondary education for a "decent life of integrity" are parallels in importance for survival for women in Laos and the U.S. respectively.

Each of the three Hmong women said that they had no conception of education past high school in elementary or junior high school. Phoua said that all she remembers is that she wanted to become a nurse, because she liked the nurses at the Thai refugee camp and wanted to one day return to help refugees there. Even in college, Phoua said that she did not have a clear sense of the direction of her studies. She said that a major impetus for going to college was to "get away from home" instead of any "meaningful connection to employment" at that time. "I did declare nursing as a major and received a nursing scholarship from the Veterans' Association. I took bio. classes and switched at the end of my sophomore year when I was more honest with myself." Phoua later switched her major to religion and women's studies. Judy said that all she knew was that if she worked hard enough that she "would get somewhere." Before high school, Bao remembered thinking about future jobs which would not require a higher education.

965

Perhaps Bao casts her educational and occupational aspirations the most in terms of the Hmong community. "My American friends perceive me as conservative and for Hmong, I am way different, radical." She explained that at her private high school she acted in ways untypical of Hmong girls, citing staying up until midnight most nights and breaking into a closed swimming pool with classmates as examples. Of the Hmong community rules and norms she said, "I don't like the way they expect me to dress. Hmong girls have long hair [Bao has short hair], not loose clothing, they wear button-up blouses with lace, not my taste. I like to move freely in clothing. This is seen as unusual, as a slob." She described her responsibility to her brothers and sisters as one in which she needed to inspire a love of learning and of the "intellectual" as well as to get them to see that "most Hmong do blue collar jobs , low paying jobs and hard labor 'cause of a lack of skill and educational background."

When asked how they currently view education, each interviewee had very definite ideas. Education to develop critical thinking skills and as a means to gain skills to give back to the Hmong community were central themes. Although her family questioned her extensively on the utilitarian aspect of majoring in religion and women's studies, Phoua came to regard education as a "spiritual learning everyone can do." She elaborated:

> Education is not a privilege, but a right. It should not only be a means to a job. To take information and to think about it, not a set way of doing things, when I think of the world I think of education. Right now I see my [seminary] training as necessary, I will do [um] how they are going to live their lives and to bring the gospel to that. I can help identify barriers from succeeding. I spoke of the Hmong husband resenting Hmong women [advancements] and holding the whole family back.

Judy aspired to use her advocacy skills in future work with refugees, and Bao talked of writing a recent history of the Hmong and of her desire to document their oral traditions and folk tales in book form.

Strategies for Higher Education

Each interviewee said that during high school she had no idea how she was going to finance a post-secondary education. Phoua stated that it was clear to her at age 14 that she would have to finance her own higher education, because her family did not have the resources. Bao said that most Hmong students get discouraged at this point and do not take out loans or apply to community colleges, which are less costly, because—all three women agree—

Hmong high school students are less aware of their options and lack information on how to access a higher education. Bao, Judy, and Phoua all stated that the availability of scholarships for study allowed them to choose the post-secondary institutions they attended over others that did not make such monies available.

Judy said that in terms of careers the same is true; that is, that Hmong students often are not aware of the importance of internships, cultivating a strong advisee/advisor relationship in terms of recommendations, gaining greater access to resources, and making connections to gaining employment after graduation from colleges, universities, and law school in her case. She referred to the assumption among Hmong that employment necessarily follows schooling as a tragedy.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The clear benefit of a research project based on interviews is that it allows the action teacher/researcher to come in contact with insider perspectives. The flip side, so to speak, of this research project is that this small-scale pool of interviewees has raised more questions around the question of post-secondary access than it has answered. It should be clear that Bao, Phoua, and Judy's academic experiences are not reflective of those of the vast majority of Hmong women who do not attend universities and colleges. Due to the paucity of literature that focuses specifically on this 1.5 generation of Southeast Asian refugees, we are left to draw our own conclusions on what may set this group apart from those Hmong students who do not attain a post-secondary education.

Each interviewee articulated an association between higher education and greater job opportunities and related that as a motivator to attain a post-secondary education. In her own way each said that the acquired skills associated with a higher education were linked to expanded occupational options in the U.S. and to escaping the hard labor that their parents have experienced in their lives. To varying degrees their families also made this association and offered moral support for their continued studies, although it appears that the ongoing feedback loop around gender expectations, which Goldstein (1988) spoke of, may have brought the family along with these women. As many of the authors cited suggest, previous parental and familial formal and informal education and occupational prestige in Laos did influence these three women, allowing them a place from which to draw energy.

Factors that set their experiences truly apart from those of other Hmong women who arrived in the United States in later refugee waves are: the considerably longer length of stay; remaining single through their undergraduate education; having been members of some of the first Hmong families residing in smaller Midwest communities; Christian sponsorship; an immersive experience in acquiring English in schools before the advent of ESL classes to service Hmong linguistic needs; and experience in small, undergraduate institutions. In addition to educational precedent in the family, the research does support length of stay as a positive factor in achieving an advanced-enough proficiency level in English, which would allow these students to compete with classmates in accessing a higher education. That these women also participated in extra-curricular activities, becoming more appealing candidates to college admissions officers, is also congruent with Hsia's (1988) research findings. Comparatively little is known on the effects of religious sponsorship and English immersion vis-a-vis this 1.5 generation group.

Perhaps the clearest frustration that these women articulated in these interviews was the lack of role models for them throughout their educations. Lack of role models meant that they had to often break barriers and traditions alone to obtain a higher education. Only one of the interviewees spoke of highly encouraging counselors and advisors in her academic experience, and all spoke of the issue of not knowing how to access information on higher education and other related opportunities. Since we know that Hmong tend not to make the transition between high school and post-secondary education, this might be the place where we as educators begin to ask ourselves some hard questions about our roles as advocates. We need to look—long before high school—at the messages and expectations that the total school environment implicitly or explicitly projects about these students' futures. As ESL teachers, we can work with mainstream teachers to develop vocationally appropriate curricula and provide many role models from these students' communities. We may also need to work with guidance counselors to sensitize them to our students' needs and processes related to careers and to post-secondary education options.

THE AUTHOR

Diane Rubright recently received her K–12 licensure in ESL from the University of Minnesota and is in the process of finishing her M.A. in Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education. She is particularly interested in the utilization of ethnographic methodologies in action research.

REFERENCES

Baizerman, M., & Hendricks, G. (1988, February). *A Study of Southeast Asian refugee youth in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. Final report*. Washington, DC: Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 299 373)

Bullivant, B. (1987). *The ethnic encounter in the secondary school: Ethnocultural reproduction and resistance: theory and case studies*. Philadelphia: Falmer Press.

Goldstein, B. (1988). In search of survival: The education and integration of Hmong refugee girls. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, *16*(2), 1–27.

Goza, F. (1990). Language acquisition among Southeast Asian refugees in the United States. *Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education*, *1*(4), 244–259. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 345 500)

Hsia, J. (1988). *Asian Americans in higher education and at work*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Nettles, M. (1991). *Assessing progress in minority access and achievement in American higher education*. Denver: ECS Working Papers.

Ranard, D. (1989). Between two worlds: Refugee youth. *In-America: Perspectives on Refugee Settlement*, 2, 1–10. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 323 749)

Richardson, R., & Bender, L. (1987). *Fostering minority access and achievement in higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rumbaut, R., & Ima, K. (1988, January). *The adaption of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A comparative study: Final report to the Office of Resettlement*. San Diego: San Diego State University Department of Sociology. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 299 373)

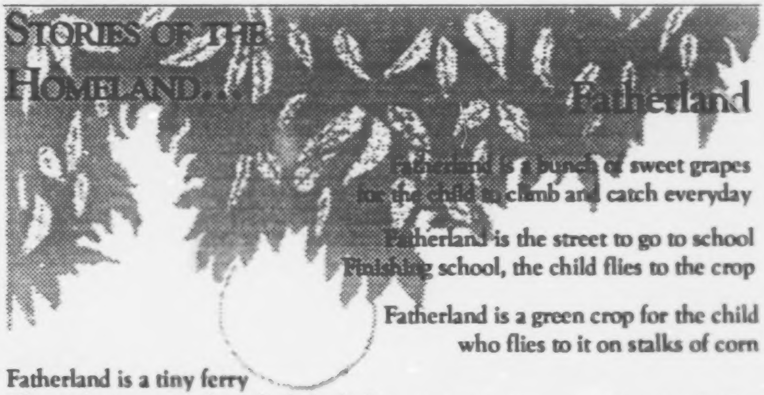
Strouse, J. (1989, March). *Educational policy and the Hmong*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Education and Research Association, San Francisco. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 307 720)

Tokuyama, Y. (1989). Ace minority concerns report: New demographics reveal the "invisible" Asians. *Educational Record*, *70*(2), 68–69.

Walker, W. (1991, April). *Barriers for teenage refugee women's education in the United States: A comparison of Hmong and Mien Hilltribe women*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Education and Research Association, Chicago. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 334 323)

Yang, D., & North, D. (1988, November). *Profiles of the highland Lao communities in the United States: Final report*. Washington, DC: Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (ERIC Document Reproduction No. ED 325 570)

Students' Work



STORIES OF THE HOMELAND...

Fatherland

Fatherland is a bunch of sweet grapes
for the child to climb and catch everyday

Fatherland is the street to go to school
Finishing school, the child flies to the crop

Fatherland is a green crop for the child
who flies to it on stalks of corn

Fatherland is a tiny ferry
The night is coming back little by little
The water is stirred by the ferry

Fatherland is a small bamboo bridge
Mothers come back with a hat made of
sloping leaves to protect the child

Fatherland is the night with the shining moon
The field is white with the leaves of the
palm tree in the fall

Fatherland—everyone has only one
Like only one mother, no more.

Fatherland. Whoever does not remember
won't grow up to become a person.

Tuan Nguyen, Vietnamese, Grade 10
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Sandra Hall

Illustration by
Huy Hoang, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

Childhood Memories

When I was a small child, I was never lonely. My family was always around. My family and I were together a lot. We were happy. Life was never boring. There was always a lot to do. I was happy to have such good friends. But my father left the house and went to reeducation camp in 1975 because he was a soldier, and in 1982, he came back. During those six years, my mother, my sister, and I lived with my grandmother. At that time, I couldn't do anything. I only ate. But I loved my mother and missed my father. One time I remember my mother told me to go to the market to buy tomatoes for her. She gave me 500 nam tram, and told me to bring back three tomatoes and the change (300), but the store keeper only gave me two tomatoes, and he took all of my 500 nam tram. So I held two tomatoes in my hands, and they fell to the ground when I got home. And my mother hit me. She got more angry when she looked at two boiled tomatoes worth 500 nam tram. At that time I was six years old.

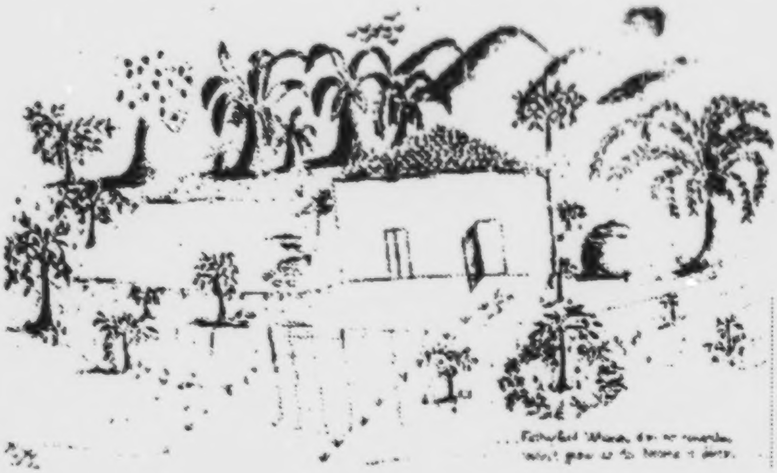


Illustration by Ha Hoang, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

In 1982, my father came home, but unfortunately, my grandmother died, the same day. My mother's mother was 72 years old. In the morning she went to church and fell down as everyone was praying. We took her to the hospital, but at 6:00 o'clock in the evening, she died. My family was in two conditions.

Illustration by Ngan Hoang, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

We were half laughing, half crying. We were happy because my father had come back home, but we were sad because my grandmother had died.

At that time, I remember that I was stupid. I looked at somebody who was crying, and I copied people's tears. I liked putting the mourning clothes on my head. I didn't know that day was a sad day. I thought that my grandmother was sleeping. The white mourning clothes just looked pretty to me.

In 1983, we worked in the rice fields. Sometimes we grew coconuts, onions, and tomatoes in our garden. We had to work hard, but we were happy because we worked together, and I could help my mother in the kitchen. I also helped my father with easy jobs.

Ngoc Ha Nguyen, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Sandra Hall

973

STORIES OF IMMIGRATION...

The Story of Immigration and My Family

Let me introduce you to a suburb where my family used to live called Mark Mor. It was supposed to be in Laos, but it was very far away from town. It was a suburb with lots of beautiful trees surrounding it, and we could hear lots of birds singing in the morning. The land was pretty clear and good for agriculture too. But the bad thing about it was that the communist soldiers would come to fight us sometimes. So what we did when the communists came was go to another place or hide in the jungle and wait until the soldiers left, then went back.

So, we thought it was too difficult to live like that forever, and then we had to move on to Laos followed by my Uncle Tang Thao, who was married. That's because my father, Ku Lor Thao, was killed as a soldier fighting against the communists during the time General Vang Pao was still living in Laos.

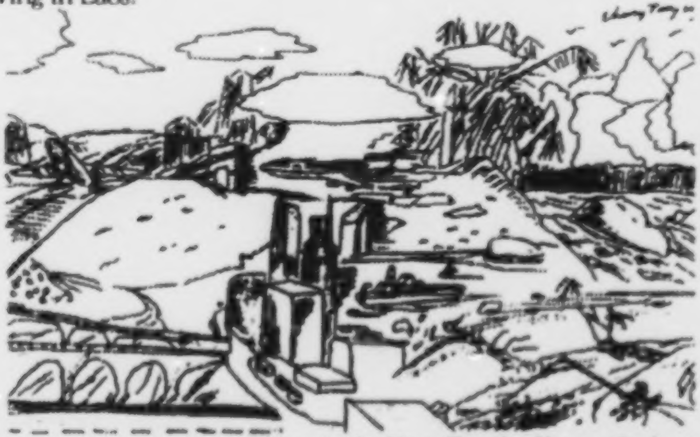


Illustration by Chong Tong Ly, Hmong, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

We were living in Laos, I don't remember how long, but I remember I was going to a Laotian school in the fifth grade. Then, my mother died of headache. After that, my Uncle Tang Thao thought we had to move on to this country. That was because most of our cousins had already come to this country.

The reasons why my family kept moving from one place to another until we got to this place were, of course, no peace, no freedom, no better living, and not enough education. As far as I know, the immigration among all the Hmong people began when General Vang Pao got out of Laos to this country. That was because the King of Laos and a few government officials along with General Vang Pao had agreed to sign the communists to stay in Laos as protection. That's why you see Hmong people all over the place.

Sa Thao, Hmong, Grade 12
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

I am a Wave

I'm a little wave in the ocean.

Sometimes, I'm a reminder of the Asian people who left their country by boat.
I have seen them every year, every week, every day.
They look so weak as they are sailing, they can't get by any enemy.
Thunderstorms, pirates, drowning, hunger, thirst. . .enemies of all kinds.

I feel hurt when their boats sink, then they become food for sharks.
I feel happy when someone rescues them and I hope it's not a pirate.
I want them to get by.

Some of my friends do not think so, they try to get the boat to sink.
But there is bad news for them, some of the boats are really strong.
Then my friends can't do anything about it, so they have to let them go.

The people feel happy when they land on another country's shore.
I can see them from far away in the ocean.

I am a wave.
I am one of them who carries these people to the freedom country.
I feel release when I see their joy, happiness, and tears because of freedom..

Kien Bui, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Catriona Moore and Sandra Hall

STORIES OF LIFE IN THE U.S.A....

What is it Like?

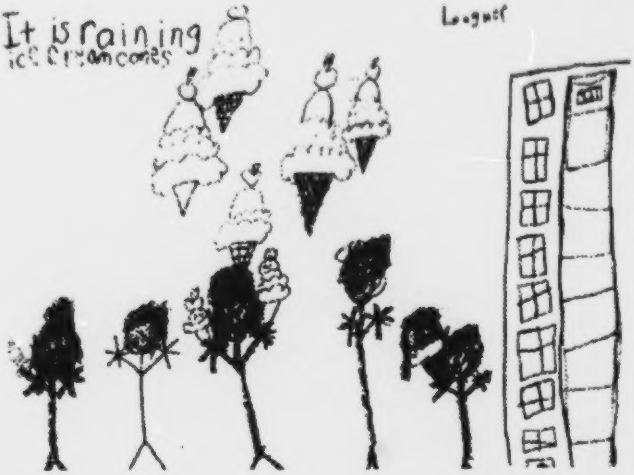
What is it like to be stupid?
What is it like when you don't talk with anybody in the class?
When you don't have something to wear, everybody thinks you are stupid?

What it is like when the teacher asks you a question and you don't
know the answer?
What is it like when you answer and everyone is laughing, because
you cannot speak very well?

What is it like when nobody likes you?
What is it like when nobody wants to talk to you?

You don't feel very good about it.

Santi Lyfoung, French/Hmong, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teachers, Sandra Hall and Catriona Moore



Long Her, Hmong, Grade 1
Hayden Heights Elementary, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Catriona Moore

Friends

My friends
Forget
That I am not married and
I don't want to marry

My friends
Always want me to obey them
When we say something
That I don't like very much

My friends forget
The way that we are playing
And the things
That we have been saying
In our heart
Promise all the things
That we have been planning

They tell me always,
Marry
My friends change a lot
And I have not changed yet

All of my friends forget me
And all the things
We have been promised

Bao Vang, Hmong, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Sandra Hall

Rabbit stands outside
Innocent of its red eyes
Beautiful white hair

Nu Chu, Vietnamese, Grade 11
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Sandra Hall

Opinion: using native language in class

Opinions are divided on ESL students using their native language in class. Those who are in favor of it believe, first of all, that ESL students should be allowed to speak their native languages when necessary because if the teacher won't let them speak their language, when someone doesn't understand the questions or the words the teacher says, they won't know what to do. They have to know what the teacher is talking about and what they are doing.

Second, they think the students who have enough English can help the other ones sometimes in class. They can help the teacher speak sometimes in class. They believe students who speak the same languages should be allowed to sit together, so they can tell the person who is sitting next to them very quietly what the teacher is talking about. They think students have to do more work in groups so they will know what to do on their own at home. If they don't know what to do every day, they will not be able to get a good grade at the end. They believe the native languages are very important for the students coming from another country. They need someone who knows their language to translate for them to understand.

When they don't understand and they can't question the teacher, they need to be relaxed, so they will feel more comfortable. If they are able to be relaxed, they will do a better job. If they do a good job for the teacher, the teacher will do a good job too.

Finally, they think they can't use their native languages all the time, but some of the time the teacher has to tell someone who doesn't understand him or her that it's okay to talk.

On the other hand, some people think the students should not be allowed to speak their native languages in class because if the teacher lets them speak, they will always want to talk in their languages. Many people want to talk in their native language, and that will make the class too noisy.

Second, they will think that the students should not be allowed to sit together because they have to do their own work. Sometimes other students don't want people to talk to them because they need to do their own work, too. They need to develop independence. They think students need to try hard. They should not need other students to help them. If they always have help from other people, they can't use their mind and will never learn anything.

Finally, they need to improve in their English. They should not speak their languages in class. They have to practice English in class, and this will help them in one way. If they speak their native languages, it will hurt other students, and teachers will feel offended.

In my opinion, there is no easy answer to this question. Both of these opinions make sense. Therefore, it is difficult to choose the better one.

Xiong Lao, Hmong, Grade 12
Como Park Senior High, St. Paul, ESL teacher, Sandra Hall

979

Reviews

The *MinneTESOL Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of non-print materials.

The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content Area Teachers. Patricia A. Richard-Amato and Marguerite A. Snow, Eds. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1992. 413 pp.

Richard-Amato and Snow have compiled a text for preservice and in-service teachers whose classrooms reflect our society's plurality. They state their belief that effective teaching of language minority students must include skills developed across the content areas to meet their cognitive, sociocultural, and language needs. The editors indicate that many language minority students enter our schools with hope but become disappointed to discover their needs not recognized or addressed, since many of their teachers are unfamiliar with issues in second language learning. These same teachers must carry the responsibility for promoting such learning through content instruction.

The chapters in *The Multicultural Classroom* are organized into four sections: Theoretical Foundations; Cultural Considerations; The Classroom: Instructional Practices and Materials; and Readings in Specific Content Areas. The text organizaton reminds us that effective teaching occurs through a polyfaceted prism of ideas.

The excellent selections in "Theoretical Foundations" offer insights into the second language acquisition process of language minority students. Brinton, Sasser, and Winningham present a concise summary of the second language acquisition process paired with program models currently used to teach English to language minority students. Cummins examines and interprets research findings on the length of time required to acquire English proficiency. According to Cummins, it takes two years for surface-level conversational fluency and from five to seven years for age-appropriate academic skills because of greater contextual support for communicating and receiving meaning in conversational settings, as opposed to academic settings where the meaning is embedded in the topic, purpose, and discourse. Snow, Met, and Genesee propose a theoretical framework for the integration of language and content teaching that would make the demands of academic language proficiency more explicit. Their framework considers two distinctions: (a) content-obligatory language, or language that is essential for an understanding of the content material and (b) content-compatible language, or language that can be taught or reinforced naturally within the context of a particular subject. Chamot and O'Malley's Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (CALLA) chooses high-utility content-area topics, language development activities, and learning strategy instruction to demystify the transition from conversational ESL classes to academic (content) classes for upper elementary and secondary school students. Finally, McCroaty argues that cooperative learning arrangements in second language education provide benefits to empower language minority students through frequent negotiation of meaning by conversational use of academic language.

The second section, "Cultural Considerations," provides an opportunity to understand something of the cultural context of teaching language minority students as well as our own attitudes and systems of cultural belief. H. Douglas Brown offers a very readable overview of the relationship between learning a second language and learning the cultural context of a second language. In his chapter, "The Stages of Ethnicity," Banks proposes a typology of ethnic identity that reflects its fluid nature. S. Brice Heath describes how student familiarity with knowledge demonstrated at home parallels how students show comprehension of school lessons; ways of knowing are rooted in a context of cultural values. Scarcella focuses on strategies for presenting culturally sensitive feedback to language minority students. She suggests asking individual students what kind of feedback they prefer. In addition, she explains the cultural assumptions behind various forms of feedback that may produce student discomfort.

The third section, "The Classroom: Instructional Practices and Materials," places this part of the anthology firmly in the educational belief that all students will learn specific outcomes if the task is framed so that student success is possible. Many of the pedagogical strategies and classroom management issues included will be recognized by experienced classroom teachers. The strength of this section lies in the chapters that provide various means for meeting differing proficiency and cognitive levels by considering cultural factors that may affect the learning process. Academic skill development is accelerated by explicit integration of content and language learning. Richard-

Amato and Snow suggest ways to tailor classroom instruction to the developing proficiency levels of students. Short provides additional perspectives for material adaptation and lesson planning. McCreedy and Schleppegrell broaden verbal reviews to increase student participation and knowledge beyond correct or incorrect answers, so that indication of the students' rationale become evident.

The fourth section, "Readings in Specific Content Areas," provides ways in which experienced teachers implement specific suggestions at a variety of levels across the curriculum and would be most helpful to in-service teachers. There are individual chapters for teaching content-obligatory language and concepts for the subjects of social studies, literature, science, mathematics, art, physical education, and business education. Some descriptions stress cultural considerations, and others suggest ways to make cultural awareness part of the content itself. King, Fagan, et al. offer multilevel strategies by which the concepts of social studies may become more accessible to language minority students. Techniques for language-sensitive mathematical education is found in the Dale and Cuevas chapter.

In summary, *The Multicultural Classroom: Readings for Content Area Teachers* is a collection of 26 chapters that include conceptual and practical ideas to assist teachers in meeting their classroom responsibilities. After each chapter, there are follow-up questions and activities that would make the anthology especially appropriate as a course text for student teachers. In-service teachers can select topics that would extend their teaching experiences with additional strategies for effective teaching in multicultural classrooms. *The Multicultural Classroom* deserves a place in the professional library of elementary and secondary teachers, since it provides a valuable reference for meeting their daily challenges.

THE REVIEWER

Lisa Boehlke teaches ESL for the St. Paul Public Schools and is also a Ph.D. student in Second Languages and Cultures Education at the University of Minnesota.

Back Issues of the *MinneTESOL Journal*

Volume 1, 1981 (60 pages)

- Being with students: Some good advice for teachers .... Joan Hildenbrand
- Current events for advanced conversation .... Leisa C. Huddleston
- Cultural test bias: How does it relate to the LEP student? .... Marge Kaplan
- Listening comprehension in the oral tradition .... Lise Lunge-Larsen
- You have to reach 'em to teach 'em: The beginnings of a bibliography in ESL for children .... Pat Wilcox Peterson

Volume 2, 1982 (50 pages)

- What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language? .... Elaine Tarone
- Hmong refugees in an American city: A case study in language contact .... Bruce T. Downing & Sharon Dwyer
- Designing an ESL program for preliterate adults: An account of one program's development .... Ellen Vaut
- A selected bibliography of work in discourse analysis and English as a second language .... Jeanette K. Gundel

Volume 3, 1983 (73 pages)

- Current events for ESP students: A course description for the teacher .... Terry L. Frederickson
- Cultivating the cabbages: An ESP program for refugee students .... Adele G. Hansen
- Hmong bilinguals: How did *they* learn English? .... Lois Malcolm
- Facilitating teacher growth: An approach to training and evaluation .... Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, & William Perry
- An evaluation of a course for foreign teaching assistants: A case study approach .... Mark Landa

Volume 4, 1984 (79 pages)

- Montessori language lessons: The almost silent way .... Ann Eljenholm Nichols
- The excommunicative approach (and how to avoid it) .... George Yule
- Some neglected vocabulary needs of ESL students .... Tom Richards
- The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: Thoughts on teaching relative clauses and other structures .... Eric Nelson

Volume 5, 1985 (83 pages)

- Preparing LEP students for on-the-job training .... Catherine Robinson
- Clinically speaking ESP for refugee nursing students .... John Marston & Adele G. Hansen
- Modifying an ESP course syllabus through a teacher-planned needs assessment .... Karen Sorensen
- Using a sensitive topic in teaching lecture comprehension .... Colleen Meyers

Volume 6, 1986 (74 pages)

- A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades .... Vivian Mann
- Teaching paraphrasing to ESL students .... Patricia M. Odean
- Self-monitoring of articles and verbs in ESL written production .... Barbara Schwarte & Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Volume 7, 1987–1989 (72 pages)

- Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation .... Thomas A. Upton
- Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? .... Lynne Ackerberg
- Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators .... Elaine Tarone
- Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction .... Irene K. Prendergast
- Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition .... William R. Sims

Volume 8, 1989–1990 (114 pages)

- "Back to basics:" Literacy for second language learners in the public schools .... Elaine Tarone
- Geodes like sky blue popsicles: Developing authorship literacy in limited English proficient students .... Lisa Boehlke & Mary Kay Rummel
- Finding a voice: Secondary students write their stories .... Lindsey Allen
- Citizenship education: The three S's,—self, school, and state (Excerpts) .... Michael J. Mullins
- Schemata, strategies, and social construction: Some implications for second language pedagogy .... Paul Prior
- Some effects of culture in the ESL classroom and their implications for teaching .... Laura Buchanan
- The role of error correction in the process-oriented ESL composition classroom .... Susan Bosher

Volume 9, 1991 (65 pages)

- Film as a teaching medium .... Diane F. Johnson
- Culture day: Emotional support for ESL students .... Marge Kaplan
- Southeast Asian literature for the ESL classroom .... Carol Quest
- Your textbook is in the library—
  Or you could make your own .... Robyn Peterson

Volume 10, 1992 (151 pages)

- Who's missing from this picture? National
  educational reform efforts and language
  minority students .... Constance L. Walker & Pamela McCollum
- Pull-in programs—A new trend in ESL
  education? .... Ann Sax Mabbot & Judith Strohl
- *Our Town*: Drama as curriculum .... Molly McGowan-Rink
- A literature course for the ESL classroom .... Jeff Partridge
- Children of Abya-Yala: EFL students consider
  the Quincentennial of Columbus' arrival .... Donald F. Hones
- Developing oral communication skills through
  cassette journasl .... Jane Petring
- Using compliments in the ESL classroom:
  An analysis of culture and gender .... Patrick Dunham
- The importance of good *Kibun* in the
  ESL Classroom .... James H. Robinson & Alex Fisher
- Test-taking strategies on ESL language tests .... Andrew D. Cohen

ORDERING INFORMATION

- Individual volumes cost $5.00 each.
- Identify your selection by volume and year.
- A set of Volumes 1–6 costs $25.00.
- Postage and handling is included.
- Please make checks payable to MinneTESOL
- Order from:

Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*
Adele G. Hansen
Klaeber Court
320 – 16th Avenue SE
Minnesota English Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455

Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages

MinneTESOL

Journal

Volume 12 1994

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 12, 1994

A Journal for Minnesota Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.
MinneTESOL is the Minnesota affiliate of TESOL.

Co-Editors
Adele G. Hansen, University of Minnesota

Robin Murie, University of Minnesota

Editorial Advisory Board

Mark Landa
University of Minnesota
Ann Leake
University of Minnesota
Ann Sax Mabbott
University of Minnesota
Nancy Stenson
University of Minnesota

Grateful thanks is given to Bruce Challgren for his technical expertise, and to the General College, University of Minnesota.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD 1994-95

President
Carol Evenrud
First Vice President
Lisa Boehlke
Past President
Wendy Weimer
Second Vice-President
Joyce Biagini
Membership
Mary Lou Martens
Carmel Murphy
Socio-Political Concerns
Lisa Boehlke
Treasurer
Terry Fritz
Newsletter Co-editors
Cheryl Giddings
Georgia Thalhuber
Regional Liason
Carolyn Colins
Communications
Marlys Smebakken
Advertising and Exhibits
Susan Farmer
Kristi Liu
Resource Center
Shirley Krogmeier
Interest Section Liaison
Nhat Dang

Membership in Minne*TESOL*

Membership in Minne*TESOL* is $15.00 and includes a subscription to the ***MinneTESOL Journal*** and ***MinneTESOL Newsletter***. Contact the Membership Secretary, Minne*TESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 12, 1994

Information for contributors to the *MinneTESOL Journal*

- **Editorial policy**

  The *MinneTESOL* seeks to publish articles of importance to the profession of English as a second language in the State of Minnesota. Articles in the following areas are considered for publication: instructional methods, techniques, and materials; research with implications for ESL; and issues in curriculum and program design. Book reviews and review articles are also welcome, as are short descriptions of work in progress on any aspect of theory or practice in our profession. Reports of work in the areas of curriculum and materials development, methodology, teaching, testing, teacher preparation and administration are encouraged, as are reports of research projects that focus on topics of special interest. Descriptions should summarize key concepts and results in a manner to make the information accessible to our readership. We also invite commentary on current trends and practices in the TESOL profession, and we encourage responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published in the *Journal*.

- **Manuscripts**

  Manuscripts should conform to the style book followed by TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. They should include a brief (e.g., 100-word) abstract.

  Submit two paper copies of the manuscript and abstract, accompanied by a labeled computer diskette. Please specify software. **Please use standard software.**

  Contributions to Volume 13 should be submitted to:

  Adele G. Hansen
  Klaeber Court
  320 – 16th Avenue SE
  Minnesota English Center
  University of Minnesota
  Minneapolis MN 55455

- **Advertising**

  Requests concerning advertising should be directed to the Advertising Exhibits Coordinator, *MinneTESOL*, P.O. Box 14694, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 12, 1994

Contents

ARTICLES

Images of American Indians in an ESL FilmClass: Teaching Content from *Dances with Wolves*
Russell Arent 1

The Effects of Training on WrittenSpeech Act Behavior: Stating and Changing An Opinion
Andrew D. Cohen, Elaine Tarone 39

Hmong Gangs: Preventing Lost Youth
Shelly M. Bertrand, Lisa MB Simons 63

Achievment Tests as Predictors of Subsequent High School Performance for LEP Students
Judith Strohl 89

WORK IN PROGRESS

***Memrory link* Vocabulary Flashcards: The 90s Version of an Old Standby**
Mercé López i Agustí, Susan J. Weaver 117

STUDENTS' WORK

My Family 123

My Brother 125

REVIEWS

Guidelines: A Cross-Cultural Reading/Writing Text
Ruth Spack
Reviewed by Wendy Desmonde 129

A Writer's Workbook: An Interactive Writing Text for ESL Students
Trudy Smoke
Reviewed by Wendy Desmonde 131

988

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 12, 1994

Introduction

This volume of the MinneTESOL Journal, like those of the past, reflects the wide range of interests and concerns facing us as professionals, from innovative classroom teaching using film, to theoretical research on academic writing, to issues of gangs and academic preparedness among junior high LEP students. In all of this, the diversity of our profession and our concern for those we teach is clear.

In *Images of American Indians in an ESL Film Class: Teaching Content from Dances with Wolves,* Russell Arent presents a model for using popular films to teach culture. The article first discusses the Western film genre and then addresses ways to overcome the common stereotypes and themes so prevalent in films depicting American Indians. The paper suggests specific resources available as alternative sources of information about American Indians and includes a large annotated filmography. We feel that an additional strength of the article lies in its inclusion of practical teaching techniques which could be used in classes that incorporate the use of film.

On a more theoretical note, Andrew D. Cohen and Elaine Tarone present information on *The Effects of Training on Written Speech Act Behavior: Stating and Changing an Opinion.* Their study first compared the writing of non-native and native English speakers to determine the components of the written speech act of stating and then changing an opinion. Respondents in a "treatment group" were then given training in the techniques used when indicating a personal stance in academic writing. By using verbal report data from several respondents, the research offers insights into how non-native writers approach one of the more important academic writing tasks. In addition to enhancing our knowledge about written speech acts, this article, by two prominent second language researchers at the University of Minnesota, presents a model for classroom investigation.

MinneTESOL Journal

Volume 12, 1994

The next two articles continue a discussion from volume 11 on issues of academic achievement and adjustment for LEP students in the state. In *Hmong Gangs: Preventing Lost Youth*, Shelly M Bertrand and Lisa MB Simons report on a survey given to 23 Hmong students at a junior high and middle school in St. Paul, asking for students' opinions on the motivation for joining gangs or, more importantly, for avoiding gang membership. (70% of those surveyed claimed to have friends who were in gangs.) The results of this survey point to the importance of success in school along with a personal sense of direction and hope for the future. The authors call for further work at building a multi-cultural curriculum, so that students can see themselves in what they are learning. They also call for increased mentoring for at-risk students. Since parent's level of education was seen as a potential success factor, the paper echoes the call from Jeff Dufresne's article in volume 11 for school programming targeting parents as well.

Looking at these issues of academic preparedness from a different perspective, Judith Strohl reports on her study involving test scores of junior high school students in Minneapolis. Her article, *Achievement Tests as Predictors of subsequent high school performance for LEP students,* offers a discussion of the historical issues behind assessment and the problems inherent in defining successful exit criteria for LEP programs. According to test scores and other data from this group of junior high students as they moved into high school, grades appeared to be near or above the desired norms; reading test scores were still significantly lower than the mainstream average, however, suggesting that academic English proficiency may still not be as high as desired.

In the *Student's Work* section of the journal, a human face is put on these issues. Two essays and a drawing from Bosnian immigrants, and a poem written by a Hmong student whose brother was killed by police in a robbery attempt speak vividly to the pain of displacement.

The *Work in Progress* section presents Memory Link Flashcards, a technique for learning vocabulary which is based on findings from second language acquisition research. Finally, in the *Book Review* section, Wendy Desmonde reviews two ESL writing texts which are currently in use in community college and university programs.

Plans are in progress for the next volume of the MinneTESOL Journal to be a joint edition with WITESOL.

Robin Murie
Robin Murie

Adele G. Hanse
Adele G. Hansen

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 12, 1994

Images of American Indians in an ESL Film Class: Teaching Content from *Dances with Wolves*

Russell Arent
University of Minnesota

This paper surveys the types of American Indian[1] imagery found in the motion picture industry and discusses some of the issues related to teaching the film *Dances with Wolves* to ESL students. Beginning with a brief description of the course, the students, and the history of the Western film genre, the paper moves on to consider some of the common stereotypes and themes prevalent in films depicting American Indians. The ways in which the ESL students enrolled in this course gained access to alternative sources of information to confront these stereotypes is described. A number of teaching suggestions are presented on the topics of American culture, American Indians, *Dances with Wolves*, and ESL through film. Throughout the paper numerous works are cited related to the above topics and the paper concludes with references and an annotated filmography.

INTRODUCING *DANCES WITH WOLVES* TO AN ESL FILM CLASS

One of the most popular films in recent years that focuses on American Indians is, of course, *Dances with Wolves*. This movie was nominated for twelve Oscars and won seven of those categories. It was also instrumental in reawakening interest in what had at that time become a genre in decline: the Hollywood Western. Although students of any language often respond well to high-interest materials such as feature films, how can a movie like *Dances with Wolves* be successfully incorporated into ESL curricula? What issues should an ESL teacher be aware of to maximize the value of this film for the students, while at the same time remaining sensitive to stereotypical images of American Indians contained in the very material central to the course itself? A position is taken throughout this paper that *Dances with Wolves* is adaptable to an ESL context, but that teachers should be aware of the stereotypes present in the film and should attempt to help students activate their critical thinking skills by exposing them to alternative sources of information by which they can form their own conclusions on the various issues. This paper attempts to answer these questions in a format that assumes little previous experience with the subject matter and allows ESL teachers from many different teaching contexts to extract the most helpful ideas and adapt them to their particular teaching situation.

The particular situation that I faced, and from which this paper was developed, was to teach the course Listening and Speaking through Film (ESL 253) at the Minnesota English Center at the University of Minnesota during the Winter and Spring Quarters of 1994. Although I had no teaching materials for *Dances with Wolves* other than those which I developed on my own, I was determined to get the most that I could out of this award-winning film. I had the impression that the movie was immensely popular not only in the United States, but also around the world. This impression was confirmed when I learned that all but one of the international students enrolled in the class at the beginning of Winter Quarter had already seen the film in their home country, attesting to the international appeal of movies such as this one.

THE COURSE: LISTENING AND SPEAKING THROUGH FILM

The primary objective of this advanced listening and speaking course is to improve fluency and the comprehension of spoken discourse through movies produced for an audience of native speakers of English. Other important objectives of the course "Listening and Speaking through Film" focus on developing critical thinking skills, working together in small groups to complete specific tasks without an overabundance of help from the instructor, improving the ability to rely on visual and contextual cues when making educated guesses about sections of film that are difficult to comprehend, and developing an increased awareness of the rich language-learning opportunities available through the film media.

THE STUDENTS

A total of 22 international students enrolled in ESL 253 during Winter and Spring Quarters in 1994, and 7 countries were represented: Congo, the Czech Republic, France, Japan, Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. Most of the students were concurrently enrolled in other ESL classes in the English Program for International Students (EPIS) and the majority were planning to enter an academic degree program at an American university, although none had a background in film criticism or had aspirations to pursue such a track in the future. As is typically the case for international students, most of these students had not had prior contact with American Indians and derived much of their knowledge about them from the film media. Without any consideration of the types of stereotypes commonly employed in the movies, students are often left to rely on their own (typically distorted) impressions of Indians drawn from the many late-night Westerns playing on TV screens around the world.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON HOLLYWOOD WESTERNS

Sometimes when dealing with a particular cultural group, it is the teachers themselves who have to wrestle with the existence of stereotypes in order to create a teaching unit which is as bias-free as possible. Before an ESL teacher can adequately prepare relevant course materials from sources dealing with American Indians in the movies, it would be wise to consider how Indians have been portrayed in films historically. Building on this foundation, teachers and students will be in a better position to view films critically; it is this process of critical analysis which is one of the central objectives of Listening and Speaking through Film.

Perhaps no genre of film-making is as rigidly established as that of the Western. For nearly three-quarters of a century, Hollywood has been producing hundreds of movies that attempt to portray the drama and wonder associated with the American frontier, from the time of European 'discovery' (or invasion, depending on the perspective) in the late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth centuries to the Battle of Little Bighorn in the 1870's and the surrender of Geronimo and the last free band of Chiracahua Apache in the 1880's (when many close this chapter of history)[2]. Did the American frontier really end at this time? What are the perspectives on American history of the approximately two and a half million indigenous inhabitants of the United States, many of whom are direct descendants of those involved in the battles that have so captured the imaginations of Hollywood film producers and the general public?

The Western[3] film genre has always been known to follow a narrow range of formulaic plots which are not often tampered with without risking a certain measure of box office success in the process (see Wright, 1975). Each Western typically has a "good guy" and a "bad guy"; the heroes are usually European-American settlers (or cowboys) and wear white and the villains are either corrupt European-American settlers who wear black or, more typically, one or more of the various American Indian tribes. Although some Westerns deviate slightly from this pattern, it is difficult to find many examples where the plot does not revolve around heroes and villains.

> There are two things that every schoolboy knows about the genre. First, that the Western is a commercial formula with rules as fixed and immutable as the Kabuki Theatre. Second, that the events depicted have little to do with the real nineteenth-century American frontier life, that the rituals are enacted in a timeless world ... populated by children who refuse to grow up, fugitives from the urban nursery, *marauding Indians* and menacing bands of pirates. (French, 1973:12; italics mine)

The possibility that the actions of European-American settlers might have in many respects been more villainous than those of American Indians is rarely the focus of Hollywood films.

The Battle of Little Bighorn is one of the most famous examples from United States history of this need to create heroes and, not surprisingly, is one of the most frequently portrayed battles in Hollywood movies. It has been popularly described as "Custer's Last Stand" because none of the soldiers from General Custer's division, the Seventh Cavalry, survived the raid on an immense Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota camp that took place in Montana in June of 1876. What actually happened during the fighting has long been the subject of intense debate, because few U.S. citizens at the time were willing to believe the eyewitness accounts of the thousands of American Indian survivors, including the Cheyenne leader Two Moons and the Lakota leaders Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse (Brown, 1970:277-282), and because it was extremely embarrassing for the U.S. Army to experience such an overwhelming defeat to Plains Indian warriors armed with mostly hatchets, arrows and knives. The American public too often believed fictional accounts of the battle that were ultimately designed to portray Custer as a hero and the indigenous warriors as barbaric villains.

> Overnight, newspapers transformed the utter defeat into a vision of heroic martyrdom. Reporters who had never been within a thousand miles of the Little Bighorn wrote of Custer making his gallant last stand. ... Many people who fought alongside Crazy Horse lived to pass their stories on, but whites wrote the history. The Little Bighorn quickly became Custer's story. Within months, four plays about Custer were being staged in New York city alone. (*Last Stand at Little Bighorn*, 1992: 49', 53')

Buffalo Bill's *Wild West Show* began only a few years after the Battle of Little Bighorn, and dramatized "Custer's last stand" to audiences around the country and around the world. By the time the motion picture started to become commonplace in the 1890's, Custer's legend was firmly in place and the portrayals of American Indians in films reinforced the historical inaccuracies and racial stereotypes believed by the American public.

One of the first movies ever made, *Sioux Ghost Dance* (1894), pioneered the trend toward exploitation of Indians which has continued to the present day.

> There is no evidence that the dance filmed in 1894 was actually the Ghost Dance. But since Wounded Knee had occurred only four years before and the late Indian Wars were still very much news, we see the beginnings of motion picture ballyhoo ... [and] exploitation. (Friar and Friar, 1972:70)

This tendency to dismiss injustices done to American Indians and to glorify European-Americans who died in an effort to "tame" the American frontier has long been a standard theme in the majority of Hollywood Westerns.

Early motion picture ventures from the silent film era (i.e., 1894-1927) continued this glorification process which had been ongoing in theatrical works and other literature (esp. dime novels; see Friar and Friar, 1972:43-48) since the late 1800's. *Custer's Last Fight* from 1912 was enormously successful at the box office and was one of the first films to portray the legendary battle. *The Battle at Elderbush Gulch* from 1914 was an early D.W. Griffith film that featured plenty of wild "savages" terrorizing white settlers. In general, these early silent films employed many American Indian actors and extras, but when the "talkies" emerged in the late 1920's, Hollywood producers started to seek out white actors and actresses for the leading roles. This era was really the beginning of the "star syndrome", where authenticity was sacrificed in the interest of having a famous name attached to the film (see Friar and Friar, 1972; and Tuska, 1976).

During the World War II era, many films were simply viewed as propaganda tools that could shape public opinion about the coming war against the Axis powers. *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939) was set in 1776 and portrayed the Mohawk Nation as evil allies of the British who enjoyed burning people alive. Another film from this era, *They Died With Their Boots On* (1941), shows Custer with legendary valor and reinforced the popular beliefs about the Battle of Little Bighorn that had been vigorously maintained for nearly three-quarters of a century. Although there were numerous historical inaccuracies in this film, they were overlooked by many who saw this manipulation of history as ultimately boosting the morale of the American public at a critical moment, and therefore excusable (Osborne, 1980:39-44).

Most of the Westerns produced before 1950 followed fairly rigid formulas in their portrayals of Indians, but in that year a film was made that showed Indians in a new light. The film was called *Broken Arrow* and was noteworthy for lengthy scenes of daily life in a tribal village. Although some of the props did not belong to the tribe portrayed in the movie, the Apache, the film was sympathetic to an indigenous perspective in a way that dwarfed all previous ventures and signalled a new direction for future productions (Osborne, 1980:49-55). In this movie,

> ...Cochise, always previously portrayed as a blood-thirsty Moloch of the Apaches, emerges as a gifted leader whose intelligence and dignity are taxed by the hate-filled settlers in Arizona. Taking a white man as his blood brother, he tries to make peace with the Army. (White and Averson, 1972:152).

This production, though marred by large doses of patronization, was seen as the forerunner of a new generation of Western films.

Following a decade in which few Hollywood Westerns were produced, *Dances with Wolves* (1990) reawakened public interest in the Western genre as a whole. Like its predecessor, *Broken Arrow* , *Dances with Wolves* was praised for its sympathetic portrayal of an Indian tribe; in this case, the Lakota. (A more complete discussion of *Dances with Wolves* follows.).

Today, in response to more public pressure to present realistic and respectful films, Hollywood is beginning to develop the genre of Western films along the lines established by *Broken Arrow* and *Dances with Wolves*. These types of films are more culturally sensitive and do more justice to the perspectives of indigenous peoples, but are often still fraught with patronizing tendencies and blatant stereotypes. Although some believe that the Western genre is slowly changing for the better, others feel that the movie industry is not doing enough to rectify past wrongs.

> A century after his death, Custer is no longer a hero to a nation troubled by its treatment of native people, yet our image of his last stand persists. Custer in his buckskins, with the flags, with his cavalrymen, the open range all around, and the Cheyenne and Lakota closing in. But for the Plains Indians who fought there, the memories were different. The fight with Custer was just one of many battles that led to the theft of their lands. Their own history told of warriors who died to defend their country. Through

> the hard years that followed, their stories and songs kept the history alive. And they still remember. (*Last Stand at Little Bighorn*, 1992: 56'-57')

IMAGES AND MOTIFS OF AMERICAN INDIANS IN U.S. CULTURE

In addition to considering the history of the Western genre and particular films that have perpetuated a great deal of stereotyping, it is also important to look at the actual stereotypes which most frequently occur; appropriate course materials can then be developed that address the stereotypes which might exist in the content of the course itself. There are several major stereotypes that dominate the images of American Indians in contemporary media: **overgeneralization**, the **noble savage**, the **ignoble savage**, the **timeless Indian**, and the **doomed or vanishing Indian** (see Berkhofer, 1978; and Stedman, 1982). Hollywood movies, advertisers, schools, sports teams, and many other organizations have learned that they can use the image of an American Indian to make a point, to sell a product, or for any of a number of reasons which do not show respect and honor toward the rich legacy that American Indians have contributed to the present countries of the Americas (see Weatherford, 1991), and, ultimately, the world (see Weatherford, 1988).

There are three ways to overgeneralize: 1) when tribal distinctions in language and culture go unrecognized and different groups are lumped together under the general label "Indian" (e.g., equating the Mohawk Nation with the Pueblo Nation); 2) when characteristics of one tribe or region are extended to other groups that do not share them (e.g., expecting all tribes to wear feathered head dresses, when this custom is primarily associated with various tribes from the Great Plains); or 3) when characteristics of an individual are extended to a group (e.g., meeting a taxi driver in a major metropolitan area and assuming that the rest of the city's residents behave in the same manner; or assuming that all Apache are just like Geronimo)[4]. All of these overgeneralization types are common, especially in the movies, and have led many to overlook the characteristics and contributions of individuals and tribes from regions other than the Great Plains.

> As a predominant feature in their way of life, most Indians did not regularly ride horses, hunt large game, wear tailored hide clothing, or wear feathers in their hair. By population, more Indians lived in agricultural chiefdoms and states than in the simple hunting tribes of the movie stereotypes. Instead they were fishermen and farmers. They wore robes of woven bark in the populous North Pacific Coast and of cotton cloth in the agricultural Southeast, Southwest, and in southern Mexico. This other rich and diverse North American cultural heritage should not be displaced or demeaned through such biased and narrow portrayals. (Price, 1973:153)

Hollywood has certainly played a major role in perpetuating the idea that all American Indians have the same cultural background and way of life.

The idea of a "noble savage"[5] has its origin with the European explorers that entered the Americas during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and brought back with them reports of a paradise filled with people that are "innocent, friendly, and naked" (Stedman, 1982:20-26, 253). Indians that are presented in this light can do no wrong: they are always patient, trusting and kind to all who approach them; and all of their motives are pure.

The "ignoble savage" is, of course, the complete opposite of the noble savage. This stereotype takes many forms, especially when Indians are shown as killers, scalpers, rapists, destructive vandals, drunkards, liars, swindlers, and godless people without faith. The ignoble savage stereotype is one of the easiest to identify and appears in the great majority of Hollywood Westerns involving Indians. One explanation for the frequency of these occurrences is to consider the role of film in shaping our perception of history.

> Film is after all a very commercial medium. Indians are a part of an ongoing effort to make films that sell, that are box office. But at the same time they are part of the continuation of an even greater myth and that is the myth of the creation of America, the taking

> from the wilderness of a land which was either empty or filled with antichrists. ... As a nation which prides itself on having a noble beginning, the theft of so much land must be rationalized. ... What you have worked out on film is the ritualized justification of what, at kindest, could be called the greatest land theft in history but more accurately would probably be called a genocide. (R. Strickland in *Imagining Indians*, 1992:45'-47')

In other words, films employing the ignoble savage stereotype attempt to assuage the guilt that many of us feel when considering the trail of broken treaties.

Another common blunder by Hollywood producers is that they are preoccupied with the "timeless" Indian: the Indian from the time of Columbus to the close of the nineteenth century. The majority of these films are set within the period of 1850 to 1890, as many of the armed conflicts between the U.S. Army and Indians occurred during these years. It is as if there have been few noteworthy events involving Indians or significant accomplishments by this segment of the population since that time. Some notable movies that go against this trend and which are set in the twentieth century include: *Jim Thorpe - All American* (1951), *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969), *Powwow Highway* (1988), *Incident at Oglala* (1992), *Thunderheart* (1992) and *Dark Wind* (1993).

The last major stereotype classification is that of the "doomed" or "vanishing" Indian; where the Indian struggles against the power of Western civilization and where the Indian in modern society is out of the picture entirely because s/he can't function successfully in today's world. This type of person is powerless, helpless, sick, and dying. Where are the American Indian professionals: doctors, lawyers, etc.? The answer (according to holders of this attitude): they can't do anything because they have no power, or (worse yet) there are none. Some of the first films to reinforce this stereotype were *The Vanishing American* (1925) and *Massacre* (1934).

Some of the major motifs that appear in Hollywood Westerns featuring Indians involve music, lighting, and liquor. It is often obvious when Indians are supposed to be lurking nearby because the audience members hear the incessant, pulsating drum beats and wild chanting that are supposed to represent the "battle cry" of the featured tribe. In reality, no tribe has ever been shown to utilize such music; it was an invention of Hollywood. Patriotic music was used in these older films to represent the U.S. citizens and soldiers. Today, flute music is popular and often symbolizes an Indian presence, although the same instrument can signal the entry of U.S. soldiers into the picture as well (e.g., when the song "Gary Owen" is played, as in *Little Big Man*). Lighting themes often involved darkness (especially stormy weather) for Indians and brightness (i.e., sunny days) for the European-American settlers (e.g., *Drums along the Mohawk*). Many films showed Indians as helpless alcoholics who have no power against the effects of this chemical.

Clearly, the lives of indigenous peoples in the real world are far more complex than the way they are presented in Hollywood films. Any portrayal of Indians that fails to show them as real human beings (see Stedman, 1982:118-129) does, to some degree, reinforce stereotypes. What is needed now are movies that dramatize the more entwined aspects of human character and behavior and that make it clear that these qualities are found in indigenous people just as easily as they are in non-Indians.

DANCES WITH WOLVES

Filmed on location in South Dakota and Wyoming, *Dances with Wolves* is the fictional story set in 1863-1864 of a Union soldier, John Dunbar (played by Kevin Costner), and his experiences at an abandoned military post in the middle of Lakota territory. Starting from a position of curiosity about the American frontier and the plight of the Indians, John Dunbar moves to a point where he can no longer bear to be on the sidelines as various indigenous tribes are targeted for aggressive confrontation by the United States Army. As he has more personal contact with the Lakota people, John Dunbar comes to regard them as his neighbors and gradually spends more and more of his time in their village. When he falls in love with Stands With A Fist, a white woman who was raised by the Lakota medicine man, he knows that his future is with the tribe, so he abandons his military post, marries the woman he loves, and moves into the village permanently to live with the tribe (see

Costner, Blake, and Wilson, 1990).

There is much to admire in this film and it is not hard to figure out why it was commercially successful. It was well received for several reasons; it has: scenes of everyday life in a Lakota village (one of the most important Plains Indian tribes); authentic Lakota language; American Indian actors and actresses; breathtaking scenery (for an explanation of this film convention in Westerns, see Wright, 1975:189-190); an action-packed buffalo hunt; beautiful music; authentic costumes and props (Costner, Blake, and Wilson, 1990:82-83); and an interesting plot.

What is not always clear to the average viewer, however, are some of the negative aspects of the film. The plot, although interesting, is centered around the love story of a white man and and a white woman in the middle of a Lakota society. When will we have a chance to see a love story from a Lakota perspective (or from the viewpoint of any other tribe, for that matter)? In addition to this, the white man in the film tells the story; his point-of-view is the only one really represented because we never hear the inner thoughts of any of the Lakota characters. The motif of a white man coming in and "saving" an Indian tribe from the advancement of civilization has been portrayed many times before in Hollywood Westerns (e.g., *Broken Arrow, Little Big Man*); movies with themes like this perpetuate the doomed Indian stereotype.

Several other Indian stereotypes can be found in this movie as well: the Lakota are clearly noble (i.e., they can do nothing wrong; e.g., Kicking Bird rides a white horse) and the Pawnee are ignoble (i.e., they can do nothing right and are full of destructive intentions; e.g., in every scene they appear they are trying to kill somebody; see Sarf, 1991). In addition, it is not surprising that the main tribes featured in the film are Plains Indian tribes (i.e., the Lakota and the Pawnee); this focus continues the tradition of overgeneralization that has existed from the very first days of the motion picture industry. Finally, the role of women in Lakota society is somewhat misrepresented. In reality they have always been highly regarded[6], but the movie sometimes gives the opposite impression (e.g., when Wind In His Hair drags Stands With A Fist on the ground). (See Brunette, 1990).

The film is set during 1863-65, yet is not connected with any real people or events from that period. It would be interesting to know why John Dunbar was willing to live alone on the South Dakota prairie so close in time and space to the Minnesota Massacre of 1862 and Red Cloud's War in 1864; common sense would seem to dictate that he would not be well-received by the Lakota at that point in time (see Sarf, 1991:63; and Seals, 1991:634). Is it possible for a film to be authentic, yet divorced from an historical context?

Another criticism of *Dances with Wolves* is that Indians did not have direct involvement in creating or directing the film and did not truly reap the profits that it generated. Other than the Lakota language coordinator, Doris Leader Charge, the writers, producers and directors of the film were primarily non-Indian. Although the film has grossed over $300 million to date, very little of this money has been filtered back into the Lakota community.[7]

Perhaps it was this lack of involvement that precipitated a new organization of Indian producers to be formed: the Native American Producers Alliance. This move was done to help Indian producers become less dependent on Hollywood for the capital needed to make more culturally sensitive films. These producers intend to immediately pool their talents and money to start work on a biographical movie on Dull Knife, a famous Northern Cheyenne leader. Recent movies and documentaries that are known to have had strong Indian involvement in the writing, production, or direction phases are *Images of Indians* (1979), *Windwalker* (1980), *Powwow Highway* (1988), *The Dakota Conflict* (1991), *Imagining Indians* (1992), *Last Stand at Little Bighorn* (1992), and *Nokomis: Voices of Anishinabe Grandmothers* (1994).

AN ESL CLASS CONFRONTS THE STEREOTYPES

In an effort to bring out into the open some of the issues of imagery raised by the movie, several additional sources of information were made available to the students. Field trips were arranged to get the students out of the classroom and into the local American Indian community and guest speakers visited the class to share their perspectives on the film and foster critical thinking. The necessity of confronting movie stereotypes is addressed by Price (1973):

> We cannot dismiss the stereotypes as unimportant

> film portrayals because hundreds of millions of people the world over have acquired their beliefs about North American Indians through motion pictures. They were created as entertainment, but they cumulatively built a separate reality about Native cultures. The belief that there is an essence of general truth about Indians in these portrayals is pervasive and persistent in modern North America. They are, for example, difficult stereotypes to correct in university courses on American Indians. Even modern American Indians draw heavily from these films in constructing their own views of their cultural heritage (154).

In addition, since few international students ever have direct contact with American Indians or enroll in a university course dealing with this subject, it is important to provide the film course students with more accurate information.

One of the ESL class sessions during Winter Quarter was held at the American Indian Student Cultural Center in an effort to show the international students some of the American Indian resources on the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota. Another class session was devoted to visiting the Franklin Business Corporation in Minneapolis, a small business industrial complex with a number of American Indian owned-and-operated businesses, and the Minneapolis American Indian Center, a community center that houses a gym, a restaurant, and an ethnic crafts store.

During Spring Quarter, the second group of students received a guided tour of the Minnesota History Center by an American Indian executive of the Minnesota Historical Society. The Minnesota History Center has excellent displays that are accessible to ESL learners at all levels and highlights the three most important Indian tribes in Minnesota's most recent past: the Dakota (a.k.a the Sioux), the Anishinabe (a.k.a. the Ojibwe), and the Hochung (a.k.a. the Winnebago).

Back in the classroom, several guest speakers shared their expertise with the students and gave them opportunities to ask questions. The two speakers that visited the class during Winter

Quarter each brought valuable insights that helped the international students see *Dances with Wolves* in a new light. The first speaker had lived most of his adult life in South Dakota and was familiar with the behind-the-scenes events that unfolded during the filming of the movie. He was also an American Indian Studies major and was well versed in Dakota language and culture. He was able to explain the historical background of the tribes in Minnesota and South Dakota (esp. the Dakota, Lakota, and Anishinabe) and some of the contemporary issues facing these tribes today. Students seemed to benefit from this session, as these unedited comments indicate:

> His lecture was easy to understand and not boring. To invite other teacher is a good idea. ...in film "Dances with Wolves" we watched a kind of beautiful history of native Americans, but now their lives are completely destroyed and they live under some difficulties. So, I think it is important not only for native Americans but also for any spicies to know what the conquist without respect brought.

The second guest speaker in Winter Quarter was a Teaching Specialist in the American Indian Studies Department who focused on the types of imagery commonly associated with American Indians. He carefully explained the different categories of stereotypes (similar to those outlined in the previous section) and provided various pictures from advertisements and other sources that illustrated how those images are currently used in the media. Students had this to say about the presentation:

> The image of indian in *Dances with Wolves* is only one of the stereotypes about indians.

> The most interesting thing was the fact that images of native Americans were produced by white people, and sometimes native Americans had to use those images to protect their lives.

> What was in the film, no matter how good it was,

might not be the truth.

During Spring Quarter, the second group of students was fortunate to get a behind-the-scenes view of what goes into the production of a major Hollywood Western, when an American Indian actor who appeared in *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) related firsthand experiences on the making of this film and on growing up in a bilingual and bicultural environment in the United States. The actor passed around several photographs from the set of the movie and previewed a battle scene from the film, in which he contrasted the aspects of the film which were historically accurate from those which were not. Several students commented about what they learned from this speaker:

> Actually, I think, international students don't know American Indian history a lot. The most important is students understand American Indian background and why Indian and white people couldn't live together. Which one broken the yield of the rule, and why?
>
> I didn't think, that it is so difficult to live in a reservation and that the living standard is so low.
>
> The most interesting things to me are not only that there exist many indian languages more than fifty languages, but also that he can speak some languages. For example, he said "Buffalo" using the same languages including the Sioux indian language.
>
> The Indian of different places has a different language.
>
> What a Indian speaks English is interesting. I've imagined that Indians is exact like what Indians are in movies.

These field trips and guest speakers provided the international students with opportunities to interact with American Indians in several different settings and demonstrated that Indians have not "vanished", but are alive and well and achieving academic and professional success in a society that continues to rely on Hollywood for too much of its information. Throughout these sessions, students were encouraged to form their own impressions of American Indian issues and relate them to their experiences as international students in U.S. society, where they often have to deal with being victims of stereotypes themselves.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS ON AMERICAN CULTURE

Teaching about a topic such as American Indian imagery to international students raises issues related to teaching about American culture in general. There are a number of different methods that can facilitate the discussion and learning of cultural issues. Jorstad (1981) has developed a seven-step process of **hypothesis refinement** that allows students to state their own opinion on any cultural aspect of interest and gather data in an attempt to discover whether the initial hypothesis is supported by sources other than the student. Cross-cultural comparisons between the target and native cultures are then drawn, based on the information obtained about the particular aspect of focus. A similar eight-step process developed by Crawford-Lange and Lange (1984) was recently implemented for teaching Lakota culture to international students in South Dakota (Steinmetz, Busch, and Joseph-Goldfarb, 1994). Although the project appeared to be successful, it needs to be "more easily replicated" before widespread adoption of the eight-step process is advised (Steinmetz, et.al., 1994:14).

There are an increasing number of resources available to ESL instructors for teaching units on American culture or culture in general (see Althen, 1988; Banks, 1994; Burt, 1978; Crawford-Lange and Lange, 1984; Henly, 1993; Isler, 1977; Omaggio Hadley (1993), Robinson, 1981; Seelye, 1984; and Teachout, 1976). Although the complexities of U.S. culture and society may intimidate some ESL teachers from making major changes to their curricula in order to do justice to these issues, international students may greatly benefit from such programs, if they are carefully designed and checked for ethnocentric biases and are learner-centered. A teaching unit on American culture which is superficially constructed, however,

> ... usually results in the viewing of ethnic content from the perspectives of mainstream historians, writers, artists, and scientists because it does not involve a restructuring of the curriculum. ... When teaching a unit such as *The Westward Movement* in a fifth-grade U.S. History class, the teacher may integrate her unit by adding content about the Lakota (Sioux) Indians. However, the unit remains Mainstream Centric and focused because of its perspective and point of view. ... The unit might be called *The Invasion from the East* from the point of view of the Lakota. An objective title for the unit might be *Two Cultures Meet in the Americas*. (Banks, 1994:208).

Our own cultural biases sometimes come to the forefront when attempting to present historical topics in an objective fashion, but the process of removing those biases is often educational and enriching.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS RELATED TO AMERICAN INDIANS

Several recommendations can be made for ESL teachers when dealing with American Indian themes in the classroom in general.

> 1. Examine past stereotypes and encourage the students to look at each indigenous tribe as a separate group with its own language[8] and culture. If tribal names are known, instruct them to use these names and to avoid lumping tribes together in Hollywood-based generalizations.
>
> 2. Highlight recent accomplishments of various American Indian communities and individuals, so that students understand that Hollywood's obsession with the "timeless" Indian does not mean that Indians have disappeared from contemporary society.

3. Visit a local museum, powwow, school or cultural center where indigenous views and traditions are honored and where informal contact with American Indians is possible.

4. Invite an American Indian to speak to your class on a topic related to course content. Keep in mind that many American Indians are bombarded with these types of requests, since indigenous traditions have again become fashionable, and that there has been a long history of discrimination and exploitation. Your prospective guest speaker may want to know more about your motives first, before making a commitment.

5. Explain that many Indians are offended by the casual use of sacred objects (e.g., pipes, feathers) by those who are ignorant of indigenous traditions. The Peace Pipe is the most sacred object to Plains Indian tribes (e.g., Cheyenne, Lakota) and should not be handled in an irreverent manner. Eagle feathers were reserved for those who had distinguished themselves in battle or by some other heroic act, and a full, feathered head dress was worn only by tribal leaders. The recent controversy involving the baseball team, the Atlanta Braves, and the "tomahawk chop" is a good example of a situation where overly enthusiastic sports fans have carried out an act of cultural violence by showing disregard for the sacredness of these objects and by chanting a silly, monotonous melody which has its origins solely in Hollywood films.

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS RELATED TO DANCES WITH WOLVES

For those ESL teachers employing *Dances with Wolves* as part of their core curriculum, the following suggestions may help ESL students appreciate the place of this film in the western genre and help them understand the use of American Indian imagery in it as well.

1. After introducing the different American Indian stereo-

types, let the students discover the ones that are prevalent in this particular film (e.g., the Lakota as "noble" and the Pawnee as "ignoble") and spend some class time discussing how those stereotypes affect student reactions to the film as a whole.

2. Show some film clips from other Westerns that visually illustrate the kinds of imagery that frequently occur in Hollywood films and discuss differences and similarities with *Dances with Wolves.* The documentaries *Images of Indians, Imagining Indians,* and *Last Stand at Little Bighorn* contain many excellent short clips that are well-suited for this purpose.

3. Provide a brief overview of U.S. History during the Civil War era, since the film features a Civil War battle during the opening scene and has other historical allusions that may not be adequately understood without some schemata activation; for those students who have no knowledge at all of this historical event, this lesson may prove to be crucial toward understanding the first part of the film.

It's important to give students plenty of time to simply enjoy the film, but they may not fully appreciate it if they lack the background necessary to understand the historical and motif-based generalizations. More teaching materials for *Dances with Wolves* which are appropriate for ESL students may be found in Arent (1994:34-45) and Mejia and O'Connor (1994:29-50, 147-152).

TEACHING SUGGESTIONS ON ESL THROUGH FILM

Finally, several suggestions related to teaching ESL through the film media can be made as well.

1. Try showing a film in reasonable "chunks" or segments. A 15 to 25-minute segment followed by 10 to 15 minutes of discussion or related activities seems to strike a nice balance between the contrasting global and analytical learning styles which are likely to be represented in a diverse group of ESL students.

2. Experiment with different ways to introduce the segments (see Cooper, Lavery, and Rinvolucri, 1991; Lonergan, 1984, and Stempleski and Tomalin, 1990). One possibility, which works especially well in a language lab, is to allow half the class to hear the sound from a particular segment without the picture and the other half to see the picture without sound. Each student from one half of the class can then be paired up with a student from the other half in an attempt to orally reconstruct the visual and audio elements of the original scene. This activity creates a true information gap and usually results in intense and prolonged conversations (adapted from Stempleski and Tomalin, 1990:24-25).

3. Select films based on interest level and aesthetic factors; in addition to the obvious variable of difficulty level of spoken discourse. No one likes to watch a boring film; no matter how appropriate the language might be for a student's level of proficiency.

4. Let the students critique the good and bad points of the movie and give them plenty of opportunities to develop their critical thinking skills and express their opinions. Students in ESL 253 selected two of the four films shown each quarter and completed a 3-to-5-minute taped movie review. In addition to individual assignments, each student participated in a group presentation which also critiqued one of the films, only to a greater degree of depth than the taped reviews. For both of these assignments, students were required to clearly state their opinions about specific aspects of the movie (and about the film as a whole) and provide examples and details from the film that supported their views.

For a more complete discussion of what is involved in designing a successful ESL film course see Johnson (1990). Of course, the most effective techniques are the ones that work best for your particular class, so keep in mind that proficiency levels, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, learning styles, and amount of exposure to

Hollywood movies are other factors that may strongly influence the teaching methods that produce desirable results.

STUDENT REACTIONS

Because the time allowed for the completion of the entire teaching unit for *Dances with Wolves* was only four weeks[9], there was not a lot of time available for following up on the issues raised by the movie. Students from both quarters did indicate, however, that the field trips and guest speakers enriched their learning experience and helped them to better understand the issues raised by the film.

Students were asked to evaluate the course at the end of each quarter and to rank each film on a scale of 0 to 10. *Dances with Wolves* received an average score of 8.2, which was tied for the highest of any of the three core films shown in both quarters[10]. Students also gave the most votes to *Dances with Wolves* for best picture and best music.

CONCLUSION

The American public has long been fascinated with images of its indigenous inhabitants and has frequently depicted them in the film media. What is the underlying cause of this fascination? Perhaps it is because

> ...the whole psychological posture of American society is toward perpetual youth. Everyone believes that he or she must be eternally young. No one wants to believe that he or she is getting or will ever get old. Somehow only Indians get old because the coffee table books are filled with pictures of old Indians but hardly a book exists that has pictures of old whites. A strange thing, perhaps, for a vanishing race - having one's pictures on display everywhere - but therein lies the meaning of the white's fantasy about Indians - the problem of the Indian image. (Bataille and Silet, 1981:xv-xvi)

Whatever the case, the time has long since arrived for these destructive images to cease and for the American public to stop supporting Hollywood films that show blatant disregard for such abuses. ESL teachers can do their part by handling this topic with sensitivity and tact and by educating international students on the aforementioned issues.

Perhaps many of us need to take a look deep within ourselves to examine our current perceptions and attitudes regarding American Indians; to take a closer inventory of our motives.

> And so what often is the case is outsiders seeking information about us come here with preconceived notions of what they want. And they don't really want the Indian to tell them true information about ourselves. But they, in fact, want us simply to support the ideas they have about us. And unfortunately, many of those ideas come right out of a scriptwriter's distorted definition of who Indian people are. ... So, I think if, when outsiders want information about tribes, they must ... be willing to accept how the tribe truly defines itself if, in fact, that is the knowledge they seek. Now, if they simply want the tribe to support many of these very negative stereotypes that are presented in the media ... I think Indian people are smarter than that.
> (D. Kipp in Imagining Indians, 1992:47,49)

In searching for true communication and understanding, such definitions can serve as a crucial starting point.

Feature films such as *Dances with Wolves* have great potential for stimulating language learning and critical thinking skills, because they are sometimes permeated with explicit and implicit stereotypes. Although this paper may serve as a prototype (not the definitive word) for dealing with difficult issues such as media stereotypes, it is hoped that ESL teachers will find ideas here that will enrich their own understanding and that some of the teaching suggestions outlined will apply to their particular teaching context.

THE AUTHOR

Russell Arent completed an M.A. in ESL at the University of Minnesota and is presently a Ph.D. student in linguistics. He teaches ESL to international students at the Minnesota English Center while continuing research in pragmatics and other aspects of second language acquisition.

REFERENCES

Althen, G. (1988). *American Ways: A Guide for Foreigners in the United States.* Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Arent, R. (1994). Images of American Indians in an ESL film class. Unpublished Plan B paper. Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota.

Banks, J. (1994). *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice, Third Edition.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Bataille, G., and Silet, C. (Eds.) (1981). *The Pretend Indian: Images of Native Americans in the Movies.* Ames, IA: The Iowa State University Press.

Berkhofer, R. (1978). *The White Man's Indian.* New York: Vintage Books.

Brown, D. (1970). *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.* New York: Bantam Books.

Brunette, P. (1990, December). Dances with Wolves: More promise than it delivers. *The Circle,* 22.

Burt, M. (1978). A night out: Teaching culture in the ESL classroom. Unpublished Plan B paper. Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota.

Cooper, R., Lavery, M., and Rinvolucri, M. (1991). *Resource Books for Teachers: Video.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Costner, K., Blake, M., and Wilson, J. (1990). *Dances with Wolves:*

The Illustrated Story of the Epic Film. New York: Newmarket Press.

Crawford-Lange, L., and Lange, D. (1984). Doing the unthinkable in the second-language classroom: A process for the integration of language and culture. In Higgs, T. (Ed.), *Teaching for Proficiency, the Organizing Principle.* Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

French, P. (1973). *Westerns: Aspects of a Movie Genre.* New York: Viking Press.

Friar, R., and Friar, N. (1972). *The Only Good Indian ... The Hollywood Gospel.* New York: Drama Book Specialists/Publishers.

Henly, E. (1993). *Focus on American Culture.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Regents/Prentice Hall.

Isler, B. (1977). American culture and the student of English as a second language: A reason and a way to teach it. Unpublished Plan B paper. Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota.

Johnson, D. (1990). Film in the ESL classroom. Unpublished Double Plan B paper. Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota.

Jorstad, H. (1981). Inservice teacher education: content and process. In Lange, D., and Linder, C. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the National Conference on Professional Priorities.* Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: ACTFL Materials Center.

Josephy, A., Jr. (1991). *The Indian Heritage of America, Second Edition.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Lonergan, J. (1984). *Video in Language Teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Means, R. (March 3,1994). Personal interview on *Buffalo Nation Journal,* South Dakota Public TV Network. Brookings, S.D.

Mejia, E., and O'Connor, F. (1994). *Five Star Films: An Intermediate Listening/Speaking Text*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents.

Connor, J. (1980). *The Hollywood Indian: Stereotypes of Native Americans in Films*. Trenton, NJ: New Jersey State Museum.

Omaggio Hadley, A. (1993). *Teaching Language in Context*. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle Publishers.

Pond, S. (1986). *The Dakota or Sioux in Minnesota As They Were in 1834*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Price, J. (1973). The stereotyping of North American Indians in motion pictures. *Ethnohistory*, 20:153-171.

Robinson, G. (1981). *Issues in Second Language and Cross-Cultural Education: The Forest Through the Trees*. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle Publishers.

Sarf, W. (1991). Oscar eaten by wolves. *Film Comment*, 27:62-70.

Seals, D. (1991). The New Custerism. *Nation*, 252:634-639.

Seelye, H. (1984). *Teaching Culture: Strategies for Intercultural Communication*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.

Stedman, R. (1982). *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Steinmetz, D., Busch, K., and Joseph-Goldfarb, N. (1994). Integrating ESL and Lakota Indian culture. *TESOL Journal*, 3:12-14.

Stempleski, S., and Tomalin, B. (1990). *Video in Action: Recipes for Using Video in Language Teaching*. Hertfordshire, UK: Prentice Hall International (UK) Ltd.

Teachout, R. (1976). Teaching about American culture. Unpublished Plan B paper. Program in English as a Second Language, University of Minnesota.

Tuska, J. (1976). *The Filming of the West*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc.

Walker, J. (1982). *Lakota Society.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Weatherford, J. (1988). *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Weatherford, J. (1991). *Native Roots: How the Indians Enriched America.* New York: Ballantine Books.

White, D., and Averson, R. (1972). *The Celluloid Weapon: Social Comment in the American Film.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Wright, W. (1975). *Sixguns in Society: A Structural Study of the Western.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

CHRONOLOGICAL AMERICAN INDIAN FILMOGRAPHY OF SELECTED WORKS

Hollywood Feature Films and Other Commercial Productions

Year	Title (Production Company)	Director
1894	*Sioux Ghost Dance* (Edison)	

Shown on the Kinetoscope, a "peephole box" invented by Thomas Edison, this short work purported to document the famous dance that was being performed at Wounded Knee just four years earlier. Although no evidence exists to confirm that this dance was actually the Ghost Dance, viewers lined up nevertheless to take a peek (Friar and Friar, 1972:69,70).

1911 *Fighting Blood* (Biograph) Griffith, D.W.

"A Civil War veteran and his family settle in the Dakota Territory. Bobby Harron quarrels with his father and leaves home. Riding in the hills, he espies a band of Sioux attacking a homestead. ... He takes [his fiancée] to his father's cabin where several settlers congregate. The Indians attack en masse, Griffith positioning his camera on a hill high above the action." (Tuska, 1976:38) This film also features an interesting portrayal of a Navajo rug salesman wearing a Plains Indian war bonnet (Bataille and Silet, 1981:119).

1912 *Custer's Last Fight* (IMP) Ince, T.

Portrays the events leading up to the Battle of Little Bighorn and depicts many battle scenes as well.

1912 *The Massacre* (Biograph) Griffith, D.W.

One of the first films sympathetic to indigenous people which "...showed them as hapless victims of an unprovoked cavalry raid..." (French, 1973:78)

1913 *The Squaw Man* De Mille, C.B.

One of the earlier films that employs a common motif: Indian maiden falls in love with white man, but has to die one way or the other because the relationship cannot succeed in white society.

1914 *The Battle at Elderbush Gulch* Griffith, D.W.

Features Indians as ignoble savages that attack settlers trapped in a cabin and subsequently take the family dog and use it as the main ingredient for a feast.

1923 *Covered Wagon* Cruze, J.

One of the most famous films of the Western genre which depicts the covered wagon journey of pioneers and their struggle against harsh natural conditions and Indian attacks. This film "...made clear that [the Indians] were motivated by a reasonable desire to protect their hunting grounds..." (French, 1973:79; see also Tuska, 1976:87-97).

1019

1924 *America* Griffith, D.W.

"...shows the Indians of New York's Mohawk Valley and the unprincipled Tories (those still loyal to the king) who egged them on as the most vicious enemies of the colonists' cause in the American Revolution. Dozens of patriotic groups and local historical societies pressured Griffith to be sure that the film presented their special interests sympathetically, but no one looked out for the Indian. ... As a result ... the worst possible image of the Indian comes across in *America*." (Osborne, 1980:15)

1925 *The Vanishing American* (Paramount)

A panoramic view of the big picture; this silent film "...sketched a history of the American Indian from early cliff-dwelling days up to the ignominious death of a World War I Indian hero (Richard Dix) back on his neglected reservation." (French, 1973:79)

1934 *Massacre* (Warner Bros.)

"The leading character of Joe Thunderhorse (Richard Barthelmess) has made it in modern-day, white America. Having accepted the white man's way, he has become well-educated, financially successful and self-assured. In contrast, his Indian brothers on the reservation are society's victims, desperately poor and suffering the results of deep-rooted corruption in the administration of Indian affairs. More important, they are weak and powerless, apparently unable to act on their own behalf to remedy their situation. ... In the end it took Thunderhorse ... to champion the Indian's cause..." (Osborne, 1980:27)

1939 *Drums Along the Mohawk* (20th Cent.) Ford, J.

Portrays several Mohawk attacks on European-American settlers and caters to the ignoble savage stereotype.

1939 *Stagecoach* Ford, J.

John Ford's first Western of the sound era starring John Wayne as the Ringo Kid, who is pitted against Apache raiders in the Southwest that are terrorizing stagecoach passengers (Friar and Friar, 1972:162).

1941 *They Died With Their Boots On* Walsh, R.

Details the life and times of Gen. George A. Custer, from his introduction to the military at West Point to the famous Battle of Little Bighorn. The film, with Errol Flynn as Custer, was historically inaccurate in many ways, but was really designed to awaken patriotic pride in the general public, which knew that the country's entry into WWII was inevitable.

1949 *Devil's Doorway* (MGM)

"The leading character is Broken Lance (Robert Taylor), a Shoshone Indian who returns home as a Civil War Congressional Medal of Honor recipient only to learn that Wyoming has been opened to 'homesteaders' and that Sweet Meadows, the tract of land that his family has called home for generations, is about to be taken from him. ... As Lance dies defending his home, the victim of his neighbors' complacency, the message conveyed to the audience is an earnest plea for racial tolerance." (Osborne, 1980:45)

1950 *Broken Arrow*

One of the first films that portrayed scenes in an Indian village; in this case, Apache. This movie is a forerunner of *Dances with Wolves*, as it uses a similar motif: white man comes into tribe, learns their ways, marries one of their members, and becomes a savior and protector.

1951 *Jim Thorpe - All American*

Details the life of one of America's greatest athletes: from his childhood in Oklahoma, to the Olympic years and professional sports, and finishing with the latter years of his life.

1956 *The Searchers* Ford, J.

A white girl (Natalie Wood) is taken captive by the Comanches after her family is brutally killed and her sister is raped. She lives many years with the Comanches and witnesses one cruel act after another. She is finally rescued by John Wayne, who brings her back to "civilization". This film may perhaps be the most racist of all of John Ford's films (Friar and Friar, 1972:165-166).

1964 *Cheyenne Autumn* Ford, J.

Based on the novel by M. Sandoz, this film depicts the 1878-1879 journey of the Northern Cheyenne from Fort Reno, Oklahoma to the Dakota Territory, a distance of nearly 1500 miles. The Cheyenne braved starvation and exposure, but were eventually recaptured by U.S. troops; some were only twenty-five miles from the Dakota border. The film's focus strays somewhat from the Cheyenne's epic journey to the perspectives of the U.S. soldiers and a Hollywood-designed love story.

1969 *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here* Polansky, A.

"...based on the true story of a young Paiute Indian who became the subject of an exciting cross-country chase in southern California in 1909. ... [Willie Boy] shoots and kills the father of the girl he wants to marry, then flees with her into the desert. In the course of a manhunt that covers over 500 miles of arid landscape, the girl is shot to death and, eventually Willie Boy dies as well." (Osborne, 1980:63)

1970 *Little Big Man* (National General) Penn, A.

A comedy that portrays the Cheyenne perspective on history. Dustin Hoffman stars as Jack Crabb, a white man who claims to be 121 years old and an eyewitness to the Battle of Little Bighorn. Jack was adopted by Old Lodge Skins (a.k.a., Chief Dan George) after his parents were killed by a group of Pawnee. This film was made as an allegory to the Vietnam War and was commercially successful with young audiences at the time (O'Connor, 1980:67-70).

1970 *Soldier Blue*

Another film which was an allegory of the Vietnam War, although this film was far more serious and graphic.

1972 *Ulzana's Raid*

An Apache warrior leaves the reservation and goes on a bloody rampage. Most of the film centers on the strategic aspects of how he will be recaptured.

1976 *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (Warner) Eastwood, C.

A conferate outlaw (Clint Eastwood) seeks revenge on Umion soldiers who killed his family, and forms a friendship with others who are also outcasts from society, including an India(Chief Dan George).

1980 *Windwalker* (Windwalker Prod.) Merrill, K.

This Canadian release was the first film to showcase American Indian languages with English subtitles; the Crow and Cheyenne languages are featured and there is very little spoken English throughout the movie. The story takes place in 1795 and is a fictional account of the life of a Cheyenne man, Windwalker. Windwalker falls in love with a beautiful Cheyenne maiden, Tashina, whom he later marries. A jealous tribesman, Crooked Leg, who had also sought Tashina as a wife, vows to wreak havoc and succeeds in kidnapping one of the couple's twin sons with the help of the Cheyenne's mortal enemies, the Crow. Many years later, as an old man, Windwalker has an opportunity to close this chapter of his life.

1988 *Powwow Highway* (Homemade) Wacks, J.

Two unlikely companions from a Cheyenne reservation in Wyoming set off to rescue an imprisoned sister from a Santa Fe jail. Their journey is full of mystical detours in an interesting mix of adventure, action and Indian humor.

1990 *Dances with Wolves* (Orion) Costner, K.

Fictional account of a white Union soldier's encounters with the South Dakota wilderness and a Lakota tribe. He gradually realizes that his true home is with them and abandons his military position to marry a white member of the tribe.

1992 *Incident at Oglala* Redford, R.

A docu-drama which focuses on the events surrounding the 1973 shooting of two FBI agents in South Dakota and the subsequent conviction of Leonard Peltier.

1992 *The Last of His Tribe*

Portrays the final years of Ishi, the last Yahi Indian, from his discovery in 1911 to his death several years later and his relationship with the UC-Berkeley anthropologist that tried to understand his language and culture.

1992 *The Last of the Mohicans*

Based on the James Fenimore Cooper novel of the same name, this film portrays the Mohicans as superhero warriors that come to the aid of victims of aggression. The movie, like the book, feeds on the noble savage concept.

1992 *Thunderheart*

A man investigating a murder (Val Kilmer) rediscovers his true Indian roots; imagery and ritual abound in this production.

1993 *Dark Wind* (Carolco Prod.) Morris, E.

A young sheriff becomes involved in a murder mystery when a Navajo man's mutilated body is found on a Hopi reservation.

1993 *Geronimo: An American Legend*

Details the events surrounding the capture, escape, and recapture of Geronimo (Wes Studi) by the U.S. Army in 1885 and 1886. The film follows the lead of *Dances with Wolves* in featuring an American Indian language with English subtitles; in this case, Apache.

1993 *Where the Rivers Flow North* (Caledonia)

A white man named Nel (Rip Torn) and an Indian woman named Bangor (Tantoo Cardinal) refuse to accept a lucrative offer to give up their rights to a lifetime lease on land in Vermont in order for a $30 million dam to be built. Filled with beautiful scenery and simple, yet effective acting.

Documentaries

Year Title (Production Company)

1922 *Nanook of the North* (Pathétique) Flaherty, R.

One of the first full-length documentaries that also became a successful box office draw. Robert Flaherty visited the Inuit along Hudson Bay and filmed their daily activities. It was later revealed that many of the portrayed events were staged.

1979 *Images of Indians* (Univ. of Washington) Hagopian, R. and Lucas, P.

A five-part series which contains many excellent examples of the noble and ignoble savage stereotype in Hollywood films. The titles of each segment are: The Great Movie Massacre, Heathen Injuns and the Hollywood Gospel, How Hollywood Wins the War, The Movie Reel Indians, and Warpaint and Wigs. Narrated by Will Sampson.

1992 *Imagining Indians* (Masayesva), Masayesva, V.

Illustrates the way American Indians have been portrayed in the film media and American popular culture and combines Hollywood film footage with personal interviews. The film was produced and directed by a member of the Hopi Nation and contains numerous interviews with American Indians who had firsthand experience with Hollywood westerns.

1992 *Last Stand at Little Bighorn* (PBS:The American Experience)

Documents different perspectives on the various conflicts between American Indians, the U.S. Army, and European-American settlers; with special focus on the Battle of Little Bighorn. Presents journal excerpts and interviews with those from both sides of the conflict. Finishes with Hollywood portrayals of "Custer's last stand".

1993 *The Dakota Conflict* (Twin Cities Public TV)

Details both sides of the 1862 war in southern Minnesota between the European-American settlers and the Dakota, which culminated in the order by Abraham Lincoln to hang 38 Dakota men simultaneously in Mankato: the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Narrated by Garrison Keillor and Floyd Red Crow Westerman.

1994 *Ishi: The Last Yahi Indian* (PBS: The American Experience)

Relates the story of the last known indigenous inhabitant of North America who lived completely isolated from the modern world. Ishi, a Yahi who lived in the mountains of northern California, was discovered by the modern world in 1911 and was the subject of intensive efforts to understand his language and culture before he died in 1916.

1994 *Nokomis: Voices of Anishinabe Grandmothers*
(Twin Cities Public TV) Penman, S.

Three Anishinabe (i.e., Ojibwe) grandmothers remember painful experiences they endured due to discrimination and intolerance.

NOTES

[1] There is currently a lack of consensus on a collective term for the aborigines of North America. Throughout this paper, the terms "American Indian", "Indian" and "indigenous people" will be used, instead of the confusing term "Native American", which is often mistaken to mean someone (of any ethnic background) who has been a United States citizen from birth and/or is a native speaker of American English. Many American Indians also resent the fact that the U.S. government has attempted (since 1970) to define six very different indigenous peoples from U.S. trust territories (Aleut, American Indians, American Samoans, "Eskimos" or Inuit, Hawaiians, and Micronesians) with the same term, Native American, although each group has important distinctions amongst themselves (Means, 1994). Indigenous people from these regions must use the term Native American on all official federal forms. The term "Indian" originates from Christopher Columbus, who first referred to the original inhabitants of the Americas as "los Indios", since he mistakenly believed that he had arrived in the islands off of Asia (Berkhofer, 1978:4-5; Stedman, 1982:253). "Indian" is a corrupted form of "los Indios" and is commonly used by the indigenous peoples of North America today, although it is preferable to refer to tribal names, if known (Stedman, 1982:xvii-xviii). Means (1994) has perhaps the best comment: "We were enslaved as Indians, we will get our freedom as Indians, and then we can call ourselves any damn thing we want to!"

[2] Many overlook the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890. The last military engagement between American Indians and the United States Army occurred in 1898 on Sugar Point of Leech Lake in northern Minnesota. The area has since been renamed Battle Point.

[3] A "Western" is defined here as any film which is set in the American frontier in the continental United States from the time of first European contact to the latter portion of the nineteenth century. The term "frontier" refers to the large expanses of land inhabited primarily by

indigenous peoples and various groups of settlers (typically European-American) who are all vying for control over the land and natural resources in the surrounding region and often come into conflict with one another. Although Westerns may also feature intragroup struggles instead of the intergroup ones most commonly portrayed, the setting is usually in a region that is sparsely inhabited by European-Americans and is typically located in the western portion of the lower 48 states.

[4] I am indebted to Eric Nelson for suggesting the third category, which is also described in Omaggio Hadley (1993:401).

[5] The term "savage" certainly reveals ethnocentric biases on the part of the Europeans and conjures up images of barbarity, which suggest that many of the European impressions of indigenous peoples may have been founded upon cross-cultural misunderstandings.

[6] One indication of this is that the women actually owned the tepees in each village (Pond, 1986:38; Walker, 1982:40).

[7] Kevin Costner has profited tremendously from the movie and was even able to persuade governmental authorities in South Dakota to grant him permission to build a casino, against the objections of many Lakota leaders who view the casino as a threat to their economic livelihood.

[8] Not all tribes had a unique language or dialect, but it is estimated that at least 200 "mutually unintelligible languages" existed north of Mexico at the time of the first contacts with Europeans (Josephy, 1991:12).

[9] Four films are normally shown in ESL 253 within a 10-week period, which constitutes one academic,quarter.

[10] *Witness* also received an average score of 8.2, while *Stand and Deliver* received a score of 6.8. A total of 19 students ranked each of the three core films.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Helen Jorstad and Ron Libertus for invaluable guidance on all aspects of this project. There was also important assistance from the Department of American Indian Studies and the American Indian Student Cultural Center at the University of Minnesota, the Franklin Business Corporation, and the Minnesota Historical Society. Gratitude is also owed to the people of Phillips neighborhood in Minneapolis and my students and colleagues at the Minnesota English Center. A special thanks to Xochitl Dennis, Robin Murie, Eric Nelson, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments. Of course, no acknowledgement

would be complete without considering the sacrifices made by my wife, Anne, and daughter, Natalie, who patiently awaited my return to normality after countless hours of researching and writing. The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect those of the above-named individuals and organizations.

GRADUATE PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS

Second Languages and Cultures Education

- M.Ed., M.A., and Ph.D. programs offered
- Full time and adjunct faculty offering a broad range of expertise
- Courses on a wide variety of issues that meet the needs of today's ESL teacher
  - innovative approaches to curricular development and design
  - multicultural, gender-fair curriculum
  - language assessment and program evaluation
  - critical issues in the education of minority students
  - content-based ESL instruction
  - intercultural communication and international development
- Convenient times for courses, including evening, Saturday morning, and summer offerings
- More parking available with the addition of new parking ramps and lots

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

Graduate Studies
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
College of Education
University of Minnesota
159 Pillsbury Drive SE
Minneapolis MN 55455-0208
612-625-2545

The College of Education
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The University of Minnesota is an equal opportunity employer and educator

MinneTESOL Journal, Vol. 12, 1994

The Effects of Training on Written Speech Act Behavior: Stating and Changing an Opinion[*]

ANDREW D. COHEN & ELAINE TARONE
University of Minnesota

A study is presented which compared the effects of training on the written speech act of stating and changing an opinion among nonnative and native speakers of English. A small-scale experiment was conducted to determine if skills could be taught to a nonnative Treatment Group, using another group of nonnatives as a Control Group and a group of native English speakers as a baseline to determine the components of the speech act. The Treatment and Control groups were comprised of graduate students in an advanced reading and writing summer course in the ESL program at the University of Minnesota. Persons in all three groups read two opposed articles on differences on the male and female human brain, then were instructed to role play a professor taking one of the two positions in the articles. Respondents then had to change their stance in favor of the other position, as presented in the articles, and write an essay for a journal or professional newsletter about their change of opinion. After five weeks, respondents in the Treatment and Control Groups underwent a similar procedure with articles that took sides on the greenhouse effect. Additional data on the process was obtained from verbal protocols with three nonnative participants in their native language. Overall, training did have a positive effect, with some differences in the kinds of strategies employed by nonnatives versus natives and in the use of logical connections indicating concession. Verbal report data provided retrospective insights into how respondents approached the task, as well as into the basis for their decisions during the process.

INTRODUCTION

Rod Ellis (1994:187-88) recently concluded a chapter on the pragmatics of language acquisition with this observation on speech act research:[1]

> Finally, it should be pointed out that the study of interlanguage pragmatics acts in L2 acquisition has focused on the spoken medium and has paid little attention to writing. This is particularly the case with illocutionary acts. In effect, therefore, although we know something about how 'contextualized' acts such [as] requests, apologies, and refusals are acquired, we know little about how learners acquire the ability to perform speech acts found in decontextualized, written language.

Ellis goes on to say that speech act performance in written discourse may differ considerably from that in oral production, and asserts that pragmatic research on language learning needs to consider written interlanguage.

This study presents the results of an experiment which investigated the process of stating and changing an opinion as it is conducted by nonnative learners of English in a written task. The experiment established a comparative baseline of native-speaker data and imitated a common situation in written academic thought (e.g., in journal articles or professional newsletters): changing one's mind about an issue. In light of Ellis's observation, the study brings together two strands of usually unrelated research: (1) learners' performance of speech acts in a second language (a branch of second-language acquisition research), and (2) the way in which functions are expressed by skilled writers of Scientific and Technical English (a branch of research on English for Specific Purposes). The central question for us here concerns the differences between native speakers when they state and change an opinion and non-native speakers performing the same illocutionary act.[2]

Myers (1989) suggests that politeness strategies[3] are used to mitigate two central impositions expressed in scientific writing: claims made by the writer and denials of claims made by others. To express an opinion is to make a claim (particularly central in "establishing a niche," in Swales' (1990:141) terms) and to make a claim is to impose one's opinion on others. The centrality of these two functions, and their impositional nature, require the sophisticated use of politeness strategies, which in turn result in the use of the variety of speech acts and stylistic features characteristic of scientific writing. The complexity of those features is still being described by researchers, and certainly remains to be taught explicitly to nonnative speakers of English.

An additional problem is that the task of performing a critical review of the work of others with the intent of offering one's own view may be culturally difficult for nonnative speakers. We have observed many such learners who, when confronted with such a task, simply report views without interpretation and without taking a stand on the matter. The responses of such learners, when asked about their difficulties, suggest to us that they are often quite aware of the impositional nature of the speech acts they are being asked to perform, and simply opt out of performing them (Bonikowska, 1988).

Part of the problem is that, in stating an opinion in writing, a writer is performing a speech act, acceptable performance of which in an American academic context may not be overtly clear to nonnatives. In fact, nonnatives may have no idea as to how to perform this speech act acceptably in such a context. For example, skilled academic writers may be apologizing for an earlier view, but may do it through a speech act strategy that seems more like a displacement of responsibility onto the scientific community than an individual acceptance of responsibility (a positive politeness strategy, as explained by Myers [1989:7-8] and Ellis [1994:161]). Instead of acknowledging responsibility for previous views, skilled writers make it appear that they were victims of circumstance--that "the field" imposed this view upon them. Myers cites Blake (1983), who dismisses all earlier viewpoints, including his own, this way: "Thus none of the current ideas on the relation of coding sequences to protein function and structure seems fully correct" (Blake, 1983, cited in Myers, 1989:8).

Nonnatives may not even realize that the writer in this example is changing a position and offering an apology, however covertly, for having taken a previously erroneous position. It may also be the case that the speech act is stated by means of language forms that nonnatives have trouble interpreting. For example, the writer may use a negative politeness strategy, employing a hedge in order to play down the discrepancy between what s/he had claimed in the past and what s/he ascribes to at the present moment. This hedge may be in the form of a modal with impersonal subject, e.g., "one might now construe that...," or even a passive, "it could now be surmised that..."

What nonnative writers, their English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) instructors, and their instructors in academic courses have come to realize is that the fact that nonnative writers of English are good writers in their native language does not imply that they will be effective writers in English. As Kaplan (1988) and others have pointed out, the nonnative writers may not be aware of the frequency and distribution of given written functions, nor may they be aware of the structural conventions used for expressing these functions. Certainly, as we have already pointed out, the work of Myers (1989), Swales (1990) and others indicates that these features, as used by skilled writers in various academic fields, may be quite complex.

The job of the ESL student in interpreting and then presenting conflicting views in the academic literature, then, is complex. While reading text in order to comprehend opposing views, ESL students need to identify the functions performed by the speech acts involved (e.g., making a claim, disagreeing with a colleague's opinion, apologizing for an error in one's own earlier claim, suggesting further research). They may also need to identify sometimes subtle language forms that writers use to express these functions (e.g., mitigation to tone down a statement--"a somewhat helpful view").

In their academic course work, ESL students are frequently called upon to provide a critical review of the work of others and to offer their own view. This act, often incorporated into a "review of the literature," is basic to academic writing, particularly writing for publication. On the face of it, a critical review of the literature would seem straightforward. However, research on the grammar and rhetoric of Scientific and Technical English has shown that a literature review can be deceptively complex: the frequency and distribution of the functions expressed, and the structural conventions used to express those functions may be far from obvious, even to non-specialist native speakers (e.g., Swales [1990:137-166] provides an excellent review of research on Scientific and Technical English article introductions).

In stating their opinions in writing (in term papers, theses, journal submissions, and the like), ESL students are faced with choosing speech acts that are socioculturally appropriate--for example, knowing if and when to apologize for a previous opinion. If they deem it appropriate to apologize, they need to know which strategies or semantic formulas within the apology speech act set to use (see Olshtain & Cohen, 1983). For example, they might use expression of apology ("I am sorry") and acknowledgment of responsibility ("I misjudged the importance of..."), but would be unlikely to include the strategy of *promise of non-recurrence* ("I will never do that again"). In addition, the students need to have at least some control over the language forms that are considered sociolinguistically appropriate at the given level of formality. Whereas ESL students may be aware of the proper speech act to use (e.g., an apology) and the semantic formulas appropriate for realizing the given speech act in the given context (e.g., an expression of regret and an acknowledgment of responsibility), they may still fail to select the appropriate language forms to convey the speech act (e.g., "excuse me," when "really sorry" would be a better indication of genuine regret).

It has been suggested that Asian students are taught to represent text meticulously and to respect each text, but not to take sides or to criticize them, i.e., "the criticism of a neophyte" (Ballard & Clanchy, 1991). Ballard and Clanchy suggest that Japanese students may justify the bases for differing interpretations of source material but will not test or evaluate these interpretations, as the intention is to achieve harmony. While these students may develop arguments through implication, these arguments are likely to go unrecognized by American readers of their university essays (1991:33). The concern for harmony apparently has deep roots in the Eastern approach to communication, more so than in that of the West.

According to Cushman and Kincaid, "The Western perspective is seen by the East as that of preserving political, social, and economic freedom for the individual" (Cushman & Kincaid, 1987). Myers' (1989) research indicates that this view about how Eastern and Western perspectives differ may not apply so simply to the subculture of Western science:

> I will assume in the subculture of science: (1) that the social distance between individuals--D--must be treated as very great; (2) that the relative differences in power between individuals--P--are supposed to be small, but (3) that the community as a whole is supposed to be vastly more powerful than any individual in it. Thus ... one researcher must always humble himself or herself before the community as a whole. Of course in reality scientists have a network of informal contacts, collaborations and long-standing personal commitments that do not require great social distance. But none of this is to emerge in print ...everyone must present themselves as equally the humble servants of the discipline. (1989:4)

Thus, for Western academics, the complex task is to present themselves in print as humble servants of the scientific community, while at the same time asserting individuality: expressing their unique opinion, making claims, and discounting the claims of others. The use of politeness strategies which involve hedging, use of the passive, modals and other structural conventions described by Myers (1989) permits Western academics to make claims while simultaneously presenting themselves as servants of the scientific community.

This article reports the results of an experiment aimed at determining the manner in which ESL students express and change opinions in their academic writing, and the extent to which the skills associated with expressing and changing an opinion in this context can be taught. The study examined the intersection of learner performance of speech acts (again noting the bias toward oral production) and the deployment of such acts in academic writing. The research questions investigated in the current study were as follows:

1. How can the written speech act of stating an opinion and then changing it be characterized amongst natives?

2. How can the speech act of changing an opinion be characterized amongst nonnatives? What similarities and differences are there between native and nonnative respondents?

3 . What are the effects of training in speech act production on the written speech act of changing an opinion?

4. What are the pocesses that respondents go through in performing such a task?

The study is interdisciplinary in nature in that it combines reading comprehension, writing skills, and sociolinguistic awareness as well. The study has scholarly value in that the field of literacy is currently looking at the relationship between reading and writing in academic settings. It has even been suggested that at times it is difficult to draw the line between reading and writing. Furthermore, there has been a keen interest over the last decade in the role of speech acts in discourse, especially regarding the more complex speech acts such as apologizing, complaining, and requesting, since considerable language proficiency is called for in order to understand and to execute them effectively.

At the more applied level, the importance of such research for the training of nonnative English-speaking academics cannot be overemphasized. There is a need to better understand the sources of difficulty for nonnatives in preparing reviews of the literature, and there is a commensurate need to generate training materials that would help to rectify the situation by dealing with such issues in the ESL courses that these students take.

DESIGN

Sample

Twenty-five students in the two most advanced reading/composition classes of the 1992 Summer Intensive English Language and Orientation Program (SIELOP) at the University of

Minnesota participated in the study, one class of thirteen as a treatment group and another class of twelve as the control group. The Treatment Group was comprised of six German speakers, four Japanese speakers, and one speaker each of Korean, Chinese, and Italian. The Control Group also consisted of six German speakers, two Japanese speakers, and one each of Korean, Thai, Croatian, and Arabic. There was also a baseline group of ten native speakers, all teachers at the Minnesota English Center, who provided data for comparison.

Instrumentation and Data Collection Procedures

All three groups received a pretest in which they were given two brief articles with conflicting views on an academic theme--namely, research comparing the male and female brain. The first, "Brain Structure Explains Male/Female Differences," was excerpted from an article appearing in the New York Times (Goleman, 1989), and the second, "Brain Structure Does Not Explain Male/Female Differences," was excerpted from a book dealing with biological theories about women and men (Fausto-Sterling, 1985). The texts were both about 1,300 words long.

The ESL students were told to role-play a professor who had taken a public stand in favor of the views expressed in one article, but who now had found irrefutable evidence to favor the views expressed in the second article. The students could choose which article would represent their initial position and which their current position. Hence, the student as "professor" was given the task of writing a brief article for an academic journal or newsletter, summarizing both views (approximately 80 words per summary), noting that he or she had changed his/her opinion and now ascribed to the second view, and apologizing for having previously ascribed to the first view. The task took them approximately 1 hour.

Given the complex nature of the task, the students were given their papers back for the purpose of revision if they did not complete the task as requested--i.e., if they took a position but did not indicate that this was a change of opinion. This procedure was utilized to reinforce the notion that academic writing is usually accomplished through the writing of various drafts, in a process-oriented manner. Thus, one of the investigators read all papers and supplied the students with a brief critique, indicating what portion of the task was misinterpreted or omitted and requesting that the student revise the task.[4]

The Treatment class of ESL students then received training from their regular classroom teacher in how to prepare such reviews of the literature and how to take a stand in such cases. Parts of five class sessions were devoted to the training, and the students did some of the work out of class. Among their training materials was Leki's (1989) chapter on "Responding to Written Arguments," which presents two brief texts with conflicting views and then guides students through the summarizing of both positions and the formulation of a personal stance on the issue. The students were also trained in the use of appropriate speech acts in their written literature reviews, based on a content analysis of the responses collected from the ten native-speaking ESL teachers/ teacher trainees performing the same task.[5] The control group received the regular summer course.

Five weeks later, the students were once again asked to perform the same task. This time the two articles with conflicting views were, "The Greenhouse Effect is Potentially Disastrous," excerpted from an article in *The Nation* (Steel, 1984) and from *USA Today* (Anonymous,1986), and "The Greenhouse Effect is Exaggerated," excerpted from an article by Landsberg (1984).[6]

Three of the Japanese ESL learners, one from the Treatment Group and two from the Control Group, met with the native Japanese-speaking research assistant who had them provide retrospective self-observation in Japanese shortly after performing the posttest task. Among other things, the respondents were asked how they selected the texts that would represent their first and second positions and how they actually constructed their responses (e.g., choice of vocabulary and grammatical structures).

DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

a. Rating of the responses: Two raters rated the responses on the written tasks in scrambled order so that the raters were unaware of whether the response was from the Treatment or the Control group. The order of pretest and posttest tasks was also scrambled and the raters were told not to pay attention to the content of the responses. They focused on the language in the responses that could be used to identify the respondent's position. They rated the responses on a scale of from 4 to 1 for their performance on the task:

4 = good - a position is stated and then a change of position is stated.

3 = fair - the two positions are there and include a shift in opinion, but one or both may have to be inferred.

2 = poor - just one opinion was stated and no change of opinion.

1 = very poor - the respondents did not perform the task. For example, all they did was to summarize one or both of the texts.

b. Verbal report: The Japanese research assistant transcribed in Japanese the retrospective verbal report protocols from the three Japanese ESL students, translated the transcriptions, and prepared responses to four research questions: the two noted above (i.e., matching opinions with texts, and actually composing the written task) and two others relating to the processes involved in reading the two texts and in summarizing them (Itaba, 1992).

RESULTS

1. How can the written speech act of stating an opinion and then changing it be characterized amongst natives?

Although the sample of native writers was limited to ten, there did emerge a structure for stating and then changing a position. There tended to be some indication as to the duration of the previously held opinion and as to the time when the new view took effect. Then there was a brief statement of the original opinion. Next, there was usually a logical connector of concession, followed by a statement of the new opinion and an explanation or justification for it, occasionally with a time frame for the new opinion. On occasion there would be a comment or apology for having held the previous opinion and once or twice an indication of collective or individual responsibility for the previously-held opinion.[7] The semantic formulas (speech act strategies) were as follows, although their order varied slightly:

a. **a time frame for the first position**: "as recently as one year ago," "in 1984," "until reading...," "originally."

b. **a statement of the first position**: "I held that...," "many, including this researcher, argued that...," "in the past, I supported the view that..."

c. **a logical connector of concession**: "however," "despite," "in spite of."

d. **a time frame for the new position**: "just recently."

e. **an expression of a change of opinion**:

1) **direct expression of change of opinion**: "I would like to retract my previous position that...and state that I now feel...," "now, however, after years of examining research findings, I am not convinced that. . . .I no longer feel that..."

2) **indirect expression of change of opinion**: "that have/has prompted me to reconsider my stance...," "this leads me to believe more that..."

3) **focus on current opinion**: "the position I now hold is that there is irrefutable evidence that...," "I now tend to agree more with the argument that..."

f. **an explanation, justification, or cause for the change of opinion**:

1) **the writer as agent in the change of opinion**: "further research on my part leads me to doubt these claims and pushed me to investigate...," "a deeper investigation has led me to reconsider..."

2) **lack of evidence for the prior stance prompts the change of opinion**: "indeed, with no hard data to support the claims...," due largely to the lack of existing evidence...

3) **new evidence causing the change of opinion**: "compelling results," "more plausible evidence for my new position..."

g. **a comment**: "we can't go on insisting that there are no differences... anymore than we could try to cling to the idea that the earth is flat..."

h. **collective or individual responsibility**: "it has become clear that many of us in the scientific community erred when we rejected those early explanations for...,"[8] "what can we do?"

2. How can the speech act of changing an opinion be characterized amongst nonnatives? What similarities and differences were there between native and nonnative respondents?

a. **A Comparison of Semantic Formula or Strategy Use**

For the most part, the nonnatives used the same semantic formulas or discourse strategies as did the natives. This is not so surprising since the basic moves were specified in the task itself. Thus, the nonnative data often included a time frame for the first position, a statement of the first position, a logical connector of concession, a time frame for the new position, an expression of a new opinion, and an explanation or justification for the change of opinion.

With regard to the expression of the new opinion, the nonnatives used all three of the sub-strategies used by natives: direct expression of change of opinion, indirect expression, and focus on current opinion. Concerning the explanation or justification for this new position, the nonnatives also used all three sub-strategies used by the natives: the writer as agent in the change of opinion, lack of evidence prompting the change of opinion, and new evidence causing the change of opinion.

There were two strategies that some natives used that none of the nonnatives used, and there was one strategy used by nonnatives and not by natives. One of the strategies used only by natives was that of offering a collective or personal evaluative comment--which Cohen, Olshtain, and Rosenstein (1986) found to serve as a social lubricant in projective oral discourse[9] in rough moments: "I am embarrassed to say, I found much of the research to be shoddy and the claims unwarranted...," "but we can't go on insisting that there are no differences...anymore than we could try to cling to the idea that the earth is flat..." This sort of strategy is, in Myers' (1989) interpretation of the Brown and Levinson model (Brown and Levinson 1978), an unmitigated face-threatening act of criticism, and as such it would probably be unusual to find such a bald statement in print in a professional journal (although such phrasing might be more likely in a letter to the editor of such a journal). The other strategy was that of evoking collective responsibility: "How wrong we were!" "it has become clear that many of us in the scientific community erred when we rejected those early explanations for..." "what can we do?" In these instances, the responsibility is shifted off the shoulders of the individual scholar and instead placed upon a larger, more amorphous group of academicians. This strategy is described by Myers (1989):

> One way of making a criticism while minimizing the [face-threatening act] is for writers to use pronouns that include themselves in the criticism. Besides the WE that means the writers, there is a WE that means the discipline as a whole. ...Crick uses the...device when drawing lessons from the split gene episode. Lacking evidence we had become overconfident in the generality of some of our basic ideas (Crick, 1979). (Myers, 1989:7)

The strategy used only by nonnatives was that of explaining or justifying their first position: "The statements...seemed to be very strong, and so we thought that..." (German speaker), "We used our best equipment, our best specialist...We could not give consistent foresight..." (German speaker), "My observations were strengthened by the scientific investigations of..." (German speaker), "In #1, he shows some evidences which...So #1 is more reliable than #2 for me" (Japanese speaker). None of the natives felt compelled to explain or justify the position that they were now refuting. Perhaps it was a deliberate strategy of the natives not to call more attention to their previous position than they had to. The nonnatives, on the contrary, occasionally did this.

b. A Comparison of the Linguistic Forms Used

Perhaps the most conspicuous difference with respect to form was in the choice of logical connector of concession. The natives used forms like "however," "despite," and "in spite of." The nonnatives used "but" almost exclusively. In fact, there were 22 instances of the use of "but" and only four uses of other connectors--all in the Treatment Group and all in posttesting. Three of these were appropriate--the use of "however" twice and the use of "despite" once. But one of the respondents who did use "however" correctly (a native Chinese speaker), used "but" and "nevertheless" incorrectly, perhaps in making an exaggerated effort to use connectors:

> However, new studies and reports let me doubt my earlier position. The E.P.A. says that the greenhouse effect has the potential to destroy civilizations, in contrast to other environmental problems. *But* the officials will first deal with this problem if it is upon us. *Nevertheless,* it is necessary to act against the greenhouse effect before it is to late... [italics added for emphasis]

The author probably meant "consequently" or "hence" instead of "but," and "clearly" rather than "nevertheless." In both cases he has created an opposition that is not warranted, given the rest of the text that he generated. This result is reminiscent of Jisa and Scarcella's (1982) unpublished findings. In their study, nonnatives felt so compelled to use connectors (e.g., additives such as "and;" contrastives such as "however") which they had learned that they made more use of them per t-unit in their essays than did natives (36% vs. 21%). They also often used them incorrectly.

With respect to expressing a change of opinion, the nonnatives were more abrupt in doing so than were natives. Several natives used hedges or mitigators both in explicitly stating their change of opinion ("*although I am not quick to make judgments, and by nature examine the facts carefully before taking a stand*, I have *on this issue* had to change my view...") and in focusing on their current opinion ("I now *tend* to agree more with the argument that..."). Nonnatives, on the other hand, simply came right out with the change statement ("I changed my mind...," "I changed my attitude...," "I have change my opinion...") and/or with their current opinion ("Now I think...," "Now I agree with X's stand...").

3. What were the effects of training on the production of the written speech act of changing an opinion?

The interrater reliability for the two raters was high: r = .91 on the pretest (p<.001), and r = .94 on the posttest (p<.001), using Pearson's coefficient of correlation. The ratings were averaged and a t-test analysis for independent groups was performed on the data. The results showed that the Treatment and Control Groups did not differ significantly in pretesting, but that there was a significant difference in posttesting in favor of the Treatment Group (Table 1). In addition, a t-test of the gain scores was performed in order to adjust the posttest scores for the effect of pretest performance, and once again the Treatment Group came out significantly ahead (Table 2).

4. What were the processes that respondents went through in responding to the task?

The following are the findings from verbal report sessions in which three of the Japanese learners, one from the Treatment Group and two from the Control Group, provided retrospective self-observation in Japanese after performing the posttest task.

The first Japanese-speaking respondent (from the Treatment Group) decided not to reject either of the positions: "I thought each of the articles contains some truthfulness and, thus, persuasiveness. So, I didn't turn any of them down but approached them with respect." Apparently, the Japanese word keii ("respect") implies that some credibility is granted each writer's authority, which makes it impossible to reject either one out of hand. The respondent finally chose the one that seemed more fact-oriented.

The second respondent perceived the task as a kind of game, and assumed more of a narrative, rather than argumentative, style. In other words, his statement flowed like a story, rather than reflecting a dialectical presentation of arguments. He said he debated in his mind like in a verbal game and created arguments haphazardly. This respondent chose a position which, as he put it, "enabled me to make a story and actually write it.... there was no personal belief influencing this decision."

The third respondent reported that the choosing of an article to side with was "extremely hard to do," not because it was hard to weigh arguments, but because this task asked him, within a fixed time limit, to criticize arbitrarily a previous, artificially determined position in favor of his more recent position. He argued that this sort of process does not take place in writing in his area (medicine).

The first respondent reported that he attempted to express his change of position by creating strong reasons to support the act of changing his mind. He came up with one reason, namely, that one article was more fact-oriented than the other, and stated that he did not need to use modals or hedges: "I don't find it necessary to use hedges. It is I who changed my position, not others." The second respondent amplified the meaning of this lack of need for hedging: "In expressing the change of my previous position, I don't feel any social responsibility or anything of that kind." The third respondent added, "In this task, I was asked just to write. So I just wrote my summary." The Japanese investigator in these verbal report sessions concluded that the subjects may well have known how to hedge in English but did not find it important to do so in stating a change of viewpoint.

The second respondent noted that he did not envision a readership when he prepared the task because he viewed it as a verbal game. Thus, he reported that while he did care about grammatical accuracy, he did not care about how his sentences would be perceived by readers. Because the third respondent did not find it realistic in his area of medicine to express a change of viewpoint in "such a light-headed fashion," he also did not feel it important to "decorate his statements for this sort of game."

These responses speak to the validity of the task. These process-oriented data would suggest that because two of the respondents were not taking the task seriously, they were thus not making an effort to produce what they considered to be "public discourse." How different their language structures would have been in an authentic situation is, however, hard to say. The one respondent who **did** report taking the task seriously also indicated approaching the two articles with respect, as Ballard and Clanchy

(1991) would suggest that Asian students do. Myers (1989) points out that one of the great difficulties of applying a functional analysis to scientific and technical writing is the lack of a definite addressee for published texts. Some of the comments of these subjects may reflect this problem.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study set out first of all to describe the speech acts of stating and then changing an opinion, both among native and nonnative users of English. The findings from this relatively small-scale study still constitute a beginning in this direction.

In sum, among the natives, there was a tendency to indicate the duration of the previously held opinion and when the new view took effect. Then there was a brief statement of the first opinion, followed by a logical connector of concession. Next, there often appeared a statement of the new opinion and an explanation or justification for it, occasionally with a time frame for the new opinion.

For the most part the nonnatives used the same semantic formulas or discourse strategies as did the natives. There were two strategies that some natives used that none of the nonnatives used and there was one strategy used by nonnatives, and not by natives. One of the strategies used only by natives was that of offering a personal evaluative comment, and the other was that of evoking collective responsibility. The strategy used only by nonnatives was that of explaining or justifying their first position. None of the natives explained or justified the position that they were refuting.

With respect to the form that the message took, the most conspicuous difference was in the choice of logical connector of concession. While the natives used forms like "however," "despite," and "in spite of," the nonnatives used "but" almost exclusively. Then with respect to expressing a change of opinion, the nonnatives were more abrupt in doing so. Several natives used hedges both in explicitly stating their change of opinion and in focusing on their current opinion. Nonnatives, on the other hand, simply came right out with the change statement and/or with their current opinion.

There seem to have been some systematic effects of training in the treatment group, both in terms of a greater awareness as to the speech acts that the Treatment students needed to perform and in terms of the carrier language they were to use to convey these speech acts. Although the significance of the difference was modest (p<.05), the sample small, and the treatment relatively brief, the findings about the positive effects of training in the use of speech acts in written academic discourse are consistent with those for training in the use of speech acts in oral language (Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Billmyer, 1990).

Regarding the processes used in producing the responses, the case study work with verbal protocol yielded some insights. Each of the three Japanese ESL respondents had a different reaction. The first treated the texts with such respect that it was difficult for him to choose one to favor. The second simply saw the entire exercise as a game which he did not take seriously. The third felt the exercise was difficult because he was asked to make an arbitrary choice, something that does not occur in his professional work.

With regard to any conscious selection of vocabulary and grammar, the first respondent reported that he attempted to express his change of position by creating strong reasons to support the act of changing his mind. None of the three respondents felt the need to hedge in their responses because they did not feel the situation required it. Furthermore, the perception that this was just a game influenced their responses. While the second respondent indicated attention to grammatical accuracy, he and the third respondent did not attend to how their sentences would be perceived by a presumed readership of academic colleagues.

The research aims originally included a focus on the nature of the respondents' summaries for each of the texts, as well as their handling of their opinions. This broader focus proved to be too ambitious in that the students had enough to do simply dealing with the stating of an opinion and then expressing a change of opinion. A few of the students in each group, both in pre- and posttesting, did not provide summaries of the two articles, but launched directly into a discussion of their opinions. In rating the responses it became clear that the issue was not how well the respondents summarized the two texts but of greater interest was how they articulated their position and then their change of position. The performance of the speech act then was the major concern.

We must remember that although the selected texts were relevant to the topics being discussed in the ESL courses at the time of the pre- and posttesting (i.e., "learning" and "the environment," respectively), the passages were not directly connected to the respondents' field of study. This lack of context expertise could have worked to the detriment of those less comfortable with the scientific nature of the subject matter. For this reason, a recommendation for follow-up research would be that the respondents perform such tasks using texts from their respective fields of expertise.

Even given the limitations inherent in the study, the results would suggest that such small-scale work is justified because it helps to improve our understanding of how native and nonnative written discourses compare in specific speech-act area. This type of research echoes the concerns of Ellis (1994) that data on written speech acts be garnered to demonstrate differences in acquisition and performance between written and oral discourse. The current study also provided insights as to whether systematic interventions to teach given speech functions would be of value. In this study, there seemed to be value in providing a treatment, but only after an empirical study of what ESL teachers would write and comparing that to what the ESL students wrote. Future research could also gather data samples from the nonnatives in their native languages in order to determine the influence of L1 discourse patterns on the writing of L2 text.

1048

Table 1: Mean Differences in Ratings of Pretest and Posttest Tasks

	Pretest		Posttest	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Treatment (N = 13)	3.25	1.03	3.50	0.82
Control (N = 12)	3.04	1.12	2.46	1.27

t = -.47
df = 22

t = -2.46*
df = 23

*p < .05

Table 2: Mean Differences in Gain Scores

	Mean Gain Score	S.D.
Treatment (N = 13)	.33	.96
Control (N = 12)	-.58	.87

t = -2.44*
df = 22

* p

THE AUTHORS

Andrew D. Cohen is Director of the Institute of Linguistics and Asian and Slavic Languages and Literatures, full Professor in the Department of English as a Second Language, and member of the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics, University of Minnesota. He is also Director of the National Language Resource Center at the University. He has published numerous books on bilingual education, language testing and language-learning strategies.

Elaine Tarone is a Professor and head of the English as a Second Language Program at the University of Minnesota. She is currently interested in learning more about the way children acquire scond languages in classroom settings and has a continuing interest in the way learners learn to communicate effectively in an L2

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1986). Warming of the earth is genuine threat. *USA Today*, June 19.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Ballard, B., & Clanchy, J. (1991). Assessment by misconception: Cultural influences and intellectual traditions. In L. Hamp-Lyons (Ed.), *Assessing second language writing in academic contexts* (19-35). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Billmyer, K. (1990). "I really like your lifestyle": ESL learners learning how to compliment. *Penn Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 6* (2), 31-48.

Blake, C. C. F. (1983). Exons--present from the beginning? *Nature, 306*, 535-537.

Bonikowska, M. P. (1988). The choice of opting out. *Applied Linguistics, 9* (2), 169-181.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals of language uses: Politeness phenomena. In E. N. Goody (Ed.), *Questions and politeness* (56-289). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Cohen, A. D., Olshtain, E., & Rosenstein, D. S. (1986). Advanced

EFL apologies: What remains to be learned? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 62* (6), 51-74.

Crick, F. (1979). Split genes and RNA splicing. *Science, 204,* 264-271.

Cushman, D. P., & Kincaid, D. L. (1987). Introduction and initial insights. In D. L. Kincaid (Ed.), *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives* (1-10). San Diego: Academic Press.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition.* Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Fausto-Sterling, A. (1985). *Myths of gender: Biological theories about women and men.* NY: Basic Books.

Goleman, D. (1989). Subtle but intriguing differences found in the brain anatomy of men and women. *The New York Times,* April 11, 1989.

Itaba, Y. (1992). Exercise in summarizing and changing point of view: Retrospective interviews with Japanese native-speaker subjects. Unpublished course paper, Dept. of ESL, Univ. of Minnesota. (Available from ILASLL, Univ. of Minnesota, 192 Klaeber Ct., 320 16th Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455.)

Jisa, H., & Scarcella, R. (1982). Getting it together: An analysis of written discourse markers. Unpublished manuscript. (Available from Robin Scarcella, ESL/Program in Linguistics, University of California, Irvine, CA 92717.)

Kaplan, R. B. (1988). Contrastive rhetoric and second language learning: Notes toward a theory of contrastive rhetoric. In A. Purves (Ed.), *Writing across languages and cultures: Issues in contrastive rhetoric* (275-304). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Landsberg, H. E. (1984). Global climatic trends. In J. L. Simon & H. Kahn (Eds.), *The resourceful earth.* NY: Basil Blackwell.

Leki, I. (1989). *Academic writing* (209-221). NY: St. Martin's Press.

Levinson, S. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Myers, G. (1989). The pragmatics of politeness in scientific articles. *Applied Linguistics, 10* (1), 1-35.

Olshtain, E., & Cohen, A. D. (1983). Apology: A speech act set. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language acquisition* (18-35). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Olshtain, E., & Cohen, A. D. (1990). The learning of complex speech act behavior. *TESL Canada Journal, 7* (2), 45-65.

Steel, L. M. (1984). Fear of frying. *The Nation*, May 26.

Swales, J. (1990). *Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NOTES

[*] An earlier version of this study appeared as Cohen, A. D., & Tarone, E. (1994), "Describing and teaching speech act behavior: Stating and changing an opinion," in L. Barbara & M. Scott (Eds.), *Reflections on language learning* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters).

[1] For clarity, Ellis's *interlanguage pragmatics* is the same as *pragmatic competence* applied to second-language learning. He defines pragmatic competence as "the knowledge that speaker-hearers use in order to engage in communication, including how speech acts are successfully performed. Pragmatic competence is normally distinguished from linguistic competence. Both are seen as relating to 'knowledge,' and are therefore distinct from actual performance" (Ellis, 1994:719).

[2] Following Austin (1962), *illocutionary acts* and *speech acts* are used synonymously in this paper, representing his view of such acts as inclusive of the social functions of both speaking and writing. However, it is worth noting that "speech acts" has commonly referred only to oral discourse.

[3] Politeness strategies can be either positive, in which case the speaker is attempting to establish a social link with the hearer on the basis of equality or commonality, or negative, wherein the speaker wants to reduce the addressee's sense of obligation (see Levinson, 1983).

[4] On the pretest, four papers were revised, two from the Treatment

Group and two from the Control Group. However, on the posttest only two papers were revised—both for the Treatment Group.

[5] Actually, eight from this group did the task with the pretest passages and two did it with the posttest passages.

[6] In both this and the previous task, the passages reflected the theme being addressed in the classroom at the time: "learning" in the first case and "the environment" in the second.

[7] In other words, there was not strong support in the native-speaker baseline group for Myers' processing step of displacing responsibility. Consequently, this did not emerge as a strong criterion for this particular speech act. This may be an artifact of the small sample size.

[8] This represents a classic strategy for displacing personal responsibility, according to Myers (1989).

[9] I.e., the respondents in the Cohen et al. (1986) study wrote down their responses in a discourse completion task presumably the way that they would say them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank Susan Gilbert and William Flittie, the two ESL teachers who participated in this study. We would also like to thank the students, unfortunately too numerous to name. In addition, we acknowledge the feedback we received from Thom Upton, Jim Lantolf, and George Yule, as well as the editorial work of Lee Searles.

Hmong Gangs: Preventing Lost Youth

SHELLY M. BERTRAND
St. Paul Public Schools

LISA MB SIMONS
American Language School, Chiba Prefecture, Japan

The literature which deals with the topic of gangs, and, in particular, with Hmong gangs, has seemed to focus on why children join gangs. But not every Hmong youth is in a gang. Perhaps the more pertinent question for educators is what prevents students from joining gangs? What are the factors present in their lives that eliminate the need to be affiliated with gang members? How large a role does success in schools play? What, if anything, can we as educators do to prevent or decrease gang involvement? In this article, we present a brief overview of Hmong history in the U.S. and discuss factors behind gang affiliation. The results of a survey given to 23 Hmong students at one St. Paul junior high school and one middle school are discussed, with recommendations for future research.

INTRODUCTION

It is said that history repeats itself. As the world continues to experience extreme changes politically and socially, so do the immigration populations continue to change. People from Europe and Scandinavian countries comprised the majority of U.S. immigrants at the turn of the century. Southeast Asians are now the majority group among immigrants in the Upper Midwest. In the Twin Cities, the Hmong community has received substantial news coverage for its enormous and rapid growth.

As these international populations have grown, problems and tensions have also increased. Not only are the immigrants having to adjust to a new culture, but many also strive to maintain the culture of their homeland. "Southeast Asians come to the United States for the same reasons all immigrants do: to find a better future for their children. '[But the children] learn the new lifestyle and they don't really believe in or respect the old traditions'" (Ingrassia, King, Tizon, Scigliano, and Annin ,1994, p. 65).

One of the problems that has resulted from the Hmong relocation is the growth of Southeast Asian gangs. A gang expert from the Minneapolis Police Department believes that Hmong gangs exist because they are a convenient third culture for youth. Without them, some youth feel too uncomfortable having one foot in refugee culture and one foot in contemporary culture (L. Evenrud, 94). Some Asian teenagers have termed themselves the ".5s—half in one culture, half in another," with the challenge to assimilate into the American mainstream while keeping one's own heritage (Bonner, 1994, p. 15A).

Obviously, not all Hmong youth join gangs. Some are influenced by other important factors. There is little in the literature, however, which predicts these factors. As teachers working with Hmong students, we decided to examine more closely just what influences work to prevent gang membership. Our questions, then, are: What do Hmong students perceive to be the factors that keep Hmong students from joining gangs? and What can we do as educators to help prevent and to decrease gang involvement?

HMONG BACKGROUND

With the fall of the Royal Lao government in April, 1975 and the takeover by the Pathet Lao, the Hmong, who had sided with the United States Army throughout the Vietnam War, were forced to flee Laos. A small number (approximately 1,000 Hmong) were airlifted to Thailand, leaving the rest to fend for themselves and try to escape on foot (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993). By August 1978, at least 55,000 Hmong had fled Laos to avoid seminar camps (e.g. re-education camps), labor battalions, bombs, napalm, and other reprisals (Kouman, 1978). By the year 1984, 60,000 Hmong had been relocated in third countries, 40,000 had remained in the camps, and an estimated 200,000 had stayed in Laos (Hendrix, Downing, & Deinard, 1986).

The United States is one of the main countries of choice for relocation, with California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin becoming major resettlement sites. In 1992, there were 125,000 Hmong in the United States (Hamilton-Merritt, 1993). In 1980, there were relatively few Hmong in the Twin Cities. By 1990 the number had risen to 27,000, with 65% of Hmong adults not in the labor force.

Relocation in the United States has impacted traditional Hmong culture in a variety of ways. A once fiercely independent, self-sufficient people, many have now become reliant on the welfare system. Frustration grows among these immigrants who have not yet been able to assimilate into the economy (Beck, 1994). Hmong youth, in school all day, have in many cases learned to speak English better than their parents and often have a better understanding of American culture. Parents are then dependent upon their children to act as interpreters and guides; they may be unsure of how to check up on their children, and resent their children becoming Americanized (Bonner, 1994). This results in a "role reversal"—undermining the adult's authority and causing many young people to lose respect for their parents. Dufresne (1993) writes:

> The youth lose respect for the elders who they think cannot teach them anything about the new world and who cannot help them at all with their adjustment to a new culture. As a result, they seek to impose their own rules at home, doing whatever they want, going out with whomever they please, and coming home at all hours of the night, without any restrictions. If they sense any opposition or receive any reprimands from the family, they may simply quit school and run away from home (p. 98).

GANGS

Gangs are not new in the United States. According to sources, gangs have been around ever since the country established its independence from England (Evenrud, L., 1994; Evenrud, C., 1994; National School Safety Center, 1988; Gaustad, 1990) or even as long as organized society has existed (Prothrow-Stith, 1991). In 1927, it was recognized that gangs developed among youth who lived in deteriorating neighborhoods, had inadequate recreation, did not have a strong religious background, had a lack of parental control, lived in poverty, and who had little education (Evenrud,L., 1994) At an April 7, 1994 seminar, Evenrud provided the following definition of a contemporary street gang, written by Miller in 1975: "A gang can be defined as a group of recurrently associating individuals with identifiable leadership and internal organization; identifying with or engaging individually or collectively in violent, illegal behavior." A similar definition was written by the California Council on Criminal Justice: "A gang is a group of people who interact at a high rate among themselves to the exclusion of other groups. A gang has a group name, claims a neighborhood or other territory, and engages in criminal or other anti-social behavior on a regular basis" (Barden, 1989, p. 9). The most defining factor of all of these is violent behavior (Evenrud, L., 1994).

Prothrow-Stith (1991) offers some interesting comparisons between anti-social groups such as gangs and pro-social groups such as fraternities in her book, *Deadly Consequences*. Both exist to provide members with a supportive base when dealing with the ambiguity between adolescence and adulthood. They both provide an opportunity to be a part of a group separated from the family. Both give some purpose to life, providing a place to be valued and to find loyalty. In addition, both have rituals, colors, oaths, and initiation rites. But, again, anti-social groups feed off of violence. Prothrow-Stith writes, "When young males come together as a gang, the group exerts a powerful influence that is capable of eliciting violent, illegal, and anti-social acts that they would not necessarily commit if acting alone" (p. 97-98).

Prothrow-Stith describes three distinct types of gangs: 1) "scavenger gangs," 2) "territorial gangs," and 3) "corporate gangs". The first is the least organized and least successful of the three. Members tend to be dropouts and low-achievers, who are subject to erratic behavior. Their crimes tend to be spontaneous, their method of uniting disorganized, and their leadership constantly changing. Territorial gangs, also referred to as "fighting gangs", are considerably more organized. Members tend to have done poorly in school, come from troubled families, and often speak little English. Their traditions are set and secretive; however, their primary purpose is social, not necessarily drug-related. The members often wear particular clothing or colors to distinguish themselves from others. The last type, the corporate gangs, or "crews", are highly structured organizations centered on the drug business. Even though members are not necessarily schooled, they are often intelligent. Leaders must be able to plan strategically, manage personnel, and handle money. In fact, corporate gangs can be so structured that the individual members may not know about the organization as a whole. Even though most of these gangs do not find such things as turf and colors relevant to their purpose, discipline, secrecy, and strict codes of behavior are demanded from each member.

The reasons for joining gangs are numerous. Many join because they do not realize there are other options besides participating in violence, especially since that is all they have witnessed growing up. In this respect, then, violence appears to be a normal and appropriate way to resolve disputes (Prothrow-Stith, 1991). Poverty, social disparities, school failure, unemployment, unmet needs, family dysfunction, resentment, lack of parental control, gaining a sense of identity/self-worth, discrimination, transition, and protection have all been listed as factors leading to the risk of gang involvement (Beck, 1994; Bonner, 1994; Evenrud, C., 1994; Evenrud, L., 1994; Gaustad, 1990; National School Safety Center, 1988; Prothrow-Stith, 1991). A junior high teacher in Watts summed up why gangs are so attractive to youth: They say, "I've been here. I was here. I was a part of something" (in Prothrow-Stith, 1991, p. 106).

HMONG GANGS

The marginalization and alienation of first generation immigrants has long been documented. But where there were once Irish, Italian, and Polish gangs roaming the streets 50 years ago, society is now seeing African-American, Hispanic, and Asian gangs (Gardner, 1992; Prothrow-Stith, 1991). Hmong youth, like so many immigrants, are often caught between two cultures: the traditional culture of their homes and the novel culture of the United States. In a *Mpls./St. Paul Magazine* article, "Lost Boys," Lee Pao Xiong, director of the Hmong Youth Association of Minnesota, referred to these youth as "lost souls" (Robson, 1992). The National

School Safety Center (1988) wrote, "Asian gangs present a problem in most cities with a large population of recent Asian immigrants" (p. 15). And they are even filtering into smaller cities where immigrants are getting recruited by those in the larger cities (Beck, 1994).

According to one former gang member and an inner-city high school counselor, Hmong gangs, originally soccer clubs, began emerging in 1984-85 when conflicts erupted between teams. Robson (1992) wrote that soccer games were disrupted by intense heckling from people of other races; hence, gangs may have been organized for self-protection. Beck (1994) points out that "the cycle of community tensions spins round as native youths link up with outside white gangs to respond to Asian gangs" (p. 86).

There are a myriad of reasons for joining a Hmong gang, many quite similar to those for a gang member of any race. In a recent conversation (1994), Mai Xiong*, a former female gang member, told us that generally males join for increased identity and manhood, while females join to get back at their parents for unequal treatment. Mai also informed us that some of the present gang members she knows are lacking long-term, much less short-term, goals. They really have no hope for the future. In addition, Mai also described brothers and sisters learning gang-like behavior from their parents or older siblings. There are pictures of Hmong gang members and small children, with the latter "signing" to the photographer (Evenrud 1994). A seventeen-year-old gang member said he "is seduced by his gang friends and the lure of new crimes" (Bonner, 1994, p. 1A).

There is a growing frustration with the financial situation of Hmong people and "that frustration, in combination with resentment among natives over taxes and busing, seems to be the cause of inter-ethnic violence among the youth" (Beck, 1994, p. 86). Officer Cha of the St. Paul police force cites two main reasons Hmong youth join gangs: 1) the absence of a father, and 2) poor achievement in school (Dufresne, 1993). Robson (1992) writes that youth are faced with a choice: "fight or be shamed" (p. 91). Sergeant L. Evenrud (1994) pointed out that for many gang members the most basic needs for safety and security are not being met. And when Hmong teenagers and adults are having to deal with two different cultures, it would seem unlikely that anything

*name has been changed to protect anonymity but the physiological needs are being met.

Sgt. Loren Evenrud (1994) commented that Hmong males hurt other Asian males because the latter are not of Hmong descent. On the other hand, Bonner's article in the *Star Tribune* (1994, p. 14A) reported that once exclusive Hmong gangs are now affiliating with other Southeast Asian populations (e.g. Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian). Perhaps the Hmong males are deciding it would be more beneficial to be a part of Asian gangs rather than exclusively Hmong gangs. Then, they could be a more vehement organization against all other races.

Some exclusive Hmong gangs, however, remain quite powerful and established. For example, the Young Cho Lovers gang has the following oath, "Until the Lord takes my soul, I devote my life to become a Cholo. I will honor, respect, protect and serve King C... For if I fail, Y.C.L. must destroy me" (Evenrud, L, 1994). According to Sergeant Evenrud and Mai (1994), present Hmong gangs include the Cobras, Junior White Tigers (or 612), Asian Knights, Peace Mud, Asian Boy Crips (or ABC), and Asian Mafia Crips. Though gang members identify themselves in various ways, the best indicator of gang involvement, according to Mai and Sergeant Evenrud, is the tattoo. We would probably classify most of these gangs as fighting gangs, since they do tend to be organized, speak little English, and are probably members for social (protection and belonging) reasons. In fact, Robson (1992) wrote that, "unlike their black and Hispanic counterparts, southeast-Asian gang members are almost never boastful or ostentatious about their affiliation" (p. 92).

METHODOLOGY

A survey was given to 39 ESL students in one St. Paul junior high school and one middle magnet school (Appendix A) in order to answer the questions: What prevents students from joining gangs? and What might we as educators be able to do to prevent or decrease gang involvement?

Both schools are in middle class neighborhoods, but the students surveyed are from predominately lower socio-economic status families. The Asian population at the junior high school is roughly 24%, with the majority being Hmong. At the magnet school, the student body is comprised of only 6% Asian students. In addition, the magnet school, unlike the traditional junior high, has parental contracts requiring parents to actively participate in conferences, committees, and other volunteer services. Due to the differences in the types of schools and to the discrepancy in the Asian population, we have chosen to separate certain data by schools where there appeared to be marked variations. The survey results, including those separated by school, are found in Appendices B, C, and D.

It was explained to the students that the surveys were anonymous and would be disposed of after the data was obtained and examined. Students were also given the option of refraining from responding to the survey. Only one student, an identified gang member, refrained. Students were asked to write their ethnic group on the top of the survey and only the Hmong students' surveys were used. A total of 23 usable surveys from Hmong students was obtained. Five surveys were obtained from the magnet school and the other 18 were from the traditional junior high school.

Students responded to twelve questions in English pertaining to their background, attitudes about school, and their reasons for not joining a gang. The question, "What are your reasons for not joining a gang?" was thus phrased based on the assumption that even if students were involved in gangs, they would answer the question in general.

DATA INTERPRETATION

The results become particularly interesting when the subgroups are compared. In addition to trying to determine which factors prevent students from joining gangs, we were also interested in comparing the responses of students living with their fathers and mothers to those of students living only with a mother or guardian.

Attitudes about School and Grades

When examining the data regarding grades and liking school, we found that four out of five students from the regular junior high living with just a mother or guardian reported getting C's, D's, or F's/N's and, not surprisingly, answered "no" to the question, "Do you like school?" In contrast, of the five students living with both parents who reported getting C's or below, four of the five responded "yes" to "Do you like school?". The eight students getting A's and B's all responded "yes" to "Do you like school?" All five of the students from the magnet school claimed to like school, and four of the five students were getting A's and B's.

The one student who is living with both parents and responded s/he did not like school refrained from answering the question "What are your reasons for not joining a gang?" There is no way of being certain, but one could speculate that this student may, in fact, be involved in gang related activities. (According to the teacher, at least one of the students who filled out a survey is in a gang.) In addition, this student could think of no reasons why Hmong youth in general do not join gangs, but s/he was able to answer the question about why Hmong youth join gangs—"Its [sic] fun and easy."

Grades vs. Parents' English Ability

We also looked at the English ability of the parents and the grades the students were receiving in school. We found that of the five not living with a father, three said the mother spoke and wrote only "a little" English. One said the mother didn't speak or write English. Unfortunately, we did not have a place for students to respond about their guardians' English abilities. Of the five living with both parents and getting C's or below, only two indicated that their fathers could speak, write, or read English. Two of the students answered that their mothers could speak English, but only one could both read and write.

Of the 8 students getting A's and B's, seven said their fathers spoke English and could read and write. In addition, four mothers could speak English, two could speak "a little," and two could not speak it at all. Only three mothers were reported as being able to read and write.

In examining the surveys from the magnet school, we found that of the three students living with both parents, two reported that their fathers could speak, read, and write English. The student living with just his/her mother said she could not speak, read, or write English. Again, we have no data on the English ability of the uncle. The one student receiving C's penciled in that both his/her mother and father are bilingual. This student also added that "school is fun for me."

Exposure to Gangs

Of the 23 students surveyed, 70% have friends who are in gangs, but only 22% said they have been approached by a gang member to join a gang. Forty-eight percent of the respondents claimed to know someone who has been affected by gang violence.

What is curious here is that none of the students attending the magnet school has been approached by a gang member. Only 20% (1 student) has a friend in a gang and knows someone who has been affected by gang violence. Separating the magnet school surveys from the traditional junior high surveys and using just the traditional junior high percentage increases the percentage of students who have friends in gangs to 83%.

Why Hmong Students Do Not Join Gangs

In response to "What are your reasons for not joining a gang?," 70% of respondents circled the desire to obtain an education and perhaps go on to college, and 52% marked that they were afraid of their parents' response. Of the five respondents at the traditional junior high who do not have fathers, only 40% chose education and being afraid of their parents' reaction as factors which have prevented them from joining a gang. One of those students is currently getting mostly B's in school, although s/he apparently does not like school. S/he also answered that s/he lacks the time required to join a gang. Interestingly, in this grouping, not a single respondent marked gang activities being against the law as a reason for not joining. However, 60% marked that they had no interest or desire.

By comparison, of the five respondents living with both parents and getting C's and D's, 60% listed education and being afraid of their parents' reaction as important factors. Moreover, 60% marked illegality of gang activities as a factor in not joining a gang, but only one put that s/he had no interest or desire.

Looking at the eight students getting B's or better and living with both parents, 75% responded that education was an important factor. Fifty percent said they had no desire, and 38% listed both gang activities being against the law and a fear of parents' reaction as incentives to stay out of gangs. Twenty-five percent said they had no time, and 25% were involved in a religious group.

Again, the responses from the students at the magnet school differed. One hundred percent marked both education and no time as factors which prevented them from joining gangs. Eighty percent marked both no interest and fear of parents' reaction as secondary reasons.

Students who circled "other" listed additional reasons: 1) might get killed, 2) if you join, you can't get out, 3) don't want to go to jail.

The most frequent response for not joining a gang was wanting an education and going on to college (nine respondents). Being afraid of parents was next with four respondents. There were also five responses relating to a better future: don't want to be poor, have a long life, have a better life, have a good career, and have a family. (See Appendix C for a complete list of the responses.)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Given the small sample size, it is difficult to draw any concrete conclusions from the data. However, it can begin to provide some answers to our questions.

What prevents students from joining gangs? First, it appears there may be some correlation between the parent's ability to speak, read, and write English and the student's success in school. This is important if Police Officer Cha is correct in claiming students are more apt to join gangs if they are doing poorly in school (Dufresne, 1993). If the parents are able to function in English, it is highly probable that much of the "role reversal" is alleviated and the family hierarchy, to some degree, will remain intact. The parents, then, would have more control over their children. According to the National School Safety Center (1988), "Helping parents gain control of their children is one of the most difficult tasks to accomplish, yet it is also one of the most viable solutions to prevent gang involvement" (p. 29). It is also obvious from the results that the students with lower grades tended to have negative feelings about school. If there is a correlation between parental English ability and the student's success in school, it is of the utmost importance that schools start offering more support groups for Hmong parents to educate them not only in English, but also in American culture.

Parent meetings have started in both Minneapolis and St. Paul. One St. Paul teacher said she started the meetings in the fall of 1993 with approximately ten parents. By the spring of 1994, the group had more than tripled. In a survey given in both English and Hmong to the parents asking them to voice their special needs, the parents asked for more information on how the school operates, more time to talk with other parents, and for information about English classes. Currently, there is one elementary school in St. Paul with a successful English literacy program for Hmong parents. Another one is scheduled to begin December 1994 at a junior high.

In addition, Cowart and Cowart (1993) recommend that schools should have an orientation in the parent's native language about school procedures and expectations . Otherwise, children can take advantage of their parent's confusion and lack of knowledge about American ways. As Carole Evenrud pointed out in "Lost Boys" (Robson, 1992), "Kids will come back with some outrageous things to tell their parents about what American law says" (p. 136). Rumbaut and Ima (1988) support this claim by writing that the language problem is related to the lesser ability of the parents to supervise the children, especially when there is unfamiliarity with American society. The Cowarts suggest that all school correspondence should be written in the native language as well as in English.

A second implication is that it is important for students to realize they have a future (C. Evenrud, 1994). Mai told us that the gang members she knows do not have future goals; therefore, they need help learning how to help themselves and how to earn respect. Most of the survey respondents mentioned long-term goals, such as family and education, as gang prevention incentives. Getting away from the Southeast Asian overachiever stereotype is also a big step—this concept "has caused Asians to retreat into invisible communities...where their many problems are easily overlooked or ignored by governmental and social services" (Cowart and Cowart, 1993, p. 42).

What can we as educators do to prevent gang involvement?

As educators we must learn how to "sell" the future. The most frequent answers on our survey as to why people do not join a gang were education / college and other responses related to striving for a better future. Further research must be done to teach educators how they can best help students see a future for themselves.

We also recommend alternative schooling and more mentoring programs for at-risk students. Students need pro-social groups which serve their basic human needs for safety and security. It has become increasingly important for teachers and community members to be aware of opportunities for students and to help guide them in that direction. According to Roberto Colon, if youths have role models whom they can relate to, they have a 90% chance of coming out of a gang (McLaughlin, Irby, & Langman, 1994).

Lastly, it is important for students to see themselves in the school curriculum. Teachers can use highly interactive and visual teaching strategies (Cowart and Cowart, 1993); teachers can also incorporate authentic Asian and Asian-American texts into the curriculum that reflect the various experiences and obstacles facing immigrant groups. School personnel must listen to the students, talk to the students, learn about and appreciate the students' cultures, promote mutual respect, and teach an anti-gang curriculum (C. Evenrud, 1994) . "Administrators must communicate clear, consistent standards of discipline and enforce them" (Gaustad, p. 161). The National School Safety Center (1988) recommends that teachers should uphold positive behavior, attitudes, and self-image and promote responsibility. In addition, a strong cooperative learning environment should be created within each classroom.

After examining both the literature and our data, we suggest that these ideas and programs be studied and implemented in other schools, especially at the elementary and junior high levels , given that "the peak period of criminal activity for Asian kids in St. Paul is 13 to 15" (Mollner in Robson, p. 137).

Clearly, further research is needed. An organized effort that includes the schools, educators, parents, and community needs to be developed to deal directly with the prevention of gangs, rather than the intervention of marginal or already associated gang members.

THE AUTHORS

Shelly M. Bertrand recently completed the Second Languages and Cultures Postbaccalaureate Program at the University of Minnesota. She is licensed in Chinese and ESL. She is employed by the St. Paul School District.

Lisa MB Simons recently completed the Second Languages and Cultures Postbaccalaureate Program at the University of Minnesota. She is licensed in ESL. She is employed by the American Language School in the Chiba prefecture, Japan.

REFERENCES

Barden, R. (1989). *The facts about: Gangs.* New York: Crestwood House, Macmillan Publishing Company.

Beck, R. (1994, April). The ordeal of immigration in Wausau. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 84-97.

Bonner, B. (1994, February 20). Land of hope, lure of crime. *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*, 1A, 14A-15A.

Cowart, M. & Cowart, R. (1993, December). Southeast Asian refugee youth and the cycle of violence. *NASSP Bulletin*, 41-46.

Dufresne, J. (1993). Mainstreaming LEP students: The case of the Hmong. *MinneTESOL, 11*, 95-122.

Evenrud, C. (1994, Winter). Southeast Asian gang intervention: The school role. *MinneTESOL Newsletter,18*(2),1, 9-10.

Evenrud, L. (1994, April 7). Seminar, University of Minnesota postbaccalaureate program.

Gardner, S. (1992). *Street gangs in America.* New York: Franklin Watts.

Gaustad, J. (1990). *Gangs.* Eugene, OR: University of Oregon, College of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 330 984).

Gillespie, T. (1994, April 15). Presentation at Normandale Community College; Bloomington, MN.

Hamilton-Merritt, J. (1993). *Tragic mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the secret wars for Laos, 1942-1992*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Hendrix, G., Downing, B., & Deinard, A. (1986). *The Hmong in transition*. New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York.

Ingrassia, M., King, P., Tizon, A., Scigliano, E., & Annin, P. (1994, April). America's new wave of runaways. *Newsweek*, 64-65.

Koumarn, Y. (1978). The Hmong of Laos: 1896-1978. *Indochinese Refugee Education Guides*, (16). Arlington, VA: The National Indochinese Clearing House.

McLaughlin, M., Irby, M., & Langman, J. (1994). *Urban Sanctuaries: Neighborhood Organizations in the Lives and Futures of Inner-City Youth*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

National School Safety Center. (1988). *Gangs in schools: Breaking up is hard to do*. Malibu, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 312 171).

Prothrow-Stith, D. (1991). *Deadly Consequences: How Violence is Destroying Our Teenage Population and a Plan to Begin Solving the Problem*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Robson, B. (1992, June). Lost boys. *Mpls./St. Paul Magazine*, 91-93, 130-137.

Rumbaut, R. & Ima, K. (1988). *The Adaptation of Southeast Asian Refugee Youth: A Comparative Study*. San Diego: San Diego State University, Department of Sociology. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 299 372).

Appendix A
SURVEY

1. How old are you? ______

2. Do you live with your parents? YES NO
   If yes, with whom? MOTHER FATHER BOTH
   If no, who do you live with?

3. Does your mother speak English?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

Does your mother write and read English?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

Does your father speak English?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

Does your father write and read English?

YES NO DON'T KNOW

4. How long have you been in the United States?

a. less than 6 months	d. 2-3 years
b. 7-12 months	e. 3-5 years
c. 1-2 years	f. other

5. Do you like school? YES NO

6. What are your grades right now?

a. mostly A's and B's	c. mostly C's
b. mostly B's	d. mostly D's and F's/N's

7. Have you ever been approached by a gang member to join a gang? YES NO

8. Do you have any friends in a gang? YES NO

9. Have you or anyone you know ever been affected by gang violence? YES NO

10. What are **your** reasons for **not** joining a gang (can be more than 1 answer)?

   a. gang activities are against the law
   b. no interest or desire/don't want to
   c. afraid of parent's/family reaction
   d. education/want to go to college
   e. no time (job, sports, clubs, etc.)
   f. involvement in a religious organization
   g. other, please explain

11. Why do you think Hmong youth, in general, do **not** join gangs?

12. Why do you think Hmong youth join gangs?

Appendix B
Survey results

question/answer	total # of responses	traditional junior high	magnet middle school
1. How old are you?			
12 years old	5 22%	4 22%	1 20%
13 years old	10 43%	9 50%	1 20%
14 years old	8 35%	5 28%	3 60%
2. Do you live with your parents?			
YES	21 91%	17 94%	4 80%
NO	2 9%	1 6%	1 20%
If yes, with whom?			
MOTHER	5 24%	4 24%	1 25%
FATHER	-	--	
BOTH	16 76%	13 76%	3 75%
If no, who do you live with?			
UNCLE	2	1	1

	100%	100%	100%
question/answer	total # of responses	traditional junior high	magnet middle school
3. Does your mother speak English?			
YES	14 66%	12 70%	2 50%
NO	6 29%	4 24%	2 50%
DON'T KNOW	1 5%	1 6%	-
Does your mother write and read English?			
YES	12 57%	10 59%	2 50%
NO	6 29%	4 24%	2 50%
DON'T KNOW	3 14%	3 17%	-
Does your father speak English?			
YES	13 76%	11 79%	2 67%
NO	3 13%	2 14%	1 33%
DON'T KNOW	1 11%	1 7%	-
Does your father write and read English?			
YES	12 71%	10 71%	2 67%
NO	5 23%	4 29%	1 33%

DON'T KNOW	-	-	-

question/answer	total # of responses	traditional junior high	magnet middle school
4. How long have you been in the United States?			
a. less than 6 months	-	-	-
b. 7-12 months	3 13%	3 17%	-
c. 1-2 years	-	-	-
d. 2-3 years	1 24%	1 6%	-
e. 3-5 years	6 26%	3 17%	60%
f. other (7-9 years)	1 4%	1 6%	
f. other (lifetime)	12 52%	11 61%	20%
5. Do you like school?			
YES	18 68%	13 72%	5 100%
NO	5 22%	5 28%	-
6. What are your grades right now?			
a. mostly A's and B's	4 18%	2 11%	2 40%
b. mostly B's	9 39%	7 39%	2 40%
c. mostly C's	7 30%	6 33%	1 20%
d. mostly D's and F's/N's	3 13%	3 17%	-

question/answer	total # of responses	traditional junior high	magnet middle school
7. Have you ever been approached by a gang member to join a gang?			
YES	5 22%	5 28%	-
NO	18 68%	13 72%	5 100%
8. Do you have any friends in a gang?			
YES	16 70%	15 83%	1 20%
NO	7 30%	3 17%	4 80%
9. Have you or anyone you know ever been affected by gang violence?			
YES	11 48%	10 56%	1 20%
NO	12 52%	8 44%	4 80%
10. What are **your** reasons for **not** joining a gang (can be more than 1 answer)?			
a. gang activities are against the law			
	9 39%	6 33%	3 60%
b. no interest or desire/don't want to			
	11 48%	7 39%	4 80%
c. afraid of parent's/family reaction			
	12 52%	8 44%	4 80%

question/answer	total # of responses	traditional junior high	magnet middle school
d. education/want to go to college	16 70%	11 61%	5 100%
e. no time (job, sports, clubs, etc.)	9 39%	4 22%	5 100%
f. involvement in a religious organization	5 22%	3 17%	2 40%
g. other, please explain	5 22%	4 22%	1 20%

Appendix C
Verbatim responses to question 11

11. Why do you think Hmong youth, in general, do **not** join gangs?

TRADITIONAL SCHOOL
A's and B's

Because they don't want to be poor and they want their education

Don't want to get in trouble.

They want to be a good person.

I think that they want an education and I think that they want to have long life

Some do not join Gangs because they scare of parents. and some do not join gangs because the want to have better life then being a gang.

Because they want to get smart and go to collage and atleast get a Dr. degree and a good career.

I think because of education or no interest.

Some people wants to go to college or have a family.

C's, D's, and N's

The reason why Hmong youth or any other kids don't join is because some people want to go on with theirs life.

I don't readlly know...

Don't know

Because, their parents might leacture them.

Because they steal and kill each other

no father

Don't have time

Because they don't deal with hard probelm, their parent deal it for them.

Because they want to be an example how kids should turn out like. They want to be special.

They want to do good in school

Afraid of death by shooting, afraid of being kick out buy parents, and just don't want to.

MAGNET SCHOOL

Because they could take care of themselves.

Because they don't want to get killed. They want to education/go to college.

Because they care about their family.

They want to go to collage and get graguate

In my opinion because they afraid of parent's and they want more education and it dangerous that's why they didn't join gangs.

Appendix D
Verbatim responses to question 12

12. Why do you think Hmong youth join gangs? (the following is written verbatim)

TRADITIONAL SCHOOL

A's and B's

Because the want to be bad and die soon

Get help. It depends were you live. If you live in a neighborhood with gang members you will be most likely to be one. And if you live in a neighborhood with no gang members you'll be not a gang member.

They think their cool or their lifes are mess up.

I thank that they want to join Gangs is because the want protection and the want to e bad

They join gang because some other want to beat them up and get scare so join gangs for protection, some wants to join gang because they want to be cool and bad.

Because they want protection and want to look bad and cool.

I think because of stress and people force them into it and scared.

They join a gang to have fun or to be cool.

C's, D's, and N's

Some of the do because they may think that gangs are special treat meant. But No!

Because they want to be cool like there friends and on one will want want to miss with then.

Its fun and easy.

Because, I think they like to join in a gang to help them as a family and to protect theirselves

To Hang out to do Drugs. To get Bad. And to kill.

no father

for protection

Because of stress and a mess up in their life.

Because they think that they are with "cool" kids. Plus they want to be prejudice.

stress

For fun, stress, anger by family, and just felt like it.

MAGNET SCHOOL

Because they want to be cool, popular.

Because they want to be popular and the best one. Some kid's parents likes them to be one of the gang member.

Because they don't care about their family.

They don't want to love and care about their family and make their own family and ditch school all the time.

Because they wanted to fight and be cool or maybe they have family problem. Have fun nobody tell them what to do.

Achievement Tests as Predictors of Subsequent High School Performance for LEP Students

JUDITH STROHL
Minneapolis Public Schools

Focusing on a junior high school LEP center in Minneapolis, this article considers the relationship between standardized reading comprehension test scores and high school achievement as indicated by grade point averages. In addition to reviewing the background of the kinds of assessment which are required to exit students from LEP programs, the article presents data which calls into question the assumption that standardized test scores are good predictors of subsequent high school achievement.

INTRODUCTION

English as a Second Language (ESL) programs which assist non-native speakers to acquire English proficiency are viewed by some as crutch programs to be dispensed with as soon as one can limp along in the new language. Others would say that students should not be entirely mainstreamed into all-English programs until they are achieving as well as monolingual students of their age and grade level. Between these two extremes there are a variety of positions on the issue of when to exit students from ESL programs.

The purpose of this study is to examine one school district's exit process and the relationship of particular assessment measures to subsequent high school achievement. It is a preliminary case study of two groups of limited English proficient (LEP) students, who were monitored from junior high school to high school to examine how their standardized test scores related to their performance at the secondary school level as indicated by class grades.

All school age students in the United States are guaranteed by law the opportunity for an equal education. According to the

Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols in 1974, simply being in the same school and using the same textbooks does not guarantee such equality if students are not native speakers of English. To ensure that each student is able to benefit fully from instruction, school districts must provide special language programs for non-English language background students until they are ready to compete and succeed in an all-English program. In order to provide these mandated educational services, school districts have established procedures to identify, place and reclassify students into and out of LEP programs (entry/exit procedures). States which receive federal funds through ESEA Title VII (U.S. Department of Education) generally follow sequential procedures that have become somewhat standardized over the years. These include the use of home language surveys as a screen to identify students who may be in need of language support, testing to determine whether the student is a proficient speaker, and placement into a bilingual or English as a Second Language program if it is indicated by the assessment.

In general, the placement tests assess speaking and listening skills. There are three or four tests in common use which classify a student as non-English proficient, limited English proficient (LEP) or fully English proficient—categories established in conformance with the Lau decision. While the tests may seek the same ends, those commonly used by school districts may not be parallel. It has been shown that the tests in use do not even identify the same students or groups of students as being proficient. (Ulibarri, Spencer & Rivas, 1981).

Initially the same tests of oral proficiency were used for placement into programs and for determining reclassification into all-English classes. It became evident, however, that students reclassified as proficient were not succeeding in the mainstream as had been predicted once the language barriers were lowered. This prompted another line of investigation (Cummins, 1979) based on the notion that academic success did not follow as a necessary result of language fluency in everyday situations.

According to Cummins, oral proficiency is not the best indicator of whether a child is able to succeed in an all-English classroom. In fact, basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) are two distinct areas of competence. Conversational skills in face to face situations where there are a considerable number of environmental cues to provide context generally develop in two to three years; whereas, academic competence develops over a much longer period of time. Studies by Cummins as well as Collier (1987) suggest that five to seven years may be a much more realistic time frame for the acquisition of academic skills.

Once it was accepted that interpersonal language skills assessed by tests of oral competency are not appropriate indictors of academic achievement, investigators began to try to specify which competencies at what levels would point the way to classroom achievement, and to explore what instruments would accurately assess readiness for reclassification.

In an effort to assess academic as opposed to linguistic competence, some have proposed that achievement tests might be an appropriate way to measure readiness for exit. The argument is that if students are to do academic work in an all-English setting, they should be assessed with the same tests of academic achievement used for mainstream students. This has led to the increased use of standardized achievement test scores in conjunction with other measures to determine readiness for exit from ESL services.

At present, the debate continues to center around how to define and then assess the various proficiencies needed for school success. Despite the ongoing discussion, there is no clearcut answer to the question of how to assess readiness for reclassification. Given the lack of agreement between tests used, many public school systems have established multiple criteria to provide a broad profile of pupil skills and to reduce the chances of reclassification errors. These generally include several standardized tests in conjunction with teacher ratings.

PROBLEM SITUATION

Although Minneapolis has had a Limited English Proficiency (LEP) program for more than ten years and maintains test scores in a computerized database, little longitudinal information has been gathered about students as they progress through school. This lack of monitoring has been a concern of the LEP teachers in Minneapolis for a number of years. Instructors have often expressed a need to know whether students are being exited appropriately and whether the criteria being used for reclassification are indeed predictors of future success. There have also been requests for follow-up data from other stakeholders as well. In December, 1985, an Office of Civil Rights Compliance Review report done by the State of Minnesota Department of Education recommended that the district maintain data on.all exited students to track their performance.

As managers of federal and state programs, the district administration and school board members focused on other issues. They asked why students did not exit from the LEP program sooner and why they did not always show greater gains on their oral proficiency *Language Assessment Scale* (LAS) In 1986, a consultant was hired to look into the appropriateness of the test for use with populations such as those in Minneapolis and into the general issue of the instrument's validity for monitoring progress (Rengel,1987). The report answered the board's questions at the time, but similar concerns have resurfaced over the years.

College ESL teachers present yet another perspective on what a successful LEP program should be doing. They state that students are exited from language assistance programs too early. They see the students who reach them in post-secondary programs as being inadequately prepared for academic tasks. According to college teachers (Bosher, 1990), high school teachers spend inadequate time on crucial language issues. Students are exited too early and end up floundering in mainstream classes. In their view, students in high school sit quietly, study hard (though ineffectively), and are given passing grades as a reward for good conduct, attendance and cooperation. In these situations, the students are able to survive but do not develop their academic skills. Once the students move into post-secondary education, however, the strategies which served in high school are no longer sufficient and they begin to experience failure.

Students themselves often feel that they are inadequately prepared for post high school education. Quest (1992) interviewed students in a general college ESL program who described their ability to do college level writing as inadequate. They felt that their previous ESL classes had not prepared them for the tasks they would encounter in college, in part, because language support was discontinued as soon as they had attained minimal levels of proficiency.

Each of these concerned groups sees the ESL program from a different and sometimes conflicting point of view and each one has different perceptions about when a student is ready to enter the mainstream. Minneapolis, like many other public school districts, avoids reliance on a single measure when assessing the ability to benefit from instruction in an all-English setting. The district's requirements for reclassification are as follows: a rank of English proficient on the LAS test of oral proficiency, passing scores on the three district competency tests for the appropriate grade level, teacher recommendations, successful trial mainstream experience indicated by a grade of C or better in academic subjects, and a score of 40th percentile or higher on the reading comprehension subtest of a standardized achievement test.

In general, it is the last criterion which is the most difficult to attain. Students who are taking all of their classes in English, who have passed their competency tests and who are regarded by their teachers as performing reasonably well in class as indicated by their grades are often not achieving at the 40th percentile on a standardized reading comprehension test. In fact, scores in the teens and low twenties are more typical of this group of students who are trial mainstreamed but still receiving ESL services. The problem of whether to exit students who are meeting the other criteria but are still not close to grade level in reading comprehension scores is a question which has often concerned teachers responsible for making reclassification decisions. Despite the fact that such reading criteria are in widespread use in LEP programs across the United States, there has been little research to show whether one particular cut-off score is a better predictor of success than another. In fact, the standards designated by various states are far from consistent, calling into question the usefulness of these scores as a criterion.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Emerging from this background, the basic issues under examination are how to determine when a student will be able to succeed in an all-English educational setting, how to define success, and in what ways to assess his or her readiness to compete. The research questions focus on the utility of standardized achievement tests as an exit criterion in view of the fact that the designated cut-off score is extremely difficult to attain relative to other established criteria.

The specific research questions under study are as follows:

1. Is performance on the 8th grade reading achievement test an accurate predictor of later achievement in high school as measured by grade point average (GPA)?
2. Is performance on the 8th grade reading achievement test an accurate predictor of whether a student will pass the 9th grade district reading competency test required for graduation?
3. Is there growth between the 8th grade reading achievement test and 10th grade reading test scores, indicating that students are maintaining or improving their position relative to other students?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Assessment plays several roles in LEP programs. Testing is used to determine eligibility for assistance, to place, to diagnose and to reclassify. Assessment practices in LEP programs are derived as much from the judicial and legislative constraints imposed by federal and state mandates as from educational best practice. Since many bilingual and ESL programs receive federal or state funds for staff and operations, many of their testing procedures are driven by the need to provide what is regarded as proper accountability to their funding agencies. The primacy of the use of oral testing to determine eligibility for language support, stems from the fact that until 1978 bilingual program legislation provided funding for assistance to limited English speaking children. Consequently, tests focused on evaluation of oral skills to the exclusion of other modalities.

While keeping in mind the cautious approach needed in using standardized tests with language minority students, once such tests have been mandated, it is then necessary to grapple with the question of which ones to choose. Several authors (Chamot and O'Malley, 1987; Ulibarri, Spencer and Rivas, 1981) agree that assessing English proficiency is a problem in LEP programs. Most of the commonly used tests tap social interactive and basic literacy skills which are only a fraction of the skills required for success in mainstream classes. Tests of oral proficiency, in particular, are not good indicators of future academic achievement. For example, fifth grade students who were classified proficient by oral tests, also scored below the 36th percentile on standardized reading tests (Ulibarri, Spencer & Rivas, 1981) indicating that oral skills do not go hand in hand with academic proficiency as measured by achievement tests. According to Pelavin (1987), agreement between teachers' ratings of student proficiency and oral proficiency tests used to determine readiness for exit ranged from 61 to 72 percent; that is, teacher judgment was at odds with the oral test rankings from 28 to 39 percent of the time.

Saville-Troike (1991) agrees that existing language assessment measures are not good predictors of academic achievement. She proposes that we examine what constitutes the ingredients of successful academic achievement among native speakers and how the schools routinely measure student progress and concludes that a standardized vocabulary test provides the best predictive information.

Cummins (1983) also recommends that cognitively demanding, context-reduced measures be used to assess readiness for exit. He reasons that children must be able to handle such demands if they are to compete in a mainstream classroom.

Definitions of proficiency — What are we testing?

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the many perspectives on what constitutes language proficiency. For the purposes of this study, the discussion will be limited to operational definitions used in typical LEP programs.

The Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO,1992) proposes that a fully English-proficient student be able to use the second language to ask questions, understand teachers and reading materials, and to challenge ideas in class. Assessment of proficiency should reflect the full range of classroom tasks and the academic language needed to succeed. When the four language skills are examined, this implies the ability to:

Read—understand and interpret grade appropriate texts

Listen— extract information and follow instructional discourse.

Write— produce written text with content and format to fulfill classroon assignments.

Speak—use oral language appropriately and effectively in learning and social interactions.

A slightly different but overlapping definition of proficiency was proposed by the Significant Bilingual Instructional Features study (Tikunoff,1983). These researchers laid out a framework of functional proficiencies which suggested that students needed to demonstrate:

participative competence, the ability to respond to class tasks and to the rules for accomplishing them;

interactional competence, the ability to follow class and social rules of discourse

academic competence, the ability to acquire new skills and assimilate new information.

Although these competencies were enumerated in some detail, no performance standards were developed to guide educators in applying them in the classroom.

Reclassification Procedures

The CCSSO takes a strong position on standards for reclassifying students. Their report (1991) recommends that selection criteria should require a high—not minimal—level of English language performance. Assessment should provide evidence of language and academic skills necessary for successful participation in an English-only class. Standardized tests are needed to assess how LEP students are doing compared with native speakers but these tests should be supplemented with observations and other performance assessments. The exit process should require attainment of multiple criteria and performance of the student at a level of achievement comparable to that of age mates.

Even this strong position leaves many questions unanswered. Which native speakers should we compare LEP students with? Low achievers? College-bound students? Students scoring at the 50th percentile on a standardized achievement test? In other words, what standards do we hold for determining whether LEP students are "ready" to take on the challenge of a mainstream curriculum?

De George (1987) advocates a more pragmatic, individualized procedure for reclassification. He regards exiting as a process which places the student into a mainstream program. He suggests that we ask the question, "Readiness for what?" He maintains that reclassification is similar to the general task of placing students into appropriate classes. De George suggests that exit criteria be matched to the demands of the program students will enter. This requires that those responsible for making exit decisions examine the expectations of specific classes to find a learning situation that will fit a particular student.

De George calls for "sensible" exit criteria such as the ability to communicate socially, follow directions, comprehend non-technical reading materials (e.g. newspapers), comprehend content area asssignments and behave in culturally appropriate ways. He sees academic language proficiency as the ability to use language to learn and communicate about academic subjects; that is, to use English as a medium of thought not only as a means of inter-personal communication. In his opinion, schools should utilize a combination of assessment methods, to help ensure that the student's ability to function in an English-only classroom is adequately measured. He proposes that tests should be aligned with curriculum implying a limited use of achievement tests for making reclassification decision.

Cut-off scores

Linked to the question of what kind of tests to use, is the problem of what cut-off score to require on the tests. Many state departments of education rely on standardized achievement scores as a major determinant of readiness for exit. (CCSO, 1991). However, there has been a notable lack of consistency as to what score indicates the level of proficiency necessary for a student to profit from instruction in an all English environment. The operational definition of an LEP student varies across and within states because of the difference in assessment methods and choice of cut-off points on tests selected by the various educational entities. In fact, there is no explicit rationale to support the use of any specific cut-off score. The highest percentile recommended by any state is the 40th percentile, while the lowest is the 23rd. If we look for an analogy with other support services, it will be noted that native speakers who score at or below the 40th percentile are considered to be at risk academically and are eligible for compensatory reading services through Chapter I, etc.. Such a cut-off score, then, is an inadequate standard for ensuring academic success and one which most parents would not support for their children. It could, in fact, be perceived as a set up for failure. A similar point is made by McCollum and Walker (1990,1992), who question the motives of a federal policy which encourages minimal standards for LEP students while at the same time promoting excellence for mainstream students to meet the challenges of the year 2000.

Thus it can be seen that to some the cut-off scores on these tests seem too low; while to others at decision-making levels, they seem unecessarily high. Each cut-off has its own particular costs. If we withdraw support too early (use a low percentile as the score to be attained) students may flounder, become frustrated, lose interest and drop out (NCAS,1988). Contrariwise, if we set the criteria too high, additional resources will be needed to serve students for a longer period of time. This, in turn, may cause administrators and tax payers to question why programs are not producing fully proficient English students at a faster pace.

METHODOLOGY

Setting

Sanford Junior High School is an urban institution of approximately 700 students. Its population is ethnically diverse, including 10% Native Americans, 24% African-Americans, 19% Asian-American, 2% Hispanic Americans and 46% Anglo-Americans. Sixty-three percent of the students are eligible for free or reduced lunch. The Minneapolis Public School district of which it is a part serves approximately 40,000 children, about 3,400 of whom receive English as a Second Language or bilingual services. Approximately 900 LEP students are at the secondary level; in an average year about 125 students are in the LEP program at Sanford.

The school is one of two junior high schools designated as a Limited English Proficiency center. The main language populations served are Lao and Vietnamese, with a small number of other language speakers. Most students are children of families who came to the area as refugees after the Vietnam War. A small group are children whose parents are attending the University of Minnesota in graduate studies; another small group are children of recent immigrants. Bilingual classes in Lao and Vietnamese are available, but no bilingual support is regularly offered for speakers of other languages. Science, social studies, and math are taught in the bilingual program. The ESL program consists of five levels, ranging from classes for newcomers to those for students with near-native language skills.

A newcomer student who has not studied English before would probably have three bilingual classes and two ESL classes—one which emphasizes reading and writing and one which emphasizes speaking and listening. Students gradually move into mainstream classes, usually starting with math and continuing with science and social studies. Overall, the program can be described as having most of the characteristics of a transitional bilingual education model (Ovando & Collier, 1985).

Subjects

Fifty-nine students were included in the study— 24 girls and 35 boys. These were approximately half the students in the eighth grade LEP program at the junior high school for the 1986-87 and 1987-88 school years. The first group of students graduated from high school in June, 1991 (Group 1) and the second group in

1992 (Group 2). Twenty-nine students were in Group 1 and 30 were in Group 2. The students in the study were in the top three levels of the five-level ESL program. In general, the students who took the tests were selected by the ESL teachers because they felt the students would experience the tests as an educational challenge rather than as a frustrating, discouraging encounter. In operational terms, this meant that most students who were tested on the achievement test were students who scored at intermediate to high intermediate levels on the Language Assessment Scale in the eighth grade. Most were already in mainstream classes for their core academic subjects.

The majority of the group were Laotian (61%) while 19 per cent were Vietnamese. There were smaller groups (five percent or less) of Chinese, Korean, Spanish, and English as a second dialect speakers. The length of residence of the students measured from date of entry to the United States ranged from one to eight years.

Test Descriptions

The *Language Assessment Scale* (LAS) is an oral language instrument which is administered when a potentially LEP student (as determined by a home language survey) enters the school district. The test is designed to discriminate between non-English speakers, limited English speakers, and fluent English speakers—categories established in conformance with the Lau decision to determine eligibility of students for ESL services. The test assesses phoneme discrimination and production; vocabulary and sentence comprehension; and story-retelling. Student scores are reported as one of five proficiency ranks—levels 1 and 2 = non-speaker; level 3 =limited English speaker; and level 4 and 5 = proficient English speaker. There is no explicit rationale for the cut-off scores for each rank.

The *California Achievement Test* (CAT) is a standardized achievement test administered in the 6th, 8th and 10th grade. The reading comprehension section of the test is used as one of the indicators of readiness for reclassification from the LEP program. The verbal section consists of vocabulary, reading comprehension, and language mechanics subsections. The math section measures computational skills and knowledge of math concepts. The test has forms appropriate for each grade.

The *Minneapolis Benchmark* tests are locally developed, criterion referenced tests written to assess performance on district outcomes in mathematics, writing and reading. Scores on the tests are taken to indicate how well the student is meeting the objectives set for that grade level. The tests are administered in alternate years—first, third, and fifth grades, etc.. The tests have sometimes been used as promotional gates to determine the need for retention in grade. They are additionally important because in order to graduate from high school, students have to pass the ninth grade Benchmark tests in all three skill areas. In this respect, they serve as minimum competency tests. The reading test is a multiple choice instrument which assesses vocabulary and comprehension. The writing test assesses the ability to write an organized, coherent essay on an assigned topic. It is holistically scored by two or more teacher readers in the district. The math Benchmark test measures concepts and computation.

Tests were scheduled as follows for the Minneapolis LEP students under discussion:

Yearly	Language Assessment Scale
8th grade	California Achievement Test
9th grade	Minneapolis Benchmark Test
10th grade	California Achievement Test

The testing schedule and data collection for the two groups were as follows:

	CAT 8	Benchmark	CAT 10	GPA	Graduation tests
Group I	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1991
Group 2	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1992

PROCEDURES

Test scores and grades for the 59 students were retrieved from the Minneapolis Public Schools data base with the assistance of the evaluation department. Most of the statistics were developed using the statistical package (SPSS, Version 9.1) available to the district through a link with the University of Minnesota.

The subjects came from two successive groups of eighth grade students at Sanford Junior High School during the school years 1986-87 and 1987-88. Using cumulative records and the district's computerized data base, test data was collected for CAT 8, CAT 10 and Benchmark tests for grade 9. GPA was collected in 1990 and 1991 for 11th grade students. It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between performance on the CAT 8 and subsequent high school achievement. Achievement was defined as passing the ninth grade Benchmarks, obtaining a grade point average of C (2.00) or better, and graduating from high school.

Variables examined included: CAT reading scores for 8th and 10th grade, Benchmark scores, and GPA. Means were calculated for each of the tests. Growth between CAT 8 and 10 was examined. Correlation (Pearson product-moment) was calculated for CAT 8 and GPA in 11th grade.

Not all scores were available for all students. For example, only 53 of the 59 scores were available for the Benchmark writing test. Only 42 scores were obtained for the CAT 10 reading test. In some cases, the missing tests are due to absences on test dates; in other cases, as for the CAT 10, some students may not have been expected to take the test because of their LEP status.

RESULTS

Findings fall into the following categories: CAT test results, Benchmark test results, grade point averages and graduation rates. Following the summary of results of individual tests, interrelationships between the various measures will be examined.

As mentioned earlier, the CAT reading test is the most difficult of the exit criteria to attain. As indicated by Table , the median percentile for the students in the eighth grade group was 17, presenting a marked contrast to the district median of 59th percentile on this test. If achieving the 40th percentile on the reading test were the sole criterion, only three students of the fifty-eight would be considered for reclassification. Even if the requirement were dropped to the 30th percentile, just one more student would be eligible for exit. Only if a percentile in the twenties were designated would an appreciable number of additional students

(18) meet the requirement.

Table 1

CAT 8 Reading Comprehension Scores

Pctl Score	No. of Students	Percent
1-9	11	19
10-19	25	43
20-29	18	31
30-39	1	2
40-59	3	5
60-99	0	0

N= 58

Mean Pctl = 18.36 SD 11.9 **Median Pctl = 17**

The scores on the CAT 10 reading test show a marked increase over the CAT 8 scores as is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

CAT 10 Reading Comprehension Scores

Pctl	Scores No. of Students	Percent
1-9	19	8
10-19	24	10
20-29	17	7
30-39	12	5
40-49	19	8
50-59	5	2
60-69	5	2
70-99	0	0

Mean Pctl = 26.4 S.D. = 17.8 Median Pctl = 27

In contrast with the CAT 8 scores, the median percentile has risen from 17th to 27th. Whereas only three students were at or over the 40th percentile on the CAT 8, twelve students now have attained that criterion. Four students are above the 50th percentile on this test. On the other hand, only 42 of 59 student scores were available for examination; therefore, it is necessary to interpret the data indicating considerable growth with caution.

It can be seen in Table 3 that there is a moderate correlation between the scores on the CAT 8 and CAT 10 reading tests ($r=.40$, $p<.005$).

Table 3

Growth from CAT 8 to CAT 10

	CAT 10				
Percentiles	1-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-99
CAT 8					
1-9	4	0	0	2	0
10-19	2	4	5	2	5
20-29	2	5	2	1	5
40-99	0	1	0	0	2

N=42

The table indicates, for example, that two people who scored in the first decile on the CAT 8 scored between the 30th and 39th percentile on the CAT 10; twelve students out of 42 (29%) maintained the same decile rank. Ten people's scores (24%) decreased and 20 students (48%) improved their scores by more than five points.

Benchmark Tests

The Benchmark tests present a significant obstacle for LEP students although they seem to be a somewhat less difficult hurdle than the achievement tests.

Table 4

Scores for Benchmark Writing Test

Rank	No. of Students	Percent
1 (low)	17	32
2	18	34
2.5	8	15
3	10	19
4	0	0
	N = 53	

Of the two language Benchmarks, the writing test generally proves easier than the reading test for most LEP students as shown in Table 4. Thirty-six students (61%) passed the test with a rank of 2 or higher. Eighteen students (34%) received scores of 2.5 or higher. Ten (19%) achieved scores of 3. There were, however, no scores in the top rank.

Eighteen students of the passing group (almost 50%) received higher than the minimum passing score of two; 61% of the sample students passed the test compared with the 47% passing rate on the reading test and 80% on the math test. Some staff have theorized that the writing test is easier to pass than the reading test because students have more control over the difficulty level of this measure. They are able to address the assigned topic in a way which suits their skills and can often express their thoughts in relatively non-complex syntax and vocabulary without being penalized for this simplicity.

Benchmark Reading Tests

Although less difficult than the CAT test, the reading minimum competency test also presents a significant hurdle for LEP students. The maximum achievable raw score on the test is 40. The passing score was 26 (65%). The range of raw scores was from 9 to 38. Forty-seven percent of the students in the group passed this test, but as indicated in Table 5, the largest group, twenty students (36%), scored in the lowest decile.

Table 5

9th Grade Reading Benchmark Scores

Percentiles	**No. of Students**	**Percent**
1-9	20	36
10-19	15	27
20-29	5	9
30-39	4	7
40-49	8	15
50-59	3	5
60-99	0	0
	N = 55	
Mean = 18.68	**S.D= 17.3**	

The second largest group, 15 students (27%), scored in the second lowest decile. Eight students (15%) scored between the 40th and 49th percentile. Three students scored between the 50th and 59th percentile. This closely parallels the results on the CAT 8 test. Only five percent of the students are achieving at or better than the fiftieth percentile.

Relationships between Tests

The correlation between the scores on the two reading tests is .56 (p =.001) indicating that these tests seem to be parallel measures. Scores are clustered at the lower percentiles of both tests. Fifty-one of the students (91%) scored below the 30th percentile on the CAT and below the 50th percentile on the Benchmark reading test. At the upper end, only two students were at the 50th percentile or above on both the CAT 8 and the Benchmark reading test.

Benchmark Math Tests

The passing rates on the math tests are much higher than for the other two competency tests. Forty-four students (79%) passed the test. Forty-five percent were at or above the 50th percentile, a result which is strikingly higher than that attained on the other Benchmarks. When the students' performance in math is contrasted with their performance on the CAT 8 reading test, it is interesting to note that of the 44 who passed in math, only three were above the 30th percentile on the comprehension subtest and 27 were below the 20th percentile. As is often seen, students appear to display their cognitive abilties to greater advantage on non-verbal tests than on reading comprehension measures.

Grade Point Average

In contrast to the standardized test score data which shows students performing considerably below their classmates, data on grade point averages presents a brighter picture as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6

Grade Point Averages

Average	Number	Percent
3.5-4.00	6	10
3.0-3.49	10	17
2.5-2.99	13	25
2.0-2.49	13	25
1.5-1.99	4	7
1.0-1.49	6	10
.5- .99	4	7
.00- .49	3	6
	N= 59	

Forty-two students (71%) had a GPA of C (2.00) or better. Sixteen (27%) had a GPA of B (3.00) or greater, making them eligible for the honor roll at their school. Six (10%) had an average of B+ (3.5) or better. The district mean GPA for the 1990-91 year for the eleventh grade was 2.57. The mean for Group I was 2.51 (S.D. = .79); the mean for Group II was 2.67 (SD=.89), both approximately equivalent to a C+ average. These means are not signficantly different from the district means and show the students performing at approximately the same level as the district population of students, in contrast to their performance on standardized tests.

CORRELATION

It was hypothesized that the scores on the CAT 8 reading comprehension subtest would be a good predictor of future academic performance as indicated by average or better grade point averages. This proved not to be true. The majority of the students with a C or better average in the 11th grade, scored below the 30th percentile on the CAT 8 reading test. Forty-one of fifty-nine students (69%) had grade point averages higher than 2.00 (C). Of these, 19 pupils (46%) received CAT scores between the 10th and 19th percentile. Another thirteen (32%) were in the 20-29th percentile range. Seven students (17%) received reading scores in the lowest percentile range—one to nine. Combining the second and third lowest groups accounts for 78% of all the students with a grade point of C or better. Only two students who had average or higher GPA's were from the above 40th percentile CAT group.

Based on this data, there is apparently only a weak correlation between scores on the 8th grade CAT and the students' grade point average in high school (r=.22, p=.05). These results seem to run counter to the view that reading scores are a fairly good predictor of academic success. Reading ability as measured by this test does not seem to account for the students' ability to perform at average or above average levels in high school courses. Students appear to be using other strategies to achieve academic success as indicated by class grades.

Graduation Rates

It proved difficult to obtain an accurate picture of graduation rates, because of student transfers out of the school system and the inability of the district to track them after that point. Thirty-five of the original 59 students graduated on schedule, and another three were still enrolled and proceeding towards commencement. This is equivalent to a 64% graduation rate. It is difficult to find a meaningful comparison for evaluating this rate since the district itself shows slightly lower graduation rates. Because the data system at present cannot track students who leave the district either because they move or drop out, this is an issue which needs further examination to obtain an accurate picture of the school completion rates.

DISCUSSION

When we return to the questions raised at the beginning of this paper, we are left with no clear answers about when students are ready to compete and succeed in the mainstream. Comparing grade point averages with standardized test scores presents two different pictures of how well LEP learners are doing. From the point of view of fulfilling their classroom requirements, students seem to be performing at average levels or slightly better; on the other hand, examining test scores gives us a picture of students performing considerably below their mainstream counterparts.

On the positive side, the LEP students in the study seem to be taking solid academic classes and teachers seem to be satisfied with their classroom work. Of course, if grades are rewards for compliance more than performance, as mentioned above, their marks must be interpreted with caution.

The standardized test data is less reassuring. Scores are low in comparison with those of mainstream learners, indicating students who are performing well below grade level. In addition, at the time of this study, students needed to pass the Benchmark tests in order to qualify for graduation so that low test scores could have serious consequences for their future plans.

An intriguing question comes to mind as we look at the test scores. How are students able to attain the GPA's they do in spite of their weak reading comprehension? We can speculate that they use communicative strategies and their knowledge of classroom expectations to supplement their literacy skills and that their willingness to meet the requirements of the class in terms of attendance, participation, and completion of assignments may account for the attainment of average or slightly above average grade points. It is possible that these skills may be weighted as much or even more than test performance in determining grades.

On the issue, raised earlier, of whether students continue to develop their academic skills as they move through high school, the evidence is mixed. Although some students showed significant increases between the 8th grade and 10th grade CAT tests, a number showed no change, while still others lost ground. It would appear that while some students are closing the gap with their mainstream counterparts and continuing to develop their language skills as they progress through the regular curriculum, others are lagging behind, indeed, losing ground as Mazzone (1980) warned they might if language support were withdrawn too soon.

The results of this study do not yield clearcut evidence on how to view the 40th percentile as an exit criterion. Depending on which part of the data you focus on, it may be construed as an inadequate standard which puts students immediately at a disadvantage vis-a-vis native speakers because it is too low or it may be conceived of as an indicator which shows when a student is at the take off point ready for an academic growth spurt. If we consider a C average desirable, lower percentile cut-off scores on the CAT score are adequate, but if we are aiming for excellence for all students, then the 40th percentile criterion should be retained or even raised. It is disappointing to see so few students achieving even at the district median level.

In addition, although students can achieve average grades in high school in spite of low percentiles on the standardized tests, this does not guarantee that the same generous evaluation standards will exist at the post-secondary level. In an effort to be culturally sensitive, teachers may not be preparing students for a more demanding, less forgiving society. Once out of high school, students may find that grading standards are weighted more heavily in favor of test scores.

Returning to the question of using standardized tests as a criterion, we should add that the ability to pass decontextualized, reading comprehension tests may have value for students who will have to pass entrance exams for post-secondary programs. Moreover although high school students may not be expected to do extensive independent reading without teacher support and contextualization, this sort of learning task becomes more typical in post-secondary settings. For those students who intend to continue schooling, the ability to do such reading is a necessary skill.

Thus in considering exit criteria, we need to heed the post secondary teachers when they remind us that the students reaching them are not by their standards ready to do college level work. We also need to listen to students when they say that they feel themselves to be ill-prepared for university work. To graduate students from high school who believe themselves to be equipped for their next educational step, only to have them find that their skills are insufficient is a clear form of deceptive advertising on the part of the secondary schools.

In addition, we need to keep in mind reports such as *America 2000* which are asking for students ready to enter the workforce prepared to do critical thinking, problem solving, and decision making. If schools are in agreement with these goals, they can hardly afford to be satisfied with the minimal scores now achieved by the students served in the LEP program.

In summary, to the extent that students are achieving slightly above average grade point averages and completing high school in numbers not far behind their mainstream counterparts, they can be said to be meeting the expectations set by the schools. To the extent that schools are not preparing these students for further education or for the workplace, it is the schools that are not meeting the challenge.

NOTE

At the time of writing, the district was in the process of changing the standardized tests required. It is also considering instituting a system of graduation standard.

THE AUTHOR

Judith Strohl taught EFL in Iran before coming to Minneapolis Public Schools where she has taught ESL at adult and junior high school levels. She has an MA in Second Languages and Cultures from the University of Minnesota.

REFERENCES

America 2000: An educational strategy. (1991). Washington, DC:U.S. Department of Education.

Bosher, S., Dufresne, J., Elisason, P., Hall, S. , Her, S., & Thao, L (1990, May)., *Triving vs. Surviving,* Symposium presented presented at the MinneTESOL Conference, Hamline Univ., St. Paul, MN.

Chamot, A.U., & O'Malley, J.M. (1987). The cognitive academic language learning approach (CALLA): A bridge to the mainstream. *TESOL Quarterly , 21,* 227-49.

Collier, V. (1987). Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly, 21(4),* 617-641.

Collier, V. (1989). How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievement in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly, 23,* 509-531.

Council of Chief State School Officers (1991). *Summary of state practices concerning the assessment of and the data collection about limited English proficent (LEP) students.* WashingtonDC: State Education Assessment Center. Author.

Council of Chief State School Officers.(1992).*Summary of recom mendations and policy implications for improving the assess ment and monitoring of students with limited English proficiency* Washington, DC: State Education Assessment Center.

Cummins, J. (1980). Entry and exit fallacy in bilingual education *NABE Journal, 4 (3), 25-59.*

Cummins, J. (1983). Conceptual and linguistic foundations of languag assessment. In S.S. Seidner (Ed.), *Issues of Language Assessment, Vol. 2,* pp. 7-16. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearing house on Bilingual Education.

Cummins, J. (1984). *Bilingualism and special education: Issues in assessment and pedagogy.* San Diego, CA: College-Hill Press.

De George, G.P. (1984). *In search of exit criteria (Examining exit criteria through the collection of data for transitional students).* Cambridge, MA: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center, Lesley College.

De George, G.P. (1987). *Assessment and placement of language minority students: Procedures for mainstreaming.* Wheaton, ND: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

11

Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974)

Mazzone, E. (1980). Current trends in Massachusetts in the assessment of language minority students. In J.E. Alatis (Ed.),*Georgetown round table on languages and linguistics*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

McCollum, P. & Walker, C.L. (1990). The assessment of bilingual students: A sorting mechanism in S. S. Goldber (Ed.), *Readings on equal education.(Vol. 10.* pp. 293-314). New York: AMS Publishers.

National Coalition of Advocates for Students.(1990).*New Voices: Immigrant students in U.S.public schools*. Boston: MA.

Ovando, C. & Collier, V. (1985). *Bilingual and ESL classrooms*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Pelavin, S. (1985). *Selection procedures for identifying students in need of special services.* Submitted to U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Budget and Management, Washington, DC: Pelavin Associates, Inc.

Quest, C. (1992). *The learning needs of students in a college ESL composition class: A descriptive study of instructor and student perceptions.* Unpublished paper. University of Minnesota.

Rengel, E. (1986). *An initial report for the Minneapolis limited English proficiency program.* A report for the Minneapolis Public Schools Equal Education: Student Achievement.

Saville-Troike, M. (1991). *Teaching and testing for academic achievement: The role of language development*. Washington, DC: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.

Tikunoff, W.J. (1983). *An emerging description of successful instruction: An executive summary of the SBIF study.* San Francisco, CA: Far West Laboratories.

Ulibarri, D.M., Spencer, M.L., & Rivas, G.A. (1981). Language proficiency and academic achievement: A study of language proficiency tests and their relationship to school ratings as predictors of academic achievement. *Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*. 5(3), 47-80.

WORK IN PROGRESS

MinneTESOL Journal invites readers to submit short reports and updates on their work. These summaries may address any areas of interest to *Journal* readers.

Memorylink Vocabulary Flashcards: The 90s version of an old standby

Mercè López i Agustí
Escola Oficial d' Idiomes de Girona

Susan J. Weaver
University of Minnesota

INTRODUCTION

Lack of "memory" for vocabulary is a common complaint among students who are learning a foreign language. Even advanced learners often struggle to come up with the right word in the right context when attempting to communicate in the target language. "I just learned that word yesterday. How could I forget it so soon?" "Wait a second . . . I *know* that word. It's on the tip of my tongue." "Well, never mind. Maybe I'll think of it later . . ." Unfortunately for many students, the word or expression might never be remembered at all, or at least not when it is needed.

Language teachers have recommended many different ways to alleviate this memory "problem." One of the many suggestions for remembering new words and expressions is to have students make their own vocabulary flashcards. However, traditional flashcards, while useful for some learners, often fail to provide the full range of cognitive elements considered essential to learning. Although little or no empirical research has been devoted to the study of the effectiveness of using flashcards to learn foreign language vocabulary, memory researchers from the field of cognitive psychology have provided significant insights into the learning process that can be applied to the learning of foreign language vocabulary. While the traditional approach to flashcards does not systematically include elements generated from the results of this kind of research, we have designed the *Memorylink* vocabulary flashcard system to emphasize appropriate encoding and retrieval techniques in order to provide students with an effective way to learn foreign language vocabulary. These flashcards incorporate visual, verbal, auditory, semantic, and contextual aspects of words and expressions so that students can learn new vocabulary through the use of a variety of empirically-tested mnemonic techniques.

TRADITIONAL FLASHCARDS

Traditionally, vocabulary flashcards have consisted of a single word or expression written on one side of a small index card. The other side of the card, often used as the "prompt" to help the student remember the new word or expression, has typically included one of these three elements: the dictionary definition of the word (Cohen 1990; Mondria and Mondria-de Vries 1994), the native language translation (Nation 1990; Oxford and Crookall 1990), or a picture taken from a magazine or book (Oxford and Crookall 1990; Mondria and Mondria-de Vries 1994). However, a simple definition, translation or picture by itself may not provide sufficient contextual information for the learner to recall the item in question (Craik and Lockhart 1972; Craik and Tulving 1975; Baddeley 1990). Some authors have suggested the addition or substitution of other elements to increase the general appeal of vocabulary flashcards: a paraphrase of the dictionary definition or a target language synonym (Thompson 1984), the part of speech (Cohen 1990), the dictionary pronunciation (Wilf 1986), the context (i.e., sentence) in which the word was heard or read (Wilf 1986; Cohen 1990), a sample sentence written by the student containing the target expression (Wilf 1986; Carter and McCarthy 1988; Stutz 1992), or a simple mnemonic device (Cohen 1990).

While these elements have contributed to the general usefulness of flashcards by providing for the learner additional cues for remembering new vocabulary, they often still do not provide learners with sufficient contextual information if they are used in isolation. In addition, although flashcards are often prepared by the learners themselves, they are not necessarily personalized in such a way that they are sufficiently meaningful to the students or relevant to individual learning needs, and thus the cards may not be adequate for their intended purpose. Further, it is unclear whether the suggested elements have been systematically generated from empirical research or if they have instead been based on anecdotal evidence from successful foreign language learners. What traditional flashcards lack, overall, is a fully-integrated mnemonic system based on the results of cognitive research on human learning and memory, with each individual element designed to facilitate retrieval (i.e., learning and remembering) by helping students focus on the appropriate encoding and storage of new vocabulary items.

THE MEMORYLINK VOCABULARY FLASHCARD SYSTEM

The *Memorylink* flashcard system allows learners to improve their acquisition of foreign language vocabulary through the incorporation of several elements that are directly related to a basic principle of memory: association. Because information is represented in memory through a series of associative networks that link concepts and facts in an organized, hierarchical structure, when new information, such as foreign language vocabulary, is actively related to knowledge already stored in one of the associative networks, the association can make the new information more meaningful and memorable. Items encoded and stored in this way are thus easier to understand and remember (Ausubel 1978).

The purpose of the *Memorylink* flashcards is to guide students through several mental operations in order to actively engage them in effective encoding and storing processes. The associations serve to make the material more meaningful, and therefore more memorable, to the learner. Because meaningful learning involves extensive mental processing to link new information with information already stored in memory, students who prepare these flashcards are asked to create a number of different mental associations to analyze different features of the target item. These different kinds of associations encourage active engagement of the students in the learning process, strengthen the pattern of familiarity with the target information, enhance the self-referential quality inherent and embedded in such associations, and broaden the degree of contextualization of the vocabulary learning process. These associations also serve as individual cues to help students review the vocabulary items on the flashcards.

In order for a cue to be effective for the retrieval of a specific item, "the target item must be encoded in some sort of reference to the cue" (Tulving and Thomson 1973: 359) at the time it is processed, and thus "a cue's effectiveness in aiding target item retrieval is determined by what happens during acquisition" (Zechmeister and Nyberg 1982: 216). Failure to recall an item is based on inadequate or inappropriate retrieval cues, and therefore a cue is effective "to the extent that the cognitive system can encode the cue and the target as a congruous, integrated unit" (Craik and Tulving 1975: 284). The mental cues and the target item must be related in such a way that if the learner recalls one or more of the cues, s/he will also be able to recall the original word. The stronger the cued associations made with the target word during the encoding process, the better the chance for retrieval.

The *Memorylink* vocabulary flashcard system incorporates ten specific elements that serve as associational cues for aiding recall of target language vocabulary items:

1. Part of speech
2. Pronunciation
3. Visual image
4. Keyword mnemonic
5. Original sentence
6. Source
7. Place
8. Topic
9. Definition (or translation)
10. New sentence

Our goal in developing the *Memorylink* flashcard system has been to allow students to learn and remember foreign language vocabulary by formulating meaningful associations, engaging in deep cognitive processing, and creating distinct and unique cues for encoding vocabulary. Students can thus recall vocabulary more effectively because "stimuli that are attended to, fully analyzed, and enriched by associations . . . yield a deeper encoding of the event, and a long-lasting trace" (Craik and Tulving 1975: 270).

AUTHORS

Mercé López i Agustí is the Coordinator of the Self-Access

1111

Centre at the Escuela Oficial de Idiomas in Girona, Spain. She has taught EFL to both high school and adult learners since 1984. She has recently completed a year-long project for the Catalonian government to incorporate memory techniques into their educational system.

Susan J. Weaver is a doctoral student in Linguistics at the University of Minnesota, where she received her Master's degree in TESL. She taught EFL in Sao Paulo, Brazil before moving to Minnesota. She is currently conducting teacher-training seminars on strategies-based instruction for university-level foreign language teachers, though the University of Minnesota's National Language Resource Center.

REFERENCES

Ausubel, David. 1978. *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Baddeley, Alan. 1990. *Human learning and memory.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Carter, Ronald and Michael McCarthy (eds.). 1988. *Vocabulary and Language Teaching.* London: Longman.

Cohen, Andrew D. 1990. *Language Learning: Insights for Learners, Teachers, and Researchers.* Boston: Heinle & Heinle.

Craik, Fergus I. M. and Robert S. Lockhart. 1972. Levels of processing A framework for memory research. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 11: 671-684.

Craik, Fergus I. M. and Endel Tulving. 1975. Depth of processing and the retention of words in episodic memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 104: 268-294.

Mondria, Jan-Arjen and Siebrich Mondria-de Vries. 1994. Efficiently memorizing words with the help of word cards and "hand computer": Theory and applications. *System* 22: 47-57.

Nation, I. S. P. 1990. *Teaching & Learning Vocabulary.* New York: Newbury House.

Oxford, Rebecca L., and David Crookall. 1990. Vocabulary Learning: A Critical Analysis of Techniques. *TESL Canada Journal* 7: 9-30.

Stutz, Helen. 1992. Flashcards: Fast and Fun. *Hispania* 75: 1323-1325.

Tulving, Endel, and Donald M. Thomson. 1973. Encoding specificity and retrieval processes in episodic memory. *Psychological Review* 80: 352-373.

Wilf, Selma. 1986. *Techniques for success: college reading and study skills.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Zechmeister, Eugene B., and Stanley E. Nyberg. 1982. *Human Memory: An Introduction to Research and Theory.* Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

1113

Students' Work

My Family

Ana Temim
Minneapolis Public Schools

I came here from Bosnia five months ago. My family came with me, too. I have a husband and two daughters. Their names are Tea and Maja. Tea is 12 and Maja is 10 years old. They have gone to school since we came to Minneapolis. Tea is in the fifth grade. Maja is in the third grade. They are the best students in their classes. When we came here, they didn't know any words in English, but now they speak very well. They have had a lot of help from people in their school since they started to study. My husband and I have studied English for four months. We didn't know any words in English, either. Today, I can do many things by myself and I feel much better.

We live very hard. We left our home because the war has been in our country for two years. We didn't have any choice. We saw the death of many people. We saw the death of our own city and the death of our own country. We can't forget it. We think about it all the time. We don't know what happened to our relatives and our friends. We can't be entirely happy. We lost everything, but we have our children and our family. We have to start from the beginning.

It is high time to stop the war in Bosnia, but I wouldn't like to go back to my country. In my country they ask each child: "Who are you? Are you Croatian, Serbian, or Muslim?" I hate it. We want to be just human beings. We have to find our own home in America.

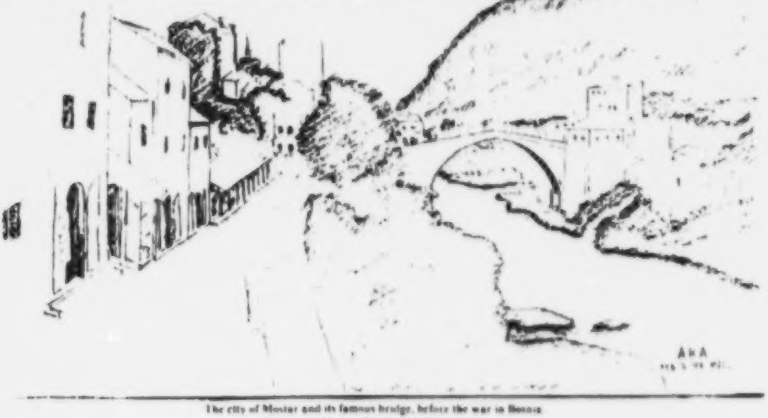
About the Places Where I Lived

I was born in Modrica. It is a small city in northern Bosnia and Herzegovina. When I got married I moved to Mostar. I lived in Mostar for fourteen years.

Mostar is in southern Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is a very old town. The first writing about Mostar was in 1452. Mostar was the capital city of Herzegovina. There were about 100,000 citizens in Mostar.

Mostar was a multicultural, multiethnic, and multireligious town. At noon we could hear the ringing of bells from the Roman Catholic church and from the Orthodox church, and the Islamic prayers in the mosque. All the prayers were at the same time. Mostar's citizens didn't observe them. They didn't think about them, because they were born with them, they grew up with them, and they lived with them. But tourists who visited Mostar were surprised and wondering. The people who visited Mostar once wanted to come back again.

The years went by. In the spring of 1992, the civil war in Bosnia started. Since the beginning of the war, Mostar has been destroyed. Today, there remain just the stones. Political leaders of each ethnic group have killed their own people and their own cities. Many people have been killed and many people have been expatriated. Mostar's citizens are living all over the world. Fascists couldn't kill our beings. We won't forget our city. Mostar will be forever.



The city of Mostar and its famous bridge, before the war in Bosnia
Illustrated by Aka Temim (Ana's husband)

My Brother

MEE LOR
Concordia College

His name begins with a **K** and ends with an **R**
K and **R** do not stand for kill or rob, but kind and respectful
His name is **K**ai Lor....he's handsome...five foot five and muscular....
....his hair is darker and longer than mine....he's better looking than me altogether

June 15 will be his 20th birthday
I still remember his 18th birthday
At JDC we celebrated and laughed together, we ate cake with rice
Will I now celebrate his birthday at his grave in June? If not there, how and where now?
He is nowhere else

It has been some months since he was killed
I still even remember exactly....
.....how he shakes his head and laughs at me for my stupidity
.....how he waves his hand to get his point across
.....how he cries on the phone, "I miss home." I *wish I had visited him more often*
.....how two of his right toes overlap when he doesn't wear socks and shoes
.....how he walks and runs in and out of the house and
.....how he screams "I'm not in any gang!" I *wish I had listened*
Time will drag while memories of my brother will live and last forever in my heart

At many midnights tears race out of my eyes
A sharp pain I feel right in the center of my heart
"Where are you? Don't go, come home. Will you come home to stay?"

The question I ask myself everytime I feel this pain is
"I did have a brother named Kai, right?" He is nowhere to be found
I wish I knew where death lives, I know it's not at his grave
because even he is not at his grave, he lives in my heart and soul
I just want to see my brother once more....please just once more!

Then early mornings I would dream about him
Kai and I would be together laughing and talking about fishing, his hobby
....While I fear that he would be shot again....
I fear to lose him again..I fear to never see him again..I fear to wake up

It seems like a dream that we were together
Now I wake up and cannot find Kai around the house....
....or in the yard....or in the parking lot with his friends....or at JDC
I want to know where he is going to rest, I'd like to visit

No door banging, no loud noises from outside the yard anymore, just a little world filled with silence
But images of my brother walking into the house....to the kitchen....
"Anything for lunch? I'm hungry." I *wish I had*
given him more than just eggs and rice that last night I spent with him

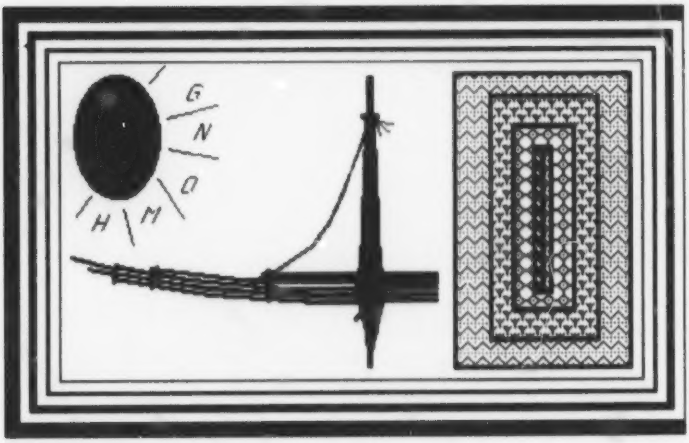
Sometimes the telephone would ring
"Can it be you?" I rushed to answer, but hear not his voice anymore
When Kai did call he always said
"Hi, Mom home? I want to come home, tell mom that. Oh, and I miss eating rice."
I wish I understood

Many times I stare at the pictures of him for half a day
The pictures almost seem to respond to me....
the corners of his lips seem to smile or move a little
I wish his picture would understand how I'm feeling
I could say so much more if words could describe the depth of my feelings....if there are such words
I'm trying to say ***"I miss you so much Kai !"***

I wrote this poem because Kai Lor was my younger brother who I love dearly and who was the only child in the family that was biologically related to me. We grew up as best friends and brother and sister. Kai was killed on October 12, 1993 by an off-duty police officer for trying to rob a mini grocery store.

When Kai was killed, a piece of my life died with him. I die a little every day while I wait for his return. I miss him and it hurts, the hurt that I cannot explain in the English language. Although he was wrong in attempting to rob the store, he did not deserve to die so brutally. The sight of him the last time I saw him is painful and it terrifies me even worse now. But not a single day I go through without thinking about his characteristics while he was alive and happy with me. Not a single night I go through without dreaming about being with him. And not a single morning I wake up without crying. It seems like I say good-bye to him every morning.

Mee Lor



Art work by Moua Yang

ACADEMIC ESL
for
COLLEGE FRESHMEN

University of Minnesota
General College

COMMANDING ENGLISH PROGRAM

A one-year program of academic coursework for non-native speakers of English

- Fulfills college requirements for speech, freshman writing, literature
- Includes choice of academic courses in biology, sociology, anthropology, arts, supported with reading adjunct classes
- small class size
- tutorial support in every class
- ESL-trained instructors

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

Commanding English Program
University of Minnesota
General College
140 Appleby Hall
128 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455-0434
(612) 625-3514

Reviews

The *Minne*TESOL *Journal* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professions. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Guidelines: A Cross-Cultural Reading/Writing Text

Ruth Spack. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Ruth Spack's *Guidelines* is an advanced writing textbook geared towards non-native speakers of English in a college freshman-level writing class. Intended for academic-preparation classes, teaching of critical thinking is a focus of the book.

There are four central units cyclically organized on the process of writing, each comprised of two chapters, one with readings and one with essay assignments. Each unit is introduced with an enumeration of the goals to be achieved in the unit.

The readings are three to eight pages long and come from various genres, including narrative, descriptive, and opinion pieces. All are excerpted from authentic texts, drawn from the works of professional authors such as Sydney Harris, Margaret Mead, and Jacob Neusner. Intercultural perspectives on friendship, college life, and intercultural adjustment are addressed. Each reading is accompanied by pre-, while, and post-reading exercises asking for the learner's previous experience with a situation similar to that described in the text, questions on content, vocabulary in context, and critical evaluation of the text. There is also background information on the author of each reading.

The writing chapters include writing assignments, activities for understanding the assignment, invention strategies, an illustration and explanation of all phases of the process of writing a short essay, and essays written by students. There are four essay assignments which are increasingly demanding, including describing a personal experience, evaluating and analyzing a text, and synthesizing information in examining a controversial topic.

In addition to the four main units, there is also an introductory chapter in which the concept of a reading journal is introduced and two extensive supplementary units dealing with "Reading and Writing Skills" and "The Editing Process". The introductory chapter explicitly emphasizes the idea that authors and readers engage in a dialogue and that that dialogue can (and should) be articulated informally through marginal summaries and annotations which are then transformed into journal entries. These journals can later be used when writing an essay.

Part 5 comprises chapters on the skills of summarizing, paraphrasing, quoting, paragraphing, and citing sources. Each chapter contains, importantly, a rationale for learning the skill, directions, examples, an easy-to-read chart summarizing the important points of the chapter, and exercises. In the area of documentation of sources, both MLA and APA formats are presented, and the section on plagiarism is quite good.

While Part 5 deals with the mechanics of using textual sources in writing, Part 6 deals with aspects of the editing process from proofreading to grammar. The grammar section is particularly impressive. As in every other part of the book, the student is given a rationale for paying attention to the chapter, emphasizing, here, how "errors can shift a reader's attention away from your meaning" (p. 261). The grammar section is comprehensive, including fine summaries and examples on sentence construction, discourse markers, relative clauses, noun clauses, fragments and run-ons, agreement, verb tenses, modal auxiliaries, conditionals, gerund and infinitive complements, articles, and parallelism. There is also a section on punctuation. Interestingly, for those who wish an intellectual approach, there is also a chapter on the sources of errors as related to the second-language acquisition process. Parts 5 and 6 are set apart from the main units so as to be used easily for reference; an instructor could easily tailor use of particular chapters to the needs of individual students.

Not only the readings, but also the explanations and illustrations in the text are engaging. The explanations are quite clear, and there seems to be no need for an instructor's manual. However, one is available. It includes a rationale for all activities, suggested syllabi, summaries of the reading texts, and commentaries on some of the texts. Spack also points out pitfalls students many encounter in using the text.

There appear to be few weaknesses in this book. It is thorough in its treatment of both reading and writing processes and in grammar, editing, and citation. However, the text is quite dense, and less fluent readers may be daunted by the paucity of pictures or other visual aids. These aspects of the text might be dealt with by an instructor, though, especially if students are encouraged to utilize the summarizing boxes and the extensive index and detailed table of contents.

Students in technical or social science fields where statistics or processes must be reported might find *Guidelines* of limited relevance. There are only a couple of readings with illustrative graphs, charts, and statistics. Further, although documentation of sources is involved in three of the four essay assignments, there is only one reading which includes citations and a list of references, so there are insufficient models for this essential aspect of academic writing.

Altogether, *Guidelines* is a fine textbook. Its thorough treatment of important aspects of writing in general, and writing in academic fields in particular, is practical and easy to follow. Students should also feel comfortable using *Guidelines* later as a reference text. In addition to its use as a writing textbook, *Guidelines* may also be used effectively in a reading/composition class, because of the large number of readings, reading comprehension exercises, and critical thinking activities.

A Writer's Workbook: An Interactive Writing Text for ESL Students

Trudy Smoke. 2nd ed. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Trudy Smoke's *A Writer's Workbook* is a writing textbook for college-level ESL students at a high-intermediate or low-advanced level.

The overall organization of the book is in five units, each of which is thematically organized around a different aspect of life and the acculturation process. The units are cyclical in design so that in each chapter new concepts are presented which build on those of previous chapters.

The writing strategies sections are comprehensive in teaching invention strategies, paragraphing, methods of support, discourse markers, and process writing. In addition to rhetorical structures for descriptive, narrative, compare/contrast, persuasion, and cause-and-effect essays, there are also sections on writing a business letter and a resume. Interestingly, there are explanations of writing a dialogue, using anecdotes, and "setting the mood in your writing". The writing sections contain short explanations and brief exercises, and, therefore, the treatment is not exhaustive but may be oversimplified. There are both essay and journal assignments.

The grammar exercises present structures inductively and address many of the grammatical errors experienced by students with a wide variety of native languages: verb tenses, sentence structure, author's voice, adjective word-order, modals, passives, discourse markers, gerunds and infinitives, relative constructions, conditionals, parallelism, and punctuation.

In addition to writing and grammar instruction, the book also contains readings. The units are divided into chapters so that each unit comprises readings from journalistic, textbook, and fictional genres, including authors such as William Saroyan, Gary Althen, Ernest Hemingway, and Pablo Casals. However, though texts are interesting and authentic, they have been abridged and never go beyond four pages — most, in fact, are only one or two pages long. In addition to the texts written by native speakers, each chapter contains samples of edited student writing.

There are many pre- and post- reading exercises to chose from; it is doubtful that a teacher would want to use them all. Critical thinking and contextualization of reading skills are taught in post-reading exercises.

The design of *A Writer's Workbook* is extremely clear and there is an index. For reference, too, there are *four* tables of contents, by sequence in the book, reading and thinking strategies, writing strategies, grammatical structures, and editing strategies. Additional reference materials include answers to some exercises in an appendix, a lengthy verb-form table, and a table of verb tense forms.

The instructor's manual provides good guidance for teachers including ideas for novice teachers and those who need reminding of recent pedagogy, as well as notes for teachers who are non-native speakers of English. The rationale and philosophy of teaching shows a respect for students' intrinsic intellectual capacities and language proficiency in their first language.

A Writer's Workbook seems best for a class of recent high school students or freshmen, e.g., in a community college setting where the students are immigrants. The unit titles are "Family and Growing up", "Language and Communication", Society and Playing Roles", "Finding a Job and Working", and "Home and Finding One's Place", all of particular concern, in general, of persons in their late teens and early 20's. The texts and accompanying exercises foster self-awareness of personal, emotionally-charged experiences in acculturating to the U.S. and contextualize the readings based on other experiences. Further, *A Writer's Workbook* is very much informed by a U.S. perspective. Because there seems to be an underlying assumption that the students will be in the U.S. for some time, there is a strong emphasis on acculturation, even in writing. For example, Kaplan's well-known zig-zags and spirals are offered early in the book as a way of initiating reflection and cross-cultural comparison of rhetorical structures (p. 10).

As a writing textbook, *A Writer's Workbook* is thorough. Citation is not included, but it may be assumed that students using this book will take at least another term of ESL. The readings are rather short and there is inadequate treatment of vocabulary, particularly if words are to be added to students' active vocabulary. Though there are context-based vocabulary exercises, where students pick out key words and phrases, some vocabulary exercises are too vague, and therefore too hard, for ESL students. There are vocabulary glosses in the margins, but some of these are sometimes ungrammatical (different word form than word in text) and there are glosses of words the meanings of which students should be able to determine from context.

In general, *A Writer's Workbook* is a complete, easy-to-use textbook that addresses the needs of young college-age ESL students.

THE REVIEWER

Wendy Desmonde has an MA in ESL from the University of Minnesota, where she teaches reading and writing.

Back Issues of the *MinneTESOL Journal*

Volume 1, 1981 (60 pages)

- Being with students: Some good advice for teachers ...... Joan Hildenbrand
- Current events for advanced conversation .... Leisa C. Huddleston
- Cultural test bias: How does it relate to the LEP student? .... Marge Kaplan
- Listening comprehension in the oral tradition .... Lise Lunge-Larsen
- You have to reach 'em to teach 'em: The beginnings of a bibliography in ESL for children .... Pat Wilcox Peterson

Volume 2, 1982 (50 pages)

- What do we know about the way a child acquires a second language? .... Elaine Tarone
- Hmong refugees in an American city: A case study in language contact .... Bruce T. Downing & Sharon Dwyer
- Designing an ESL program for preliterate adults: An account of one program's development .... Ellen Vaut
- A selected bibliography of work in discourse analysis and English as a second language .... Jeanette K. Gundel

Volume 3, 1983 (73 pages)

- Current events for ESP students: A course description for the teacher .... Terry L. Frederickson
- Cultivating the cabbages: An ESP program for refugee students .... Adele G. Hansen
- Hmong bilinguals: How did *they* learn English? .... Lois Malcolm
- Facilitating teacher growth: An approach to training and evaluation .... Nancy Stenson, Jan Smith, & William Perry
- An evaluation of a course for foreign teaching assistants: A case study approach .... Mark Landa

Volume 4, 1984 (79 pages)

- Montessori language lessons: The almost silent way .... Ann Eljenholm Nichols
- The excommunicative approach (and how to avoid it) .... George Yule
- Some neglected vocabulary needs of ESL students .... Tom Richards
- The doughnut that fell into the dishwater: Thoughts on teaching relative clauses and other structures .... Eric Nelson

Volume 5, 1985 (83 pages)

- Preparing LEP students for on-the-job training .... Catherine Robinson
- Clinically speaking: ESP for refugee nursing students .... John Marston & Adele G. Hansen
- Modifying an ESP course syllabus through a teacher-planned needs assessment .... Karen Sorensen
- Using a sensitive topic in teaching lecture comprehension .... Colleen Meyers

Volume 6, 1986 (74 pages)

- A word is worth a thousand pictures: A writing project for the primary grades .... Vivian Mann
- Teaching paraphrasing to ESL students .... Patricia M. Odean
- Self-monitoring of articles and verbs in ESL written production . Barbara Schwarte & Emiko Matsumura-Lothrop

Volume 7, 1987–1989 (72 pages)

- Chinese students, American universities and cultural confrontation .... Thomas A. Upton
- Why aren't Third-World scholars going home? .... Lynne Ackerberg
- Teacher-executed needs assessment: Some suggestions for teachers and program administrators .... Elaine Tarone
- Toward collaboration as a viaduct for student/teacher interaction .... Irene K. Prendergast
- Fossilization and learning strategies in second language acquisition .... William R. Sims

Volume 8, 1989–1990 (114 pages)

- "Back to basics:" Literacy for second language learners in the public schools .... Elaine Tarone
- Geodes like sky blue popsicles: Developing authorship literacy in limited English proficient students .... Lisa Boehlke & Mary Kay Rummel
- Finding a voice: Secondary students write their stories .... Lindsey Allen
- Citizenship education: The three S's,—self, school, and state (Excerpts) .... Michael J. Mullins
- Schemata, strategies, and social construction: Some implications for second language pedagogy .... Paul Prior
- Some effects of culture in the ESL classroom and their implications for teaching .... Laura Buchanan
- The role of error correction in the process-oriented ESL composition classroom .... Susan Bosher

Volume 9, 1991 (65 pages)

- Film as a teaching medium .... Diane F. Johnson
- Culture day: Emotional support for ESL students .... Marge Kaplan
- Southeast Asian literature for the ESL classroom .... Carol Quest
- Your textbook is in the library—
  Or you could make your own .... Robyn Peterson

Volume 10, 1992 (151 pages)

- Who's missing from this picture? National educational reform efforts and language minority students .... Constance L. Walker & Pamela McCollum
- Pull-in programs—A new trend in ESL education? .... Ann Sax Mabbott & Judith Strohl
- *Our Town*: Drama as curriculum .... Molly McGowan-Rink
- A literature course for the ESL classroom .... Jeff Partridge
- Children of Abya-Yala: EFL students consider the Quincentennial of Columbus' arrival .... Donald F. Hones
- Developing oral communication skills through cassette journals .... Jane Petring
- Using compliments in the ESL classroom: An analysis of culture and gender .... Patrick Dunham
- The importance of good *Kibun* in the ESL Classroom .... James H. Robinson & Alex Fisher
- Test-taking strategies on ESL language tests .... Andrew D. Cohen

VOLUME 11, 1993 (153 PAGES)

- The role of art in language learning .... Catriona R. Moore,
  Judith Killer,
  Maria Kreie Aragó
- Confucian orthodoxy Meets ESL:Teaching Across Academic Cultures .... Patrick J. Dunham, James H. Robinson
- Perceptual learning style preferences of second language students .... Patricia A. Eliason
- Friday prayer: Describing a process in Arabic and English writing .... Salah Ayari and Elaine Tarone
- Comparing perspectives on ESL education: A case study of Pine Tree school .... Karen E. Duke
- Mainstreaming LEP students: The case of the Hmong .... Jeff Dufesne

ORDERING INFORMATION

- Individual volumes cost $10.00 each.
- Identify your selection by volume and year.
- Postage and handling is included.
- Please make checks payable to MinneTESOL
- Order from:

Editor, *MinneTESOL Journal*
Robin Murie
General College
140 Appleby Hall
128 Pleasant Ave S.E.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis MN 55455